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INDIA AND THE AGGRESSORS

The Trend of—— INDIAN OPINION between 1935-40

COMPILED BY
The Bureau of Public Information
Government of India

IMPORTANT NOTE

THIS IS A FACTUAL REFERENCE WORK

This is a factual reference work and any who peruse it hoping to find that it has been compiled to provide raw material to support any particular point of view will be disappointed.

It is a reference record of views expressed in India between 1935 and 1940 and nothing more.

JOSSLEYN HENNESSY,
PRINCIPAL INFORMATION OFFICER
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

INDIAN REACTIONS TO TOTALITARIAN AGGRESSION 1935-40

NON-OFFICIAL INDIAN OPINION HAS, FROM the outset, expressed itself unequivocally against totalitarian aggression.

The year 1935 in which Italian designs upon Abyssinia attracted world attention (the invasion itself took place on October 3), provided the starting point ; and the end of a definite period in Indian reactions came with H. E. the Viceroy's announcement on November 20, 1940, of the abandonment for the time being of the scheme for expansion of the Executive Council and for the establishment of a War Advisory Council.

The interest of the greater part of this period, till roughly the middle of 1939, lies in the " moral " reaction. Most phases of Nazi or Fascist policy were noticed in India ; women noticed the fate of women in Germany and Italy ; Trade Unionists the " Fascist menace " to the " working class movement " ; Mr. Nehru speaking on German soil made no secret of his views on the Nazi educational policy, on the Nazi burning of books and the chasing out of world renowned scholars.*

Indian reaction to Totalitarian internal policy was meagre. The year 1935 was also the date of the present Government of India Act and domestic issues predominated in India between 1935-40. Even in actual aggression, *sustained* interest was taken only by the Congress among political parties and among its leaders by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, and by the Press. They strongly condemned aggression, deeply sympathised with the victims and unequivocally disapproved of the British and the French foreign policies. The study of earlier Press comments is interesting ; there is initially an undercurrent of sympathy for German " grievances ". As events develop, a clear distinction is made between the foreign policies of Britain and France and the latter is blamed for the " betrayal " of the principle of collective security.

Political reaction, however, soon followed moral reaction. In April, 1936, at its annual session, the Congress passed a resolution expressing " the sympathy of the Indian people for the Ethiopian people ", and another drawing attention to its resolution of 1927 on " the danger of imperialist war ", pointing out that the danger had " become more evident and urgent since then with the growth of Fascist dictatorship, the Italian attack on Abyssinia, the continuing Japanese aggression in North China and Mongolia, the rivalries and conflicts of the great Imperialist powers and the feverish growth of armaments ", and reiterating its " old resolve " to " oppose participation of India in any Imperialist war." This policy, namely, condemnation of aggression and sympathy for the victims, coupled with opposition to India's participation in any " imperialist " war, became a feature of declarations by the Congress and its leaders.

For example, while Mr. Nehru felt that there " were two obnoxious things born in the world : Fascism and Nazism ", while he felt that Indians " cannot keep quiet when these murders of democracies are going on,"* he also generally added a qualification that India would range herself only with " pure democracies." Relevant to the point, however, whether India should side with British " Imperialism " or with no Power short of a " pure democracy " are such observations as those by Mr. Gandhi when he expresses anxiety that Britain should come out victorious " because of her will to be just

* See page 69.

* See page 74.

all along the line.* And by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, ex-President of Congress: "I realise that England is any day better than the totalitarian states, and I cannot but wish that England and France should win the war."† And Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar: "We must all pray for the success of the Allies in this war."‡ And Mr. Satyamurti: "We know this: that Britain, with all her faults is a decent nation, and in this war I have no doubt, Mahatma Gandhi wishes, the Congress wishes, I wish and all of us wish England wins the war."§ There are numerous other statements by Congressmen and others bearing on this issue. Sri Aurobindo Ghosh (whom Mr. Gandhi brackets with the poet Tagore as a true representative of modern India) making a contribution to the Madras Governor's War Fund on his own behalf and on behalf of other inmates of his Yogic retreat in Pondicherry, as an "expression of their entire support for the British people and the Empire", wrote: "We feel that not only is this a battle waged in just self-defence and in defence of the nations threatened with the world domination of Germany and the Nazi system of life, but that it is a defence of civilisation and its highest social, cultural and spiritual values and of the whole future of humanity."*

This collection is comprehensive but not exhaustive. It presents points of view including undercurrents of opinions. Provincial organisations are outside its purview except when an all-India organisation fails to react adequately or at all to an issue. As far as possible extracts from all important statements have been included.

Political parties' statements on the question of constitutional reforms in Indian States have been included. They refer mainly to the attitude of the Paramount Power, and extracts from some speeches by H. E. the Viceroy on the subject will be found in the appendices.

* See pages 36—37. † See page 96.
‡ See page 98. § See page 105.

* See page 2.

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SIX PROMINENT INDIANS

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Sri Aurobindo Ghosh

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore

Sir S. Radhakrishnan

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar

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H. H. THE AGA KHAN

CONTEXT.

Extract from a report appearing in the "Hindustan Times" of Sept. 14, 1939, under date Simla, Sept. 12, 1939.

UNRESTRICTED SERVICE FOR BRITAIN

THE AGA KHAN, IN ADDITION TO APPEALING TO HIS own followers to give unrestricted service to the cause for which Britain fights, has placed his own services entirely at the disposal of the Government of India.....

COMPLETE CO-OPERATION A DUTY

Message released by H. H. the Aga Khan for simultaneous publication on Sept. 29, 1939, in India and Europe: "Hindustan Times", Sept. 30, 1939.

TO ALL MY BROTHERS IN INDIA AND OTHER BRITISH Dominions :—

Today a cruel war has been imposed and it is our duty to cooperate with heart and soul for the success of His Majesty the King-Emperor. Such sincere and complete co-operation will also be the best service to Islam. I beg my brothers in Islam to realise that alike our secular duty and our best way to serve Muslim interests is by completely loyal co-operation with His Majesty's Government. Both, my only grown-up son and myself, have placed all our personal services at the Viceroy's disposal.

CONFERENCE OF LEGISLATORS

Extract from an Associated Press report dated Bombay Feb. 8, 1940, in the "Hindustan Times" of February 9, 1940.

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI'S SUGGESTION WHICH HE MADE last week in a speech to leave the outstanding political problems of the day to be settled by a conference of members of the legislatures in India was supported by His Highness the Aga Khan in an interview today.

"It is an excellent suggestion", he said. He added: "This is the most practical step towards a final settlement of all the problems before us, the communal problem, the relations between British India and Indian States and finally with the British Government."

SRI AUROBINDO GHOSH

CONTEXT.

Report dated Ootacamund, Sept. 18 in the "Hindustan Times" of Sept. 21, 1940.

WAR IN DEFENCE OF HIGHEST VALUES

SRI AUROBINDO GHOSH* OF THE AUROBINDO ASHRAM, Pondicherry, has made a contribution of Rs. 500 to the Governor's War Fund.

This is announced in a Press Note issued from the Governor's Secretariat today. Sri Aurobindo accompanied his generous gift with the following letter:—

To

The Private Secretary to the Governor of Madras.

SIR,

We are placing herewith at the disposal of H. E. the Governor of Madras a sum of Rs. 500 as our joint contribution to the Madras War Fund. This donation, which is in continuation of previous sums given by us for the cause of the Allies (10,000 francs to the French Caisse de Defence Nationale before the unhappy collapse of France and Rs. 1,000 to the Viceroy's War Fund immediately after the armistice), is sent as an expression of our entire support for the British people and the Empire in their struggle against the aggression of the Nazi Reich and our complete sympathy with the cause for which they are fighting.

We feel that not only is this a battle waged in just self-defence and in defence of the nations threatened with the world domination of Germany and the Nazi system of life, but that it is a defence of civilization and its highest social, cultural and spiritual values and of the whole future of humanity.

To this cause our support and sympathy will be unswerving whatever may happen; we look forward to the victory

* As representing the highest and best in Indian culture, Sri Aurobindo Ghosh is universally esteemed in India. Mr. Mahadev Desai (Mr. Gandhi's Secretary) reports in the "Harijan" of Jan. 14, 1939, a remark by Mr. Gandhi to Dr. Kagawa, an eminent Japanese visitor: "Now, another question. Have you included Pondicherry in your programme? If you want to study modern India, you must see both Shantiniketan, the poet Tagore's Ashram and International University, and Aurobindo Ghosh's Ashram."

of Britain, and, as the eventual result, an era of peace and union among the nations and a better and more secure world-order.

Yours sincerely,
SRI AUROBINDO.

DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

CONTEXT.

"ARROGANT UNRIGHTEOUSNESS" OF HITLER

Extract from an Associated Press report in the "Hindustan Times" of Sept. 12, 1939, under date Bombay, Sept. 10, 1939.

AT THE REQUEST OF HIS FRIENDS IN EUROPE AND ENGland, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore issued the following statement setting forth his opinion of the war:

The conscience of the world has been profoundly shocked at the latest manifestation of the arrogant unrighteousness of the present ruler of Germany; this is but the culmination of a long series of intimidation of the weak, from the suppression of the Jewish people in the Reich to the rape of that gallant and truly liberal State of Czechoslovakia. Through the mouth of Mahatma Gandhi the voice of my country has already been raised in moral condemnation of the inhumanity which has plunged the world into this insensate carnage to satisfy the vainglorious whims of an individual and his associates.

Our voice may not perhaps reach the ears of the faction in power in Germany, for it is not borne on the wings of high explosive shells. I can only hope that humanity may emerge triumphant and that decencies of life and freedom for the oppressed peoples may be firmly established for all time to come in a world purified through this terrible bath of blood.

INDIA'S DUTY IS CLEAR

Extracts from the "Servant of India" of Sept. 14, 1939.

A STATEMENT ISSUED JOINTLY BY DR. RABINDRANATH Tagore, Dr. P. C. Ray and others, says: "At this supreme crisis, which threatens not individual countries alone, but the

entire fabric of civilisation, the duty of India is clear. Her sympathies are with Poland. She must stand by Britain and resist the disastrous policy of domination by force. No Indian would desire that England should lose the battle for freedom she is fighting to-day ....."

Regretting that the Indian people are unarmed and untrained, the signatories say that "the first step is to mobilise the youth of the country, without distinction of province, race or faith and to provide effective military training for them, so that they will be able to fight on a footing of equality with others". They add that on the political question "a new outlook is required of Britain towards India".



APPEAL FOR HELP TO CHINA

CONTEXT.

United Press report dated Shantiniketan, Nov. 12, in the "National Herald" of Nov. 14, 1939.

DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE, IN A STATEMENT, SAYS: I have been deeply touched by the letter of appeal sent by Madame Sun-Yat-Sen to Dr. Debes Mukherjee, who had been to China as a member of the Congress Medical Mission to that country. The devastation caused by the protracted Japanese aggression has rendered the saving of innocent Chinese lives an imperative duty for all of us who realise the ancient bond of friendship that unites our two great countries. We should come to the help of China in her hour of need by contributing whatever we possibly can towards the humanitarian work that our doctors in China have undertaken.



UTMOST SYMPATHY FOR CHINA

Extract from an Associated Press report dated Calcutta Oct. 11 of a statement made by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore from his sickbed.

WE ARE IN THE HABIT OF CALLING CHENGIZ KHAN'S hordes barbarians, but not even the terrible Mongols were guilty of such gross betrayal of humanity as what the so-called civilized nations of today are perpetrating before our very eyes. But in the very act of this condemnation, one is arrested by one's sympathy for their sufferings. For their own peoples are paying the price of these wrongs. My utmost sympathy goes out to the brave and innocent people of China, who have suffered most and deserved least of this suffering. They have been the victims of a violence, they never perpetrated on others; they have been dragged down into the pit of destruction, which they did nothing to dig. I hope they will survive the wrong and will once more be enabled to build up a great civilization.



CONTEXT.

HORRORS PERPETRATED IN CHINA

Extract from Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's diary of the trip to China contributed to the "National Herald", and reproduced in the "Hindu" of Aug. 31, 1939 under date Lucknow, Aug. 30, 1939.

....I LEARNT THAT RABINDRANATH TAGORE WAS IN Calcutta. That was too good an opportunity to miss, as it is always a delight to meet Gurudev. I hastened to his house from my hotel and, for all too brief a time, he spoke to me of the intermingling of the great Asiatic cultures and why it was necessary that India should develop contacts with Eastern countries. He was pleased that I was going to China and pressed me to go to Japan also, more specially to tell them not to lose their soul in their present adventure in China.

He was anxious that we should make our position towards Japan and the Japanese clear. While we were entirely opposed to their militarism and imperialism and the horrors they had perpetrated in China, we had no ill-will towards the Japanese. We wanted to make friends with them but not on this false basis. While China was suffering terribly, Japan would probably suffer greater and more permanent injury of soul by her brutal imperialism. Gurudev wanted me to go to Japan to say all this—a large order under the existing circumstances.

I assured him that I would very much like to go to Japan; I had long wanted to do so. But this seemed hardly possible now as it would take far too much time.....

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN

ABYSSINIA TORN TO PIECES

At a reception given on behalf of the India Centre of the International P. E. N. Club of Writers and Editors by Madame Sophia Wadia at Bombay on May 7,1936, to Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the P. E. N. in India, Madame Sophia said that Sir S. Radhakrishnan's mission coincided in one aspect with the P. E. N. Club's aim of friendship among writers everywhere, but it was even more important.

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN REPLYING SAID, "IT IS HARDLY THE right time to speak of forming friendships, with Abyssinia torn to pieces before our eyes by nations which pride themselves on their civilisation".

Explaining why "our civilisation turns to force and violence which it knows are bad", Sir S. Radhakrishnan said, "it is because we preach the morality we do not practise. Mere intellectual enlightenment has to be supplemented with something else."

"War", Sir S. Radhakrishnan continued, "is a state of mind. It happens to us because it happens in us. There is

a conflict of motives in our own mind. When crises overcome us we lack the strength of spirit to put our ideals into operation....

" Unless we can supplement the Western thinker with the Eastern man of self-command, it will not be possible for us to promote the peace of the world. That is the only answer. The world cannot improve faster than we improve ourselves. If we have not been able, not only to attain great intellectual eminence but also to establish some spiritual control, we shall be still talking about these things and Abyssinians will continue to be torn to pieces. We have to supplement more intellectual energy with moral energy and spiritual powers ".



" BETRAYAL OF MORE VALUES "

CONTEXT.

In the course of his Convocation Address to the Benares University, on Dec. 17, 1938, Sir S. Radhakrishnan said :

....WE ARE FILLED WITH DESPAIR BY THE VIOLENCE OF the contemporary world. Recent events in China, Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia and Spain constitute a betrayal of moral values. Faith and hope have all but succumbed. Honour and magnanimity have decayed. The hot embers of sullen discontent and savage hatred smoulder everywhere. A peace which arises from mere weariness of war and founded on international injustice and political opportunism has no element of permanence in it.... This cry of pain is indeed, evidence.

. . . and what is there to cling to in a world of madness and doom, of waste and hideousness ? The whole machinery of modern civilization is failing to perform even the basic function of keeping men alive. A world in agony asks ' Is civilization to end up in a mangled mass of twisted metal and torn flesh ? '....

It is easy to blame the Germans, the Italians and the Japanese for the present condition of the world, but they are like ourselves. We, perhaps, in their condition will do the same....

There are doubts expressed today about democracy as a political arrangement. The rise of dictatorships and the collapse of democracies in Europe have made the problem an intriguing one.....Taken all in all, in this imperfect world, democratic government is the most satisfactory....

CONTEXT.

"WE MUST STAND BY BRITAIN"

Extracts from an Associated Press report (dated Allahabad Sept. 6) in the "Hindustan Times" of Sept. 7, 1939.

"WE MUST ABSOLUTELY STAND BY THE BRITISH AND IT would be most disastrous if we were to offer help subject to conditions" said Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, interviewed this morning on the present international situation.

He continued: "Never before has a graver situation arisen in our history. Any question of controversy with the British in regard to the future of India must stand over until the common peril is over.... Our self-interest alone demands that we must do everything to secure the safety of the country and that, I am clear, cannot be done without full and unreserved co-operation with the British. This is no occasion in my opinion, for a mere theoretical fight on the basis of ideological differences!

".... I believe nothing can be more fatal to the best interest of the country than that the hands of the Central Government should be weakened in meeting the common peril. I read the 'Statesman' articles on the question of the establishment of a provisional Government at the Centre. Without committing myself to all its arguments, I must say that the establishment of such a provisional Government will lead to the strengthening of the hands of the Central Government during the crisis. I should not oppose such a provisional arrangement.....".

■ ■ ■

"WE CANNOT REFUSE CO-OPERATION"

Extract from a United Press report dated Srinagar, July 6, in the "Tribune" on July 8, 1940, of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Convocation Address at the Sri Pratap College, on July 6.

WE HAVE, DURING THE LAST TWO MONTHS, WITNESSED events which we should have refused to believe as being possible if they had not actually happened. Country after country has fallen a victim to brute force. Who could have thought that intellectually advanced, inoffensive and peace-loving countries like Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium would, almost in the twinkling of an eye, be robbed of their freedom and of their independent existence? Above all who could have thought that France, the mother of culture and elegance, the champion of freedom, the country where

humanity learnt in modern times its first lessons in liberty, equality and fraternity would to-day have to sue for peace at the hands of those to whom the very mention of democracy is an abomination, whose cult is race-superiority and whose ambition is world domination....

At the present moment the one common platform on which we can meet irrespective of different political and economic creeds or labels is the safety and security of the country.

Nor can we on an occasion like this refuse to cooperate with or assist the British, whatever the nature or extent of our grievances against them may be.

I share the disappointment of those of my countrymen who feel that the British have already delayed too long the assigning to India of her proper place and have withheld from her that freedom and those powers which are enjoyed by the other units of the Commonwealth, but I can discern distinct signs of a change for the better in the attitude of Britain *vis-a-vis* India.

I shall be untrue to my conviction if I were to say that I am satisfied either with the adequacy or the extent of the steps proposed to be taken. The need is urgent for a much larger expansion of effort in the matter of recruiting and training of our men in large numbers....

SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report of Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar's presidential address at the 14th session of the All-India Educational Conference at Bombay on December 27, 1938.

REVERSION TO LAW OF THE JUNGLE

SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR WELCOMED THE FACT THAT the Conference had a prominent Section on "International-ism and Peace", as anything which promoted the knowledge of other races and countries in young minds was to be welcomed. He said that Europe had reverted to mediaeval conditions and in Europe the law of the nations had been replaced by the law of the jungle.

This was the work of the authoritarian regimes, which had secured for their nations an increased status in the councils of the world. Racialism was playing a prominent role in every-day life in Europe to-day. A few years ago, India could perhaps lead a life of comparative isolation, but to-day she could no longer escape the influences of the outside world. Therefore, it was time that they looked about and strengthened their intellectual defences so as to protect the system on which their institutions had been built and one of their main defenders must be the teachers to whom had been confined the task of educating the young.



CONTEXT.

INDIA SHOULD ALWAYS BE ON BRITAIN'S SIDE

Extract from a report in the "Hindu" of Aug. 31, 1939, of a lecture by Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar on Aug. 30, 1939, at Madras under the auspices of the Lakshmipuram Young Men's Association.

PROCEEDING, SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR SAID THAT religious tolerance was a product of the East. The treatment meted out to Jews in Germany made them doubt whether Germany had the right to be called a civilised nation. The only countries which might be called civilised were those few democratic countries in the West and India.

That was why he had always been saying that if ever war broke out, whatever might be their grievances against Britain and their feelings towards the past history of Britain, India should always be on the side of Britain.

No nation could claim to have had a perfect record in the past. But, on the whole, if they compared one country with another, the democratic countries were the countries in which one would like to live, and not the totalitarian countries, where people had a tendency to feel that they were living in a prison.

CONGRESSMEN

Asaf Ali, Mr.
Atal, Dr. M.
Azad, Maulana Abul Kalam
Chamanlal, Diwan
Desai, Mr. Bhulabhai
Dunichand, Lala

ASAF ALI, MR.

CONTEXT.

Extract from a United Press report dated Peshawar, Aug. 22, in the "Hindu" of Aug. 26, 1939.

INDIA'S SYMPATHIES WITH DEMOCRACIES

DWELLING ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, MR. ASAF Ali said, "The clouds of war are hanging over Europe and any moment a rain of blood will begin to pour down. Millions of rupees have been spent on the manufacture of armaments and these must explode. *India has all its sympathies with the democratic Powers.* But India can help them only if the Britishers look upon her as a nation on an equal footing and stop exploiting her".

ATAL DR. M.

CHINESE HANDICAP REMOVED

*Extract from an Associated Press report dated Madras, Oct. 14, in the "Hindustan Times" of Oct. 15, 1940, of an interview with Dr. M. Atal, Leader of the Congress Medical Mission to China.**

....THE CLOSING OF THIS ROAD HAD PUT OUR CHINESE friends at a considerable disadvantage. I am happy that this handicap will now be removed. The fact that Japan has succeeded in establishing air bases in French Indo-China should not depress us much, because it had long ago established air bases in the Island of Hainan, which is very near Indo-China. The shifting of the air bases a few miles nearer to China will not make any practical difference. The Chinese militarists had divided their war into three stages. The first stage has now come to an end, the second is shortly to begin, and the time is fast approaching when we shall hear of big battles being fought in China. So far as we are concerned we sincerely sympathise with the people of China as they are the victims of an unprovoked invasion of their country.

*Dr. Atal also stayed in Republican Spain for 11 months as a member of the International Brigade during the Spanish civil war. He was in Valencia, Barcelona, Madrid and Albacete. He was in charge of hospitals.

CONTEXT.

Extracts from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's Presidential Address to the 53rd session of the Indian National Congress at Ramgarh on March 19, 1940.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

CONGRESS ATTITUDE SINCE 1936

PROBABLY IN THE HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS, THE 1936 session at Lucknow marked a new ideological phase, when the Congress passed a long resolution on the international situation and placed its viewpoint clearly and categorically before the public. After this a consideration of the international situation, and a resolution thereon, became an essential and integral part of the annual declarations of the Congress. These resolutions embodied, at one and the same time, two declarations to the world ;

> Firstly, we stated, what I have described as a new ideology in Indian politics, that we could not remain in isolation from the political events of the outside world, even in our present state of helplessness. We declared by these resolutions against reactionary movements like Fascism and Nazism which were directed against democracy and individual and national freedom. These movements were gaining strength day by day and India regarded this as the greatest danger to world progress and peace. India's head and heart were with those peoples who were standing up for democracy and freedom and resisting this wave of reaction.

But while we were considering the dangers arising from Fascism and Nazism, it was impossible for us to forget the older danger which has been proved to be infinitely more fatal to the peace and freedom of nations than these new dangers, and which has, in fact, supplied the basis for this reaction. I refer to British imperialism. We are not distant spectators of this imperialism, as we are of the new reactionary movements. It has taken possession of our house and dominates over us. It was for this reason that we stated in clear terms that if new entanglements in Europe brought about war, India, which has been debarred from exercising her will and making free decisions, would not take any part in it. She could only consider this question when she had acquired the right of coming to decisions according to her own free will and choice.

India cannot endure the prospect of Nazism and Fascism, but she is even more tired of British imperialism. If India remains deprived of her natural right to freedom,

this would clearly mean that British imperialism continued to flourish with all its traditional characteristics, and under such conditions, India would on no account be prepared to lend a helping hand for the triumph of British imperialism. This was the second declaration which was constantly emphasized through these resolutions. These resolutions were repeatedly passed from the Lucknow session onwards till August 1939 and are known by the name of " War Resolutions."

" UNRESTRAINED DICTATORSHIPS "

After the last war, England and France, intoxicated with victory, adopted a course of action which necessarily resulted in a reaction. This reaction grew. It took the shape of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany, and unrestrained dictatorships, based on brute force, challenged the peace and freedom of the world. When this happened, inevitably the world aligned itself in two rival camps : one supporting democracy and freedom ; the other encouraging the forces of reaction. And in this way a new picture of the coming war began to take shape. Mr. Chamberlain's Government, to which the existence of Soviet Russia was much more unbearable than the existence of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany and which considered Russia to be a living challenge to British imperialism, continued to watch this situation for three years.

Not only this, but by its attitude it clearly and repeatedly encouraged Fascist and Nazi ambitions. Abyssinia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Albania, disappeared as free countries, one after the other, from the map of the world. And Great Britain, by her vacillating policy, continually assisted in the destruction of their freedom.

But when this course of action produced its natural and ultimate result and Nazi Germany marched ahead unchecked, the British Government found itself compelled to enter the arena of war. Had it not done so then, the power of Germany would have become an intolerable menace to British imperialism....

So far as the question of war is concerned our position is quite clear. We see the face of British imperialism as clearly now as we did in the last war, and we are not prepared to assist in its triumph by participating in the War. Our case is crystal clear. We do not wish to see British imperialism triumphant and stronger and thus lengthen the period of our own subjection to it. We absolutely refuse to do so. Our way lies patently in the opposite direction.

COMMUNAL PROBLEM

We do not and cannot expect the British Government to deny the existence of the communal problem. It is un-

doubtedly with us and, if we want to go ahead, we must needs take it into account. Every step that we take by ignoring it will be a wrong step. The problem is there ; to admit its existence, however, does not mean that it should be used as a weapon against India's national freedom....

The Congress always....held to two basic principles in this connection, and every step was taken deliberately with these in view :

(1) **Whatever constitution is adopted for India, there must be the fullest guarantees in it for the rights and interests of minorities.**

(2) **The minorities should judge for themselves what safeguards are necessary for the protection of their rights and interests. The majority should not decide this. Therefore the decision in this respect must depend upon the consent of the minorities and not on a majority vote.**

I venture to address the world from this platform, and to enquire whether any juster and more equitable course of action can be adopted in this connection, than the one suggested above ? If so, what is it ? Is there anything lacking in this approach, which necessitates that the Congress be reminded of its duty ?

But are the Muslims such a minority as to have the least doubt or fear about their future ? I repeat this today, that in the texture of Indian politics, nothing is further removed from the truth than to say that Indian Muslims occupy the position of a political minority. It is equally absurd for them to be apprehensive about their rights and interests in a democratic India.



CONTEXT.

CONGRESS WOULD PARTICIPATE IN WAR

PRESIDENT'S INTERPRETATION OF JULY 7 RESOLUTION

Associated Press report, dated Nami Tal, July 11, in the " Hindustan Times " of July 13, 1940.

QUESTIONED ABOUT THE SUSPICION IN CERTAIN CIRCLES that the Congress, by its Delhi (July 7, 1940) resolution, had only shown its readiness to defend India and not to participate or help in the war, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, said : " It is absolutely baseless. When we passed the resolution every one of us was quite clear on this point, that if India's demand is fulfilled it will be the duty of India to participate in the war. The resolution had no other mean-

ing in the mind of even a single individual out of the 15 members of the Congress Working Committee."

CONTEXT.

CLOSING OF BURMA-CHINA ROAD

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

Statement by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, published in the Congress Bulletin of Sept. 7, 1940.

THE DECISION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO CLOSE the Burma-China Road is a matter of the most serious significance for China, India, Burma and Britain. This road had been built at enormous sacrifice by China and already it had become one of the main arteries of traffic between China and the outer world. It had brought China and Burma and India nearer to one another and their contacts grew from day to day. The people of India welcomed this new relationship and their goodwill flowed out to the people of China struggling for their freedom against an aggressor nation.

The closing of the Burma road means a severe restriction on these growing contacts and a flouting of Indian opinion. It is in complete conflict with the foreign policy which the people of India desire to pursue.

It is a violation of international usage as well as of Sino-British treaties, and is evidently meant to hamper China in her struggle for freedom. It is clearly an encouragement of the aggressor nation who, for over three years, has been carrying on an undeclared war on Chinese territory. It is support of a policy against which Great Britain claims to be fighting in Europe. Its greatest significance lies in the light it throws on British policy which claims to do one thing in Europe and follows an entirely different course in India and China. We must therefore wholly disapprove of the action of the British Government in closing the Burma-China Road.

REOPENING OF ROAD WELCOMED

United Press report dated Calcutta, Oct. 9, in the "Hindustan Times" of Oct. 10, 1940, of a statement by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President.

WE, INDIANS, WELCOME THE NEWS THAT THE BURMA-China Road will be reopened on Oct. 17. Every justice-loving body in the world condemned the weakness shown by Mr. Churchill's Government in this respect. Even in England, there was a great volume of public opinion against this policy. However, it will give universal relief that the policy of weakness did not last more than three months.

CHAMANLAL, DIWAN

CONTEXT.

ISSUES AT STAKE IN THE WAR

CONGRESS PARTY LEADER'S APPEAL

Extracts from an Associated Press report dated Lahore, Oct. 11, in the "National Herald" of Oct. 12, 1939.

"GREATER DESTINIES THAN THOSE OF SEPARATE communities are at stake in this welter of war and human suffering. A new India in a new world may be fashioned out of this terrible ordeal. Now, or never, is the time to act," says Diwan Chamanlal (Leader of the Congress Party in the Punjab Assembly) in a statement to the press.

"It is universally realised in India that the war is being fought against the Nazi regime and Nazi aims which are utterly alien and contrary to all the most-cherished ideals of liberty and democracy, for the establishment of which India herself, under Mahatma Gandhi's lead, has so heroically struggled and suffered. Not one man of substance in India would regret the passing of the Nazi regime. This is a basic fact of profound significance and boundless possibilities and it is the duty of statesmanship to turn it to the best account for the lasting good of all concerned.

"The second notable factor in the present situation is the initiative taken by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress Working Committee. By their statements they have generated a stupendous moral force throughout India which it would be tragic folly to ignore or minimise. It is necessary for British statesmen to realise that it would be worse than mockery to deny, in their application to India, the very aims for which British statesmen and Indian leaders are prepared to ask the Indian to sacrifice his life...."

DESAI MR. BHULABHAI

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY CRITICISED

A report in the "Leader", dated March 14, 1939 says:—

SECONDING THE RESOLUTION ENTIRELY DISAPPROVING of the British foreign policy at the annual session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri on March 12, 1939, Mr.

Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Congress party in the Central Assembly, emphasized the need for India taking a keen interest in foreign affairs. He dissociated himself from the present foreign policy of the British Government as this was based largely on " a betrayal of States which Britain herself had been instrumental in creating..."



CONTEXT.

HITLER RESPONSIBLE FOR WAR

Extracts from a report dated Karachi, July 20, appearing in the " Hindu " dated July 21, 1939, of an interview with Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, on his arrival at Karachi on July 20, 1939, by an Imperial Airways flying boat.

MR. DESAI SAID THAT TEMPERS WERE CONSIDERABLY frayed in the whole of Europe and the war was held to be fast advancing....." *England does not want to take the responsibility for launching a war, and even if there is one in a hundred chances, she will avoid war.* Opinion, however, is hardening in England that the policy of avoidance is only causing more loss and strengthening the other side.

" *With this attitude in England, the control of the situation is entirely in Herr Hitler's hands* ".

Mr. Desai added that war appeared to be the inevitable solution of the present strain. But the policy of England and France was not sufficiently activated and Herr Hitler would continue his aggression without any question or hesitation. Therefore, more advanced thinking opinion in England was of the view that if sooner or later a war had to be fought it was far better that it should come earlier than later.

DUNICHAND, LALA

"MAKE UNCONDITIONAL OFFER":

SUGGESTION TO MR. GANDHI

Extract from a report dated Kasauli, May 16, 1940, in the " Statesman " (Delhi), May 17, 1940.

THE SUGGESTION THAT MR. GANDHI SHOULD MAKE AN unconditional offer of support to the Allies, subject to the declaration that India shall frame her own constitution after the war, is made by Lala Dunichand, a Congress member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, in a statement to the Press.

Lala Dunichand says Mr. Gandhi has said more than once that the defeat of Britain and France will be a calamity. If the Allies are defeated, India will be thrown into confusion and anarchy from which it may not recover for a long time and in the progress of which India may become disintegrated and may fall a prey to foreign invasion. The Congress should, therefore, adds Lala Dunichand, lose no time in coming to a settlement with the British Government and then taking its full share in the prosecution of the war.

GANDHI, MR. M. K.

EUROPE SELLS HER SOUL

THE MUNICH SETTLEMENT

CONTEXT.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi wrote under the caption " Logical Consequence " in the issue of " Harijan ", dated Oct. 8,1938 :

ONE MUST FEEL HAPPY THAT THE DANGER OF WAR HAS been averted for the time being. Is the price paid to be too great ? Is it likely that honour has been sold? Is it a triumph of organised violence ? Has Herr Hitler discovered a new technique of organizing violence which enables him to gain his end without shedding blood ? I do not profess to know European politics. But it does appear to me that small nationalities cannot exist in Europe with their heads erect. They must be absorbed by their larger neighbours. They must become vassals.

Europe has sold her soul for the sake of seven days' earthly existence. The peace Europe gained at Munich is a triumph of violence ; it is also its defeat. If England and France were sure of victory, they would certainly have fulfilled their duty of saving Czechoslovakia or of dying with it. But they quailed before the combined violence of Germany and Italy. But what have Germany and Italy gained ? Have they added anything to the moral wealth of mankind ?

In penning these lines my concern is not with the Great Powers. Their height dazes me. Czechoslovakia has a lesson for me and us in India. The Czechs could not have done anything else when they found themselves deserted by their two powerful allies. And yet I have the hardihood to say that if they had known the use of non-violence as a weapon for the defence of national honour, they would have faced the whole might of Germany with that of Italy thrown in. They would have spared England and France the humiliation of suing for a peace which was no peace ; and to save their honour they would have died to a man without shedding the blood of the robber.....

GERMANS WILL REBEL SOME DAY

Replying to the " Statesman's " remark that the sufferings of Pastor Niemœller and the Lutheran Church brought no change

I DO NOT THINK THAT THE SUFFERINGS OF PASTOR Niemoeller and others have been in vain. They have preserved their self-respect intact. They have proved that their faith was equal to any suffering. That they have not

of heart in Germany, Mr. Gandhi wrote in an article under the caption " Is Non-violence Ineffective ?" in the " Harijan " of Jan. 7, 1939 :

proved sufficient for melting Herr Hitler's heart merely shows that it is made of a harder material than stone. But the hardest metal yields to sufficient heat. Even so must the hardest heart melt before sufficiency of the heart of non-violence. And there is no limit to the capacity of non-violence to generate heat.... But I must refuse to believe that the Germans as a nation have no heart or markedly less than the other nations of the earth. They will some day or other rebel against their own adored hero, if he does not wake up betimes. And when he or they do, we shall find that the sufferings of the Pastor and his fellow-workers had not a little to do with the awakening....



GANDHI'S QUESTION TO A JAPANESE VISITOR

CONTEXT.

Extract from a report by M. D. in the " Harijan " of Jan. 21, 1939, of Mr. Gandhi's remark to Dr. Kagawa, an eminent Japanese visitor.

YOU HAVE DONE MARVELLOUS THINGS, AND WE HAVE many things to learn from you. But how can we understand this swallowing alive of China, drugging her with poison and so many other horrid things that I read about in a book called ' What War Means ' which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has given me. How could you have committed all these atrocities ? And then your great poet calls it a war of humanity and blessing to China.



CHINA'S TRAVAIL

Extract from a report by Mr. Pyarelal (one of Mr. Gandhi's Secretaries) in the " Harijan " of Jan. 28, 1939, of Mr. Gandhi's meeting with Chinese and other delegates to the Tambaram Conference.

THE LAST DAY OF THE DYING YEAR AND THE NEW Year's day brought to Segaon a unique gathering of representatives of various nations who had been to the Tambaram Conference.

" This world in miniature ", as Gandhiji described them, included delegates from three continents. There were the Rev. S. S. Tema of the D. R. Mission, Johannesburg, the Rev. Thompson D. Sankange of the Kwende Mission, S. Rhodesia, and Miss Mina Soga, the first Negress to visit India in a representative capacity. There was too a Japanese delegate, M. S. Murao from Tokyo. From China there were the Rev. Timothy Tingfang Lew, member of the Legislative Yuan of the National Government of China, Y. T. Wu, Editor-in-Chief of Association Press of the National Y. M. C. A., Shanghai, and formerly Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in China. And lastly, there was P. C. Hsu, philosopher and author of several works on Confucius, Rural Reconstruction, etc..... The Rev. Mr. Lew, who saw Gandhiji separately on the first day, in conveying thanks for the Indian medical mission to help the Chinese, remarked :—

" We appreciate it as an expression of India's sympathy and goodwill towards China. China's struggle is not merely

for China but for the whole of Asia. It is for Japan too. The Japanese think they are invincible because they defeated us in 1885, but we know that even now their people are paying a heavy price for this war of aggression, in the form of high taxation, etc.

CULTURAL DESTRUCTION

" We are not afraid of material destruction, distressing though it is, but of cultural destruction. The first bomb in Shanghai hit a library. Colleges have been wiped out. Professors have been killed. New education has been disorganised and forced to migrate into the interior ".

" Even worse is the moral injury they have done us," he continued. And he gave a lurid description of how a systematic attempt is being made to force the drug evil upon China, which they had been for the last twenty years trying to fight tooth and nail.

" When they occupied Peking they opened 50 new brothels there, filling them with Korean girls. The army of occupation rapes women everywhere, the figure for Peking alone being anything between 8,000 to 20,000 according to various estimates. In Shanghai the revenue in one month from gambling and drug shops that have been opened under Japanese authority amounted to 250 thousand dollars. The morale of the whole nation is being sapped. There is no hope once you are enslaved by the drug habit on a nation-wide scale. Supposing we win the war after 10 or 15 years ' we may restore material devastation, but how shall we redeem our young generation ?

" We want your message. We have translated your Autobiography into Chinese. We look to you for spiritual guidance."

MR. GANDHI'S REPLY

Gandhiji replied : " I was once asked by a Chinese friend from Shantiniketan to give a message to the Chinese people. I had to ask him to excuse me. I gave him my reasons. If I merely said I sympathised with the Chinese in their struggle, it would be not of much value as coming from me. I should love to be able to say to the Chinese definitely that their salvation lay only through non-violent technique.

> " But then it is not for a person like me, who is outside the fight, to say to a people, who are engaged in a life and death struggle, ' Not this way, but that '. They would not be ready to take up the new method, and they would be unsettled in the old. My interference would only shake them and confuse their minds.

" But whilst I have no ' message ' to send to the Chinese people who are engaged in fighting, I have no hesitation in

presenting my viewpoint to you.... Your saying, therefore, that your culture and your morals are in danger of being destroyed, leads one to think that the reform movement in your country was only skin-deep.... Japan is of course to blame and must be blamed for what it has done or is doing. But then Japan is just now like the wolf whose business it is to make short work of the sheep. Blaming the wolf would not help the sheep much. The sheep must learn not to fall into the clutches of the wolf.

" If even a few of you took to non-violence, they would stand forth as living monuments of Chinese culture and morals. And then, even if China were overwhelmed on the battlefield, it would be well with China in the end, because it would at the same time be receiving a message which contains a promise of hope and deliverance.... The Japanese cannot corrupt our soul. If the soul of China is injured, it will not be by Japan ".

The Chinese friend was of opinion that only the economic collapse of Japan could save China. He wanted to know what the prospects of a boycott of Japanese goods by India were.

" WE COULD DO MUCH MORE "

" I wish," replied Gandhiji, " I could say that there was any great hope. Our sympathies are with you but they have not stirred us to our very depths, or else we should have boycotted all Japanese goods, especially Japanese cloth. Japan is not only conquering you but it is trying to conquer us too by its cheap, flimsy machine-made goods. The sending of the Medical Mission was good as a gesture of friendship and goodwill which there are in abundance. But that does not give me much satisfaction when I know we could do much more. We too are a big nation like you. If we told the Japanese, ' We are not going to import a single yard of your calico nor export any of our cotton to you,' Japan would think twice before proceeding with its aggression.

" Yours is a difficult situation. Such difficulties have confronted me more than once. I took part on the British side in the Boer War by forming an ambulance corps. I did likewise at the time of what has been described as the Zulu revolt. The third time was during the great war. I believed in non-violence then. My motive was wholly non-violent. That seemingly inconsistent conduct gave me strength. My example cannot be used as a precedent for others to follow. Looking back upon my conduct on those three occasions, I have no sense of remorse. I know this too that my non-violent strength did not suffer diminution because of those experiences. The actual work I was called upon to do was purely humanitarian, especially during the Zulu revolt. I and my companions were privileged to nurse the wounded Zulus back to life. It is reasonable to suggest that but for our services some of them would have died.

" I cite this experience not to justify my participation however indirect it was. I cite it to show that I came through that experience with greater non-violence and with richer love for the great Zulu race. And I had an insight into what war by white men against coloured races meant.

" The lesson to be learnt from it by you is that, placed as you are in a position of hopeless minority, you may not ask your people to lay down their arms unless their hearts are changed and by laying down their arms they feel the more courageous and brave. But whilst you may not try to wean people from war, you will in your person live non-violence in all its completeness and refuse all participation in war. It is very difficult to judge, when both sides are employing weapons of violence, which side 'deserves' to succeed. You will therefore pray only that the right should prevail. Whilst you will keep yourself aloof from all violence you will not shirk danger. You will serve friend and foe alike with a reckless disregard for your life."



MESSAGE TO POLAND

CONTEXT.

A Reuter message from Warsaw, dated Aug. 30, 1939, stated :

MAHATMA GANDHI, IN A MESSAGE TO THE GOVERNMENT, sends his good wishes and blessings to all those in Poland, who are doing their best to serve the ideals to found better days for humanity.

Extract from a message dated London, Aug. 31, in the " Hindustan Times " of Sept. 2, 1939, from the paper's London Correspondent.

POLITICAL QUARTERS IN WARSAW DEEPLY APPRECIATE Mahatmaji's message, according to the Polish Embassy in London, and accept it with gratitude.

" Our cause is the cause of justice and peace and of the right of great nations and small to live in the enjoyment of their national independence", stated their spokesman.....

" Tonight 2½ to 3 million Poles stand ready for any eventuality, and on their behalf and on behalf of the entire nation, we thank Mr. Gandhi for his inspiring message ".



"THE IMPENDING CRISIS"

Note by Mr. Gandhi under the caption " The Impending Crisis ", in the " Harijan " of Sept. 2, 1939.

A SISTER FROM LONDON WIRED ON THE 24TH INST. : ' Please act. World awaiting lead '.

Another wire from another sister in London received today says : ' Urge you consider immediate expression of your unshakable faith in reason not force to rulers and all peoples.'

I have been hesitating to say anything on the impending world crisis which affects the welfare not of a few nations but of the whole of mankind. I have felt that my word can have no effect on those on whom depends the decision whether there is to be war or peace. I know that many in the West believe that my word does carry weight. I wish I shared their belief. Not having such belief I have been praying in secret that God may spare us the calamity of war.

> But I have no hesitation in redeclaring my faith in reason, which is another word for non-violence, rather than the arbitrament of war for the settlement of disputes or redress of wrongs.

I cannot emphasize my belief more forcibly than by saying that I personally would not purchase my own country's freedom by violence even if such a thing were a possibility.

> My faith in the wise saying that what is gained by the sword will also be lost by the sword is imperishable.

How I wish Herr Hitler would respond to the appeal of the President of the United States and allow his claim to be investigated by arbitrators in whose choice he will have as effective a voice as the disputants.



CONTEXT.

"MY OWN SYMPATHIES ARE WITH ENGLAND"

WHAT HE TOLD THE VICEROY

Extracts from a statement issued by Mr. Gandhi from Simla (after an interview with H. E. the Viceroy) on September 5, 1939, and published in the "Hindustan Times" under the caption "Gandhi's Sympathy For Britain" in the issue of September 6, 1939.

I KNEW THAT I HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS WHATSOEVER FROM the Congress Working Committee in the matter..... And what is more, with my irrepressible and out-and-out non-violence, I knew that I could not represent the national mind and I should cut a sorry figure if I tried to do so. I told His Excellency as much. Therefore, there could be no question of any understanding or negotiation with me. Nor, I saw, had he sent for me to negotiate. I have returned from the Viceregal Lodge empty-handed and without any understanding, open or secret. If there is to be any, it would be between the Congress and the Government.

> Having, therefore, made my position *vis-a-vis* the Congress quite clear, I told His Excellency that my own sympathies were with England and France from the purely humanitarian standpoint.

I told him that I could not contemplate without being stirred to the very depth the destruction of London, which had hitherto been regarded as impregnable. And as I was picturing before him the Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey and their possible destruction, I broke down I have become disconsolate. In the secret of my heart, I am in perpetual quarrel with God that He should allow such things to go on. My non-violence seems almost impotent.

But the answer comes at the end of the daily quarrel that neither God nor non-violence is impotent. Impotence is in men. I must try on without losing faith, even though I may break in the attempt.

LETTER TO HITLER

And so, as though in anticipation of the agony that was awaiting me, I sent on July 23, from Abbottabad the following letter to Herr Hitler :

> " Friends have been urging me to write to you for the sake of humanity. But I have resisted their request because of the feeling that any letter from me would be an impertinence. Something tells me that I must not calculate and that I must make my appeal for whatever it may be worth.
>
> " It is quite clear that *you are today the one person in the world who can prevent a war which may reduce humanity to the savage state.* Must you pay that price for an object, however worthy it may appear to you to be ? Will you listen to the appeal of one who has deliberately shunned the method of war not without considerable success ?
>
> " Anyway, I anticipate your forgiveness, if I have erred in writing to you."

WOULD HE LISTEN TO REASON ?

How I wish that even now he would listen to reason and the appeal from almost the whole of thinking mankind, not excluding the German people themselves.

I must refuse to believe that the Germans contemplate with equanimity the evacuation of big cities like London for fear of destruction to be wrought by man's inhuman ingenuity. They cannot contemplate with equanimity such destruction of themselves and their own monuments.

> *I am not therefore just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled ?*
>
> *Yet it almost seems as if Herr Hitler knows no God but brute force, and as Mr. Chamberlain says, he will listen to nothing else.*

It is in the midst of this catastrophe without parallel that Congressmen and all other responsible Indians individually and collectively have to decide what part India is to play in this terrible drama.

CONTEXT.

"MY WHOLE HEART IS WITH POLAND"

REPLY TO M. PADEREWSKI

Associated Press report dated Wardha, Sept. 8, 1939 in the "Hindustan Times" of Sept. 10, 1939, of the reply sent by Mr. Gandhi to M. Paderewski, the aged ex-President of the Polish Republic and celebrated pianist, who cabled to Mr. Gandhi on behalf of his nation appealing to Mr. Gandhi to use his influence with Indians "to gain for Poland their sympathy and friendship".

OF COURSE, MY WHOLE HEART IS WITH THE POLES IN THE unequal struggle in which they are engaged for the sake of saving their freedom. But I am painfully conscious of the fact that my word carries no power with it. I wish I had the power to stop this mad destruction that is going on in Europe.

I belong to a country that has lost its independence and is struggling to be free from the yoke of the greatest imperialist power on earth. It has adopted the unique method of non-violence to regain its lost freedom. Though the method has proved its efficacy to an extent, the goal seems far off.

All that I can, therefore, send to the brave Poles is my heartfelt prayer for the early termination of their fearful trial and for the grant of the required strength to bear the suffering whose very contemplation makes one shudder. Their cause is just and their victory certain. For God is always the upholder of justice.

■ ■ ■

UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR BRITAIN

Extract from an Associated Press report dated Wardha, Sept. 15, 1939, in the "Hindustan Times" of Sept. 17, 1939, of a statement issued by Mr. Gandhi on the Congress Working Committee's statement on the world crisis.

I WAS SORRY TO FIND MYSELF ALONE IN THINKING THAT whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally. This could be done on a purely non-violent basis. But the Committee had a tremendous responsibility to discharge. It could not take the purely non-violent attitude. It felt that the nation had not imbibed the non-violent spirit requisite for the possession of the strength which disdains to take advantage of the difficulty of the opponent. But in stating the reasons for its conclusion, the Committee desired to show the greatest consideration for the English.

Recognition of India and, for that matter, of all those who are under the British Crown as free and independent nations seems to me to be the natural corollary of British professions about democracy. If the war means anything less, the co-operation of dependent nations can never be honestly voluntary, unless it were based on non-violence.

The Congress support will mean the greatest moral asset in favour of England and France. For the Congress has no soldiers to offer. The Congress fights not with violent but with non-violent means, however imperfect, however crude the non-violence may be.

■ ■ ■

"HITLER IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR"

Mr. Gandhi received "a spirited protest from a correspondent" against the statement made by him after his interview with H. E. the Viceroy on September 6, 1939. He replied to this protest in the course of an article headed "Source of My Sympathy" in the *Harijan* of September 16, page 272. Following are extracts from the article—

The statement made by me just after my interview with H. E. the Viceroy, has had a mixed reception.... I abide by every word I have said in it.... No one perhaps has described English misdeeds more forcibly, subject to truth, than I have. No one has resisted England more effectively, perhaps, than I have. And my desire for and power of resistance remain unabated. But there are seasons for speech and action, as there are seasons for silence and inaction....

In the dictionary of Satyagraha there is no enemy....As a Satyagrahi, *i.e.*, votary of *ahimsa*, I must wish well to England. My wishes regarding Germany were, and they still are, irrelevant for the moment. But I have said in a few words in my statement that I would not care to erect the freedom of my country on the remains of despoiled Germany.... Herr Hitler stands in no need of my sympathy. In assessing the present merits, the past misdeeds of England and the good deeds of Germany are irrelevant.

Rightly or wrongly, and irrespective of what the other Powers have done before under similar circumstances, *I have come to the conclusion that Herr Hitler is responsible for the war.* I do not judge his claim. It is highly probable that his right to incorporate Danzig in Germany is beyond question, if the Danzig Germans desire to give up their independent status. It may be that his claim to appropriate the Polish Corridor is a just claim.

My complaint is that he will not let the claim be examined by an independent tribunal. It is no answer to the rejection of the appeal for submission to arbitration that it came from interested quarters.... I think I am right in saying that the whole world was anxious that Herr Hitler should allow his demand to be examined by an impartial tribunal. If he succeeds in his design, his success will be no proof of the justness of his claim. It will be a proof that the Law of the Jungle is still a great force in human affairs. It will be one more proof that though we humans have changed the form, we have not changed the manners of the beast.

I hope it is now clear to my critics that my sympathy for England and France is not a result of momentary emotion, or, in cruder language, of hysteria. It is derived from has never-drying fountain of non-violence which my breast the nursed for fifty years. I claim no infallibility for my judgment *All I claim is that my sympathy for England and*

France is reasoned. I invite those who accept the premises on which my sympathy is based to join me. What shape it should take is another matter. Alone I can but pray. And so I told His Excellency that my sympathy had no concrete value in the face of the concrete destruction that is facing those who are directly engaged in the war.



"IS INDIA A MILITARY COUNTRY?"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an article dated Sept. 25, 1939, under the caption, "Is India a Military Country" by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Sept. 30, 1939.

IN THE INTERESTING BROADCAST DELIVERED BY THE Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces in India on the 5th instant there occurs this passage :

"India is a military country and I am a soldier .... "

I must wholly, though respectfully, dissent from the view that India is a military country. And I thank God that it is not...With me, the millions are untouched by the military spirit. From ages past India has had a military caste in numbers wholly insignificant. That caste has had little to do with the millions. This, however, is not the occasion for examining its contribution to the making of India. All I want to state, with the utmost emphasis at my command, is that the description of India as a military country is wrong. Of all the countries in the world India is the least military. Though I have failed with the Working Committee in persuading them, at this supreme moment, to declare their undying faith in non-violence as the only sovereign remedy for saving mankind from destruction, I have not lost the hope that the masses will refuse to bow to the Moloch of war but will rely upon their capacity for suffering to save the country's honour.

How has the undoubted military valour of Poland served her against the superior forces of Germany and Russia ? Would Poland unarmed have fared worse if it had met the challenge of these combined forces with the resolution to face death without retaliation ?

Anyway if the Commander-in-Chief will look beyond the Defence Forces, he will discover that the real India is not military but peace-loving.

Nor do I contemplate without uneasiness the prospect of Indian soldiers, trained after the modern manner, taking the motor spirit to their homes. Speed is not the end of life. Man sees more and lives more truly by walking to his duty.



"SYMPATHIES WHOLLY WITH ALLIES"

Extract from an article dated Sept. 25, 1939 under the caption "Conundrums."

THUS ASKS A WELL-KNOWN CONGRESSMAN :

1. What is your personal attitude towards this war consistent with non-violence ?

by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Sept. 30, 1939.

2. Is it the same as or different from your attitude during the last war ?

3. How could you with your non-violence actively associate with and help the Congress whose policy is based on violence in the present crisis ?

4. What is your concrete plan based on non-violence to oppose or prevent this war ?

At the time of writing I never think of what I have said before. My aim is not to be consistent with my previous statements on a given question, but to be consistent with truth as it may present itself to me at a given moment. The result has been that I have grown from truth to truth ; I have saved my memory an undue strain ; and what is more, whenever I have been obliged to compare my writing even of fifty years ago with the latest, I have discovered no inconsistency between the two. But friends who observe inconsistency will do well to take the meaning that my latest writing may yield unless, of course, they prefer the old. But before making the choice they should try to see if there is not an underlying and abiding consistency between the two seeming inconsistencies.....

Now for a few lines in answer to the foregoing questions.

1. My personal reaction towards this war is one of greater horror than ever before. I was not so disconsolate before as I am today. But the greater horror would prevent me today from becoming the self-appointed recruiting sergeant that I had become during the last war.

And yet, strange as it may appear, my sympathies are wholly with the Allies. Willynilly this war is resolving itself into one between such democracy as the West has evolved and totalitarianism as it is typified in Herr Hitler.

Though the part that Russia is playing is painful, let us hope that the unnatural combination will result in a happy though unintended fusion whose shape no one can foretell.

Unless the Allies suffer demoralization, of which there is not the slightest indication, this war may be used to end all wars, at any rate of the virulent type that we see today.

I have the hope that India, distraught though it is with internal dissensions, will play, an effective part in ensuring the desired end and the spread of cleaner democracy than hitherto. This will undoubtedly depend upon how the Working Committee will ultimately act in the real tragedy that is being played on the world stage. We are both actors in and spectators of the drama. My line is cast. Whether I act as a humble guide of the Working Committee or, if I may use the same expression, without offence, of the Government, my guidance will be for the deliberate purpose of taking either or both along the path of non-violence, be the step ever so imperceptible. It is plain that I cannot force the pace either way. I can only use such power as God may endow my head or heart with for the moment.

2. I think I have covered the second question in answering the first.

3. There are degrees of violence as of non-violence. The Working Committee has not wilfully departed from the policy of non-violence. It could not honestly accept the real implications of non-violence. It felt that the vast mass of Congressmen had never clearly understood that in the event of danger from without they were to defend the country by non-violent means.

I would not serve the cause of non-violence, if I deserted my best co-workers because they could not follow me in an extended application of non-violence.....

4. I have no ready-made concrete plan. For me too this is a new field. Only I have no choice as to the means. It must always be purely non-violent, whether I am closeted with the members of the Working Committee or with the Viceroy. Therefore what I am doing is itself part of the concrete plan. More will be revealed to me from day to day, as all my plans always have been....

But assuming that God has endowed me with full powers (which He never does), I would at once ask the English to lay down arms, free all their vassals, take pride in being called " little Englanders " and defy all the totalitarians of the world to do their worst. Englishmen will then die unresistingly and go down to History as heroes of non-violence. I would further invite Indians to co-operate with Englishmen in this godly martyrdom. It will be an indissoluble partnership drawn up in letters of the blood of their own bodies, not of their so-called enemies. But I have no such general power. Non-violence is a plant of slow growth. It grows imperceptibly but surely. And even at the risk of being misunderstood, I must act in obedience to " *the still small voice* ".

MESSAGE TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE

CONTEXT.

Extract from an Associated Press report dated Madras, Oct. 4, in the " National Herald " of Oct. 5, 1939.

A MESSAGE TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE, SENT BY MAHATMA Gandhi through the " Manchester Guardian " in an interview to the paper's correspondent is published in the " Hindu " today.

The message reads :—

" It will be the most serious tragedy of this tragic war if Britain is found to fail in the very first test of sincerity of her professions about democracy. Do those declarations, or do they not, include full freedom for India, according to the wishes of her people ?

" This is a very simple elementary question asked by the Congress. The Congress has a right to ask that question. I hope that the answer will be as it is expected by the Congress and, let me say, by all those who wish well of Great Britain."

CONTEXT.

THE ALLIES AND THE ENEMY

THE DIFFERENCE

Extracts from an article entitled "India's Attitude" by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Oct. 14, 1939.

ON 27TH AUGUST LAST, *i.e.*, JUST BEFORE THE SENSELESS war broke out, Shrimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya wrote to me as follows :

"I have sent you an appeal through *The Bombay Chronicle*, asking you to voice the attitude of India and of the exploited peoples of the East on the present situation... On this question the world thinks there are only two opinions, for it hears only two views : one which believes in the maintaining of the *status quo* ; the other which wants a change but on the same basis, in other words a redistribution of the loot and the right to exploit, which of course means war. It is in the very nature of things that such a redistribution can never come about without an armed conflict. Whether there will be anyone or anything left to enjoy, of course, is another question. But the world is mainly torn between these two. If the thesis of the one is accepted, then that of the other should also be. For, if England and France have the right to rule over large tracts and big nations, then Germany and Italy have an equal right. There is as little moral justification in the former countries crying halt to Hitler as there is in his what he calls his rightful claims.....

"That there is a third view the world hardly seems to think for it rarely hears it. And it is so essential that it should find expression : the voice of the people who are mere pawns in the game. Neither Danzig nor the Polish Corridor is the issue. The issue is the principle on which the whole of this present Western civilization is based : the right of the strong to rule and exploit the weak. Therefore it is centred round the whole colonial question, and Hitler and Mussolini are never tired of reminding the world of that. And that is exactly the reason why England has raised the cry of the Empire in danger. This question therefore vitally concerns all of us.....

"India has, I think, a peculiar place today in the colonies of the world. It has both a moral prestige and organizational strength enjoyed by few colonies. The others look to it for a lead in many matters..... India has therefore to tell a very distraught and maddened world that there is another path that humanity must tread if it would save itself from these periodical disasters and bring peace and harmony to a bleeding world....."

I agree with Kamaladevi's analysis of the motives of the parties to the war. Both are fighting for their existence and for the furtherance of their policies. *There is, however, this great difference between the two : However incomplete or equivocal the declarations of the Allies are, the world has interpreted them to mean that they are fighting for saving democracy.* Herr Hitler is fighting for the extension of the German boundaries,

although he was told that he should allow his claims to be submitted to an impartial tribunal for examination.

He contemptuously rejected the way of peace or persuasion and chose that of the sword. Hence my sympathy for the cause of the Allies.

But my sympathy must not be interpreted to mean endorsement, in any shape or form, of the doctrine of the sword for the defence even of proved right. Proved right should be capable of being vindicated by right means as against the rude, *i.e.*, sanguinary, means...

Her (India's) novel method has evidently struck the imagination of the world. It has the right to expect India to play a decisive part in this war, which no people of the world have wanted, by insisting that the peace this time is not to be a mockery designed to share among the victors the spoils of war and to humiliate the vanquished. Jawaharlal Nehru, who has a right to speak for the Congress, has said in stately language that the peace must mean freedom for those who are held in bondage by the imperialist powers of the world. I have every hope that the Congress will also be able to show the world that the power that armaments give to defend right is nothing compared to the power that non-violence gives to do the same thing and that too with better show of reasons. Armaments can show no reason, they can make only a pretence of it.

CONTEXT.

SYMPATHY FOR ENGLAND AND FRANCE

NO DEVIATION FROM FIRST STATEMENT

Extract from the report of a "Times of India" representative's special interview with Mr. Gandhi reproduced in the "Harijan" of Oct. 28, 1939.

MR. GANDHI DENIED THAT HE HAD BEEN INCONSISTENT OR that he had deviated from his first statements in which he had expressed his sympathy for England and France. He said he still held the view. But now that the issue has been raised, he expected England to face the issue and give a satisfactory answer.

His advice to the Congress did not mean that India's support to the Allied cause should be at the expense of her own freedom. He would not be a party to India being tied to the chariot wheel of Britain. His prayer still was not only that Britain and France should win, but also that Germany should not be ruined.

He had no desire to rear India's freedom on the ashes of any of the belligerent Powers, even as he did not want the freedom of the European Powers to be built upon the ruins of India's freedom.

CONTEXT.

" UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT ? "

Extract from a note, dated Oct. 30, under the caption " Unconditional Support? " by Mr. Gandhi in the " Harijan " of Nov 4, 1939.

SEVERAL BRITISH FRIENDS ARE PUZZLED AND ASK, ' HAVE you really said you will give unconditional support to Great Britain, as you are reported to have said ?' The origin of this report lies in my very first statement after my talk with the Viceroy. The phrase ' unconditional support ' does not occur in that statement. But had the Congress appreciated the position I took up, Congress support would have been unconditional in the sense that the Congress would not have asked for a clarification of Britain's war aims.

But the Working Committee could not honestly take up that position. Therefore, it passed, as it had every right and justification for passing, the resolution it did. Events have shown the prudence of the course adopted by the Working Committee. But had it waived the demand for the declaration of war aims, the support would have been unconditional. Remember, according to its constitution, the Congress is a non-violent body. Therefore, its support would have been purely moral....British moral stock would have shot up high at a bound. .

ATTITUDE OF WAR RESISTER

British statesmen had not faith enough in the Congress profession of non-violence. I must confess that the Congress could not pass the test to the satisfaction of a strict though just examiner. Anyway, my British friends should have no difficulty in understanding my position. Of course, it is open to them to argue that as a war resister I could not even give moral support. I have already said in these columns that I do not hold such a view. It is open to a war resister to judge between two combatants and wish success to the one who has justice on his side. By so judging he is more likely to bring peace between the two than by remaining a mere spectator.



ANXIOUS FOR BRITISH VICTORY

Extracts from an Associated Press report, dated Wardha, Dec. 6, in the " Hindustan Times " of Dec 7, 1939, of a cable to the " News Chronicle " London, sent by Mr. Gandhi on Dec. 4, 1939.

THE DECLARATION OF THE BRITISH POLICY ABOUT INDIA is a purely moral issue, for freedom-loving India has neither the will nor the capacity to resort to an armed revolt. Nevertheless, it is her right to know Britain's will about her. I am aware that Britain can impress men and money from India, treated as her dependency, but she can get moral weight on her side only from an India conscious of her freedom.

I am anxious as a friend of Britain bound by many personal ties, that she should come out victorious not because of

superiority in the use of arms, but because of her will to be just all along the line.

She will then have the true friendship and sympathy of millions of people all over the world, who have become sick of the wanton waste of precious life and of the palpable lies disseminated to sustain greed and hunger for dominion.



CONTEXT.

"OF WHAT AVAIL IS NON-VIOLENCE?"

FATE OF NORWAY AND DENMARK

Extracts from an article, dated April 30, 1940, under the caption, "Of What Avail is Non-Violence?" by Mr Gandhi in the "Harijan" of May 4, 1940.

MY CORRESPONDENT IS NOT ALONE IN BEMOANING THE lot of most cultured and inoffensive people like the Danes and the Norwegians. This war is showing the futility of violence..

> The first condition of non-violence is justice all round in every department of life. Perhaps it is too much to expect of human nature.

I do not, however, think so. No one should dogmatize about the capacity of human nature for degradation or exaltation.

Indian non-violence has brought no relief to the cultured Western Powers because it is still poor stuff. Why travel so far to see its inefficacy? We in India are torn asunder in spite of the Congress policy of non-violence...

India's aid to Spain and China was merely moral. The material aid was but an insignificant token of it. There is hardly an Indian who does not feel the same sympathy for Norway and Denmark who lost their freedom overnight. Though their case is different from that of Spain and China, their ruin is more complete perhaps than that of Spain and China. Indeed there is a material difference even between China and Spain. But there is no difference so far as sympathy is concerned.

Pauper India has nothing to send to these countries except her non-violence. But, as I have said, this is not yet a sendable commodity. It will be, when India has gained her freedom through non-violence.

NO EMBARRASSMENT

> There then remains Britain's case. The Congress has caused no embarrassment. I have declared already that I shall do nothing to embarrass Great Britain. She will be embarrassed if there is anarchy in India. That, the Congress, so long as it is under my discipline, will not support.

What the Congress cannot do is to lend its moral influence to Britain. Moral influence is never mechanically given. It is for Britain to take it. Perhaps British statesmen do not think the Congress has any to lend.....

I do not wish ill to Britain. I shall grieve if Britain goes down. But the moral influence of the Congress cannot avail Britain unless she washes her hands clean of India. It works under its own unalterable condition.



CONTEXT.

THE NORWEGIAN SETBACK

"BARBARONS" AGGRESSOR

Extracts from an article dated May 20 under the caption "Our Duty" by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of May 25, 1940.

"IT IS TRUE THAT OUR INDEPENDENCE FROM AN ALIEN rule is also a matter of life and death to us. But when Britain is up against an aggressor who is definitely pursuing barbarous methods, should we not make a timely and human gesture which should in the end win the heart of our opponent?"....

Perhaps this correctly represents the sentiment of several correspondents who have written to me since the Norwegian setback..... These letters ignore British nature. British people stand in no need of sympathy from subject people. For they can command all they want from them. They are a brave and proud people. They are not going to be demoralised by even half a dozen such setbacks. They are well able to cope with any difficulty that may face them ... India is a dependency, and Britain will drain the dependency dry, as she has done in the past. What gesture has the Congress to make in these circumstances ?

The greatest gesture in its power the Congress is already making. It creates no trouble in the country. It refrains in pursuance of its own policy. I have said and I repeat that I shall do nothing wilfully to embarrass Britain. It will be contrary to my conception of Satyagraha. Beyond this it is not in the power of the Congress to go.

Indeed it is the duty of the Congress to prosecute its demands for independence and to continue the preparations for civil disobedience to the fullest extent it can. The nature of the preparations should be appreciated. To promote khadi and village industries, communal unity, removal of untouchability, prohibition, and to this end to enlist and train Congress members. Is this preparation to be suspended ?



"NAKED RUTHLESS FORCE"

WHAT HITLERISM MEANS

Extracts from an article, dated June 18, 1940, by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of June 22, 1940, under

WHATEVER HITLER MAY ULTIMATELY PROVE TO BE, WE know what Hitlerism has come to mean. It means naked ruthless force reduced to an exact science and

the caption " How to Combat Hitlerism ".

> worked with scientific precision. In its effect it becomes almost irresistible.....

Hitlerism will never be defeated by counter-Hitlerism. It can only breed a superior Hitlerism raised to the nth degree. What is going on before our eyes is a demonstration of the futility of violence as also of Hitlerism.

Let me explain what I mean by the failure of Hitlerism. It has robbed the small nations of their liberty. It has compelled France to sue for peace. Probably by the time this is in print Britain will have decided upon her course. The fall of France is enough to my argument.

I think French statesmen have shown rare courage in bowing to the inevitable and refusing to be a party to senseless mutual slaughter. There can be no sense in France coming out victorious if the stake is, in truth, lost. The cause of liberty becomes a mockery if the price to be paid is the wholesale destruction of those who are to enjoy liberty. It then becomes an inglorious satiation of ambition.

NO HUMILIATING TERMS

The bravery of the French soldier is world-known. But let the world know also the greater bravery of the French statesmen in suing for peace. I have assumed that the French statesmen have taken the step in a perfectly honourable manner as behoves true soldiers. Let me hope that Herr Hitler will impose no humiliating terms but show that, though he can fight without mercy, he can at least conclude peace not without mercy.

> Anyway I think it will be allowed that all the blood that has been spilled by Hitler has added not a millionth part of an inch to the world's moral stature.

Against this, imagine the state of Europe today if the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the French and the English had all said to Hitler : ' You need not make your scientific preparation for destruction. We will meet your violence with non-violence. You will, therefore, be able to destroy our non-violent army without tanks, battleships and airships.'

Possession might (but only might) have been then taken under non-violent resistance, as it has been taken now after the perpetration of untold barbarities. Under non-violence only those would have been killed, if need be, but without killing anyone and without bearing malice towards anybody. I dare say that in that case Europe would have added several inches to its moral stature. And in the end I expect it is the moral worth that will count. All else is dross. I have written these lines for the European Powers. But they are meant for ourselves.



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CONTEXT.

" TO EVERY BRITON "

Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's appeal " to every Briton ", in the " Ha-ijan " of July 6, 1940.

I APPEAL TO EVERY BRITON, WHEREVER HE MAY BE NOW, to accept the method of non-violence, instead of that of war, for the adjustment of relations between nations and other matters.. It suggest that at the end of the war, whichever way it ends, there will be no democracy left to represent democracy. This war has descended upon mankind as a curse and a warning. Britain was to defend small nationalities. One by one they have vanished, at least for the time being. It is also a warning. It is a warning that, if nobody reads the writing on the wall, man will be reduced to the state of the beast, whom he is shaming by his manners.. I appeal for cessation of hostilities, not because you are too exhausted to fight, but because war is bad in essence. You want to kill Nazism. You will never kill it by its indifferent adoption. Your soldiers are doing the same work of destruction as the Germans. The only difference is that perhaps yours are not as thorough as the Germans. If that be so, yours will soon acquire the same thoroughness as theirs, if not much greater. On no other condition can you win the war. In other words, you will have to be more ruthless than the Nazis. No cause, however just, can warrant the indiscriminate slaughter that is going on minute by minute. I suggest that a cause that demands the inhumanities that are being perpetrated today cannot be called just.

I do not want Britain to be defeated, nor do I want her to be victorious in a trial of brute strength, whether expressed through the muscle or the brain....I venture to present you with a nobler and a braver way, worthy of the bravest soldier. I want you to fight Nazism without arms, or, if I am to retain the military terminology, with non-violent arms. I would like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions. Let them take possession of your beautiful island, with your many beautiful buildings. You will give all these, but neither your souls, nor your minds. If these gentlemen choose to occupy your homes, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourself, man, woman and child. to be slaughtered, but will refuse to owe allegiance to them.

This process or method, which I have called non-violent non-cooperation, is not without considerable success in its use in India... This is no appeal made by a man who does not know his business.... I know of no single case in which it (non-violence) has failed. Where it has seemed sometimes to have failed, I have ascribed it to my imperfections. I claim no perfection for myself. But I do claim to be a passionate seeker after Truth, which is but another name for God. In the course of that search the discovery of non

violence came to me. Its spread is my life mission I have no interest in living except for the prosecution of that mission.

I claim to have been a lifelong and wholly disinterested friend of the British people. At one time I used to be also a lover of your empire....Whatever the ultimate fate of my country, my love for you remains, and will remain, undiminished. My non-violence demands universal love, and you are not a small part of it. It is that love which has prompted my appeal to you....."



CONTEXT.

Extract from an article dated July 17, 1940, by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of July 21, 1940, under the caption "Unrepentant".

"UNREPENTANT"

I WAS GRATEFUL TO H. E. THE VICEROY FOR FORWARDING my offer to His Majesty's Government. The correspondence with regard to it, the readers have already seen or will see in this issue. Though no better response to the appeal was to be expected, I cannot help saying that it was the knowledge of the determination to carry the war to a victorious end that had promoted my appeal. No doubt the determination is natural and worthy of the best British tradition. Nevertheless the awful slaughter that the determination involves, should induce a search for a better and braver way to achieve the end.



"SCOPE OF AHIMSA"

POLES WERE ALMOST NON-VIOLENT

In the course of an "interesting discourse" reported by Mahadev Desai in the "Harijan" of Aug. 25, 1940, Mr. Gandhi thus lays down the "scope of Ahimsa (Non-violence)":

1. "CONGRESS AHIMSA IS NATURALLY CONFINED TO THE political field and therefore only to the human species... Put in other words it covers all human relations...Meat-eating and egg-eating are consistent with non-violence."
2. "If a man fights with his sword single-handed against a horde of dacoits armed to the teeth, I should say he is fighting almost non-violently." If in defence of their honour women use their nails and teeth and even a dagger, "I should regard their conduct non-violent".

Proceeding, he said :

"In the same way, for the Poles to stand valiantly against the German hordes vastly superior in numbers, military equipment and strength, was almost non-violence. I should not mind repeating that statement over and over again. You must give its full value to the word 'almost'".

CONTEXT.

" AM I INCONSISTENT ?"

Extracts from an article dated Sept. 9, under the caption, " Am I Inconsistent ?", by Mr. Gandhi in the " Harijan " of Sept. 22, 1940.

A READER WRITES : 'WHILE EXPRESSING YOUR sympa hy with the British people in their plight, don't you think there is an inconsistency between your earlier decisions and your latest decision ?'

If there is any inconsistency, it is due in this particular instance to changed circumstances.

> My sympathy is not only the same as it had been expressed in Simla on the declaration of war, it has become deeper because what was imaginary has become vividly real..

But my sympathy, even though it is deeper today than a year ago, has undoubtedly changed in form. I was unprepared for the recent Government declarations, and I claim that it is the genuineness of my sympathy which has made me single out the one fact which Britain can easily recognise and yield without any hitch in her prosecution of the war.

I readily grant that there might be some reason for not dividing the responsibility for the conduct of the war with those who are the determined opponents of British imperialism and all it implies, and therefore I felt that, if the Congress continued to abide by its policy of non-embarrassment which is inherent in its non-violence, the Congress should for the moment abate agitation by way of direct action for independence. But freedom of speech and corresponding action is the breath of democratic life. Freedom of propagating nonviolence as a substitute for war is most relevant when indecent savagery is being perpetrated by the warring nations of Europe.

THE BETTER WAY

" GOD HAS MADE ME THE INSTRUMENT "

Extracts from an article. dated Sept. 25, under the caption, " Some Criticism Answered " by Mr. Gandhi in the " Harijan " of Sept. 29, 1940.

'THE TIMES OF INDIA' OF THE 17TH INST. IN ITS TEMPERate criticism takes me to task for my statement that 'the peoples of Europe do not know what they are fighting for.' It was bound to be resented. But truth, though seemingly harsh, has to be uttered when utterance becomes relevant indeed imperative. I believe that the utterance had become overdue. I must say why I think that the warring nations do not know what they are fighting for.

I had used the expression ' warring nations ', not ' peoples of Europe '. This is not a distinction without a difference. I have distinguished between the nations and their leaders. The leaders of course know what they are fighting for. I make

no admission that they are right. But neither the English nor the Germans nor the Italians know what they are fighting for, except that they trust their leaders and therefore follow them. I submit that this is not enough when the stake is so bloody and staggering as during the present war.

HANG THE LEADERS

It is perhaps common cause that Germans and Italians do not know why English children should be slaughtered in cold blood and beautiful English homes should be destroyed.. The British people would not be able to give me a more satisfying answer, if I happened to be in London and asked them why their soldiers were working havoc in Berlin. If the press accounts are to be relied upon, British skill and valour have wrought more havoc in Berlin than have the Germans in London. What wrong have the German people done the British people ? Their leaders have. Hang them by all means, but why destroy German homes and German civilian life ?.. I assert in all humility, but with all the strength at my command, that liberty and democracy become unholy when their hands are dyed red with innocent blood.....

> And why have I uttered the truth ? Because I am confident that God has made me the instrument of showing the better way. If Britain seeks justice, she must appear before the Imperial Court of God with clean hands.

She will not defend liberty and democracy by following totalitarian methods so far as war is concerned. She will not be able to retrace her steps after out-Hitlering Hitler in war. The last war is a resounding lesson. Her victory, if attained, will be a snare and a delusion.

I know mine is a voice in the wilderness. But it will some day ring true. If liberty and democracy are to be truly saved, they will only be by non-violent resistance no less brave, no less glorious, than violent resistance. And it will be infinitely braver and more glorious because it will give life without taking any.



SELFLESS SYMPATHY FOR BRITAIN

CONTEXT.

Extracts from A. K.'s report dated Jan. 7, 1940, of " an English reporter's interview with Mr. Gandhi ".

GANDHIJI : BRITISH STATESMEN HAVE INDUCED THE belief that they want to end the imperialistic system and treat those under them as free. Having induced that belief the Congress naturally wanted to test its sincerity... It is possible that even the representatives (in a Constituent Assembly) may fail to reach a constitution acceptable to an overwhelming majority, including safeguards for minorities,

Even so, Britain will have proved her *bona fides*. I hold, however, that a properly elected assembly is bound to produce a workable constitution....

PRINCES' PLACE

Reporter: What place would you assign to the Princes in democratic India ?

Gandhiji: I would give them a fat commission as trustees of their people. I would say to them, however, that they must work for this commission. They would have the same privilege as the British King enjoys. They are, after all, his vassals. They cannot be greater than he....And why should not the people of the States determine what they want ? As far as justice for the people is concerned, I have already said that their supreme courts must be subject to the High Court of India....

SELFLESS SYMPATHY FOR BRITAIN

Reporter : What if Britain lost the war ?

Gandhiji : I would be sorry if Britain lost. But I would not feel helpless. Supposing Russia, Germany, Italy and Japan formed a combination to seize India, I should not feel perturbed if India, as a whole, had accepted non-violence as her fixed policy. Through non-cooperation India could defy any combination. So you see my sympathy for Britain is absolutely selfless. If Britain is really right, God will inspire her to make the declaration about India and put herself right with India. I do not wish Britain to win, right or wrong. If India were wrong, India must perish. I have often said that Hinduism will perish if Hinduism allows the practice of untouchability to remain. I would go so far as to pray for India's destruction if she went wrong, even as Stead prayed for England's defeat in the Boer War... What I wan Britain to do is to get the moral support of India and win. Would to God that war ended on a moral issue and the conscience of the world became the final arbiter. That can only happen if Britain had the moral support of a free India. Anyway, that is my view.

Govind Das, Seth
MUNSHI, Mr. K. M.
NAIDU, Mrs. Sarojini
* Pandit, Mrs. V.
Pant, Pandit Gobind Ballabh
Patel, Sardar Vallabhbhai
Profulla Ghosh, Dr.

* Please also see under "Women's Conferences", page 290.

DANGER TO INDIA

CONGRESS CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a speech by Seth Govind Das, chairman of the reception committee, at the 52nd session of the Indian National Congress held at Tripuri on March 10, 1939.

THE WORLD IS PASSING THROUGH A CRISIS. SMALL OR big wars have been going on in Europe and Asia, and any day a world war might break out. Even if India so desires, she cannot keep wholly aloof. In order to decide our attitude towards any such war we shall have to gauge the position of England and France on one side, of Germany and Italy on the other, and of American and Japan on the third.

> After the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy it is only the Arabian Sea that separates us from the new Italian Empire. Again, both Italy and Germany having obtained footholds in Spain, the Mediterranean route is no longer as open to England as it was in the past.

Whenever a war breaks out, our armies are speedily sent out to Europe. In the case of an invasion from outside India will have no means of defence left to her.

JAPANESE MENACE

We are now threatened with foreign invasions not only from the west but also from the east. The rising power of Japan is as much a menace to us now as some Western nations had been in the past. Japan kept aloof during the last war, but this time her attitude seems to have changed.

A section of the American Press has gone over to the exten of asserting that Czechoslovakia was sacrificed at Munich solely on account of the fear of Japan. It is rumoured that secret reports from British spies stationed in the Far East stated that as soon as England would declare war against Germany over the Czechoslovakia issue, Japan would invade Australia and India, and that it was on receipt of these reports that Mr. Chamberlain hurriedly made up his mind to see Hitler and sacrifice Czechoslovakia.

The Mediterranean Sea has almost become an ' Italian Lake '. The only hope of protecting British possessions in the Far East lies in America's siding in any future war with England. At present all the efforts of England are directed towards inducing America to join the war. England desires that America should commit herself to love's labour of protecting the British Empire in the East. History records so far no such example of altruistic alliance in the world of politics. Small wonder that at the present moment public

opinion in America is against any sacrifice on the part of America in men and money for the protection of British possessions in the East.

Under the circumstances, it is doubtful how far Britain will be able to defend India. India will have to defend herself; and she cannot do so until she has complete control over her army and her foreign policy. Thus it is obvious that the problem of India's self-defence cannot be separated from the bigger question of her independence.

MUNSHI, MR. K. M.

CONTEXT.

Extract from an Associated Press report dated Bombay, Sept. 10, 1939, in the "Hindustan Times" of Sept. 12, 1939, of a speech delivered by Mr. K. M. Munshi, Congress leader, then Home Minister of the Bombay Government.

LIBERATION OFNK

A REFERENCE TO THE WAR IN EUROPE WAS MADE BY Mr. K. M. Munshi presiding over the annual gathering of the Gujarati Sahitya Sansad.

Mr. Munshi said: Hitler's war is a war against small and helpless nationalities. It is a war of racial arrogance against humanity. It is a war of ruthless destruction carried on against civilized notions of international relations. It is violence carried to perfection seeking to destroy peace. Above all, it is a war against the dignity of human personality. It is a war against non-violence which we hold so sacred. It is an irreligious attempt to uproot the sanctity of the moral law.

What attitude we will adopt with regard to this war is a matter for Mahatmaji to decide, but of *one thing I feel certain. This war will lead to the liberation of mankind as never before a war did.*

Somehow I feel that in this war India is going to play a great part. During the last war, the British Empire died and the British Commonwealth of white nations was born. I somehow feel that in this war the British Commonwealth of white nations will disappear and there will emerge a Commonwealth of free nations, irrespective of race or colour, guided and controlled by a Government which knows no exploitation of man by man or of race by race. For this end let us humbly pray.

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a United Press report in the "Leader" of March 18, 1937 of a lecture by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on March 10, 1937. The meeting was held under the auspices of the organisation against Fascism and War. The world president of the organisation is Romain Rolland, and the president of the Indian Section, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

VIEWED "IN TERMS OF INDIAN FREEDOM"

"I AM ONE OF THOSE", SAID MRS. NAIDU, "WHO HAVE always maintained that India dare not be separate from any phase of the world struggle, no matter wherever it be, and specially where the principles of future government are involved and the rights of democracy are implicated, India cannot, she dare not for her own sake, for the sake of her own future, refuse to take her share of the burden of sympathy, assistance and decision.

"And that is why we are gathered here today in this hall in response not to an appeal from Spain but in response to our own national sense of implication, if I may use the word, in the destinies of whatever might be the ultimate result in Spain.....".

Stating that she was not concerned with the details of the Civil War in Spain, primarily, not for the moment even with the fate of the widows and orphans, not for the moment with a gesture of Indian solidarity with those who are fighting to re-establish the principles of democracy, Mrs. Naidu said:

"What I am concerned with today is this: the whole of Europe today is looking into the blood bath of the people of Spain to see the picture of their own future. And according as the nations are united into peoples under the rule of dictators or dominated by attempts of democracy, so are the sympathies and interests of these peoples in seeing and trying to read in those pools of blood the future that lies before them.

INTERVENTION IN SPAIN

"It is very curious that some countries, very powerful indeed, that have always, whether apparently or not, never failed to put their finger in every international muddle, are now most studiously refraining in public from any form of intervention in the civil war in Spain, alleging that after all it is their business and not ours.

"On the other hand, more honestly and more wickedly, other countries who have no pretence of democracy but who are definitely and deliberately and arrogantly out to establish dictatorship in whatever form as against the freedom of peoples, are not so secretive about their sympathies, or their form of intervention, direct or indirect, in Spain.

"But true democracy is that which progresses daily and hourly into the larger and more ampler vicissitudes of life and seeks to find unity, if not to coalesce, in the larger and multifarious democracies of the world. And that is what I conceive in terms of Indian freedom, and for this purpose we must educate our minds every day in the lessons of international struggle. And nowhere today can we see in a more violent, in a more crucial form the war between democracy and anti-democracy, whether you call it imperialism or dictatorship or autocracy, than that shown in that rabid country of Spain.

"I want you to realise that unless you yourself soon create conditions of your democracy you are going to see yourselves among the dead peoples of the world. Imperialism takes many forms and what may be a genuine attempt at democracy of one's own country becomes imperialism of the worst type when followed in other lands.....

> "And specially at this time when we are in the throes of a life and death struggle, I wish to impress upon the minds of the younger generation that no man who seeks freedom, dares to end his journey at the very gate of nationalism, and unless we bear this in mind, and unless we realize that we have to pass the narrow straits of nationalism to emerge into the larger life of international destinies, we shall not be fit to be the legislators for the future in terms of liberty, in terms of democracy, because no democracy can truly be democracy in the widest sense of the word, so long as its interest centres merely within its own geographical frontiers and ethnological barriers and does not transcend the limits of racial boundaries.

"The choice that Spain has to make is, therefore, the choice which India has to make. Our battle is the battle of every struggling country, for every struggling nation that is fighting for equality, fighting for principle and fighting for freedom....."

ARE INDIANS STUPIDLY PATRIOTIC ?

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report dated Madras, June 13, 1940, in the "Mail" of the same date, of a speech by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at a public meeting on June 12.

"TODAY IS A HEAVY DAY OF MOURNING IN THE HISTORY OF the world," said Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. How tragic it is that Paris the cynosure of all eyes in Europe, the symbol and living embodiment of civilization itself may be in flames today ?"

The burning of Paris and the destruction of the symbols of civilization were of far-reaching import. Sitting in the Congress House premises, secure from the menace of incendiary bombs, far removed from the sight of refugees and

the destruction of property, and far removed from the starving orphans and from the cry of widows, many in India took an eager but only academic interest in the war.

> " How does the tragedy in Europe affect India ? Are Indians so narrowly nationalistic and so stupidly, exclusively ' patriotic ' to feel that those tragedies of war and the fate of Belgium, Holland, Paris do not matter to them ?

" I have always maintained that nationalism and patriotism are the two great outstanding symbols of a slave mentality and a slave-country. You will never hear a free nation talk of nationalism and patriotism unless there be danger. I want my country to be free, but I want my country's freedom to be an integral part of the world freedom of which we dream. The problems of India are but a fraction of those facing the entire world.

> " We shall only achieve freedom for India when we realise that our true destiny is not in separation, but in making India a powerful factor in determining the policies of freedom for the world ".

India's destiny and her problems, economic, social and intellectual and her regeneration could not be separated from the currents of world regeneration.

Referring to India's attitude regarding the war effort Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said that Gandhiji was dying to cooperate but wanted Britain to declare that at the end of the war India would be free according to the people's demand. Co-operation on equal terms was a sign of civilization.

INDEPENDENCE

The world could not progress if all nations said they would live as separate or independent peoples. They could only say that they were interdependent, but they had to make a choice of independence with those who thought alike and shared a common ideal and could be loyal to one another.

India, asking for Swaraj, should make a new definition of complete independence. Afghanistan was independent, but what was her independence worth !

An independent India did not mean an India separating herself from the destiny of the world. Therefore, an India co-operating in the war should mean an India willing to co-operate when she had been told, as a result of a gentleman's agreement, that when adjustments took place at the end of the war, automatically, without challenge, she would have her honoured and equal place as the ruler of her destiny. That was what the Congress demanded.

Civilization was crumbling. At the present time when a desperate situation stared the world, India should give up her internecine fears and quarrels. India had to give a great message to the world. If Indians wanted freedom they should think in terms of the nation, not of communities.

NO PARTY GOVERNMENTS

"I would like to endorse", Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said, "what Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar said in his presidential address at the Ambasamudram conference, what all of us feel, and what Mr. Satyamurthi has always had the courage to say.

"I want India to have strong popular governments and a strong central government, government by the representatives of the people, and not mere party governments. I am not a party person.

"I want every community to be able to contribute some chosen trusted spokesman and representative to join together not as a party man but for the common purpose of making India free. I want all classes and communities in India to join together".

India was in danger because the world was in danger. The demand of the world was for a dynamic creative, militant force that would destroy evil and conserve what was good.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

Extract from an Associated Press report from Tiruvannamalai, dated June 15, appearing in the "Tribune" of June 18, 1940.

NO BARGAINING

"I AGREE WITH MR. AMERY IN SAYING THAT INDEPENDENCE is not a thing to be given but to be obtained. We should know what we have done for our Swaraj. We don't want to bargain with an enemy with a wound in his breast. And anything got by such a bargain cannot live long. I don't think the Congress Working Committee would go so low as to do it. We shall wait to know the affairs of the world, I am only a lieutenant and you are all soldiers. You should await the order of the general, whatever it be.

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Are they going to side with the forces that suppress and exploit the weak or are they going to throw their weight in with those who work for humanity, fraternity and justice ?

It is no longer possible for any one of us to sit on the fence as spectators in the world drama. Each one of us is an actor and has a part to play. Whether that part will be well or ill played is for each one to decide.



CONTEXT.

HOMAGE TO BRAVE POLES

Extracts from a report appearing in the "National Herald" of Oct 15, 1939, of presidential address by Mrs. Pandit at the Women's Conference at Lucknow on Oct. 13.

FOR SEVERAL YEARS NOW THE WORLD HAS BEEN PASSING through a period of travail. One after another we have seen brave nations go down before the might of brute force and aggression, and it almost seemed as if darkness would prevail and beauty and justice and liberty and all the things that go to make life worth living would be eliminated.

Last year during my visit to Europe, I saw the sad fate of the Czechs and the dismembering of their country. It will be a long time before those who saw with their own eyes can forget the tragic despair of the people of Czechoslovakia while they waited for the end ; and, yet, in spite of that despair, what courage they possessed ! Let us not forget them today, because a greater tragedy faces us. But let the women assembled here send our brave Czech sisters a message of courage and hope for the future.

And now, before passing on to other things, I would like you to turn your thoughts towards Poland and the tragedy that has been enacted within its gates during the last few weeks. Another gallant nation has succumbed and lies trampled and bleeding under the iron heel of a relentless conqueror. But the spirit of Poland lives unbroken and will rise.

> Let us pay our homage to those brave people whose magnificent courage has shone out like a beacon light in the darkness that threatens to engulf Europe. Their tragedy is the tragedy of the world—yours and mine as much as theirs. And those of us who believe in the ultimate triumph of right and justice must leave no stone un turned, and must work unceasingly towards this end.

It is up to us, and more specially the women of India, to get together and raise our voice against armed conflict. In this age we cannot allow the world to be ruled by any other law but that of equality, justice and fairplay.

As mothers our duty is clear. We do not produce children for cannon-fodder. Our sons must live for their countries and by service and sacrifice build up their respective nations. We must work for the day when all international disputes will be settled in a civilised manner and no mother's son will raise his hand against his brother.

MESSAGE TO POLAND

A Resolution adopted by the Conference stated :

This conference of the women of Oudh pays homage to the gallant people of Poland in their brave stand against brutal aggression, and sends them a message of courage and hope for the future.

PANT, PANDIT GOVIND BALLABH

NAZI SAVAGERY

PANDIT GOVIND BALLABH PANT, THEN PREMIER OF THE United Provinces, addressing the 17th annual Convocation of the Lucknow University, on Dec. 10, 1938, said :

Recent events in the history of the world indicate the bankruptcy of the dominant powers. Abyssinia, China, Spain and Czechoslovakia bear painful testimony to the degradation which has set in. There is moral anarchy in international affairs and the rule of the big stick and physical might has become almost universal. All that man achieved after centuries of travail and tribulation seems to be crumbling into dust and the forces of violence and barbarism seem to be raising their head.

The cherished heritage of centuries of human achievement, courage and sacrifice is seriously menaced. The atrocities perpetrated by Germany on the Jews are simply revolting and inhuman and eclipse even the barbarities of the Iron and Mediæval Ages ; Italy, to some extent, following Germany's example in this respect.

All this derangement of moral forces is not a sudden and unexpected phenomenon. The germs of the disease, which has reached the culminating point in these shocking barbarities, lie deeper. The world has been in a state of ceaseless disequilibrium for several years. Panic, fear, suspicion, mistrust, consuming greed, vain arrogance and mutual animosities have been predominant, and the forces of reason, culture and humanity have been receiving a serious setback. The hallowed names of democracy,

freedom and liberty have been used as a cloak for personal, racial or national aggrandisement.

The noble utterances of the various statesmen during the last Great War still thrill one.....But what did their successor, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, say recently when he was blamed for his desertion of Czechoslovakia ?

He thought that England could not be expected to enter into war on account of a country of which even the name and geography were unfamiliar to most Englishmen..... A dispassionate study of the history and the events of the last 25 years leads one to the conviction that almost all of our ills are due to pettiness, blind prejudice and ruthless suppression of reason and culture. During these many years various nations have followed stupid, short-sighted and tortuous methods..... Militarism has replaced pacifism.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations and collective security have collapsed. The League was rendered impotent when the Great Powers, who were its members, refused or shirked to put its Covenant into operation against powerful defaulting nations, in order to avoid unpleasant consequences for themselves. It talked grand, uttered noble sentiments, but whenever the need for taking any effective action arose, it failed, inventing some excuse or other for its inaction.

In the circumstances it is not surprising that the Washington, Locarno and Versailles Treaties have been torn to pieces.

Covenants and pacts alike have been trampled upon with impunity. The law of morality has given place to the law of the jungle. Through all this one discerns the predominance of might over right, of scornful disregard of the weak and of shameless surrender before the impudent display of physical force.

The continuance of moral anarchy in the world can only lead to the destruction of civilization. No abiding solution of the difficulties can be found until reason and culture, which are the ideals of universities, are rehabilitated on their pedestal and observed faithfully in practice....

A man of culture must be above all petty dogma and must not allow his being to be crippled and confined under any pretext. *Aggressive savagery of the Nazi brand should no longer be allowed to besmirch the fair name of humanity.* Similarly a determined fight should be waged against political systems which cramp and cripple the self-respect and national freedom of other peoples. So long as any nation or country is held in subjection the prospect of abiding peace is remote.

CONTEXT.

INDIAN AND INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Extract from Associated Press report in the "Leader" of May 17, 1939 of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's presidential address at the Bhavnagar Praja Parishad at Bombay on May 15, 1939 :

AT THE OUTSET, SARDAR PATEL REFERRED TO THE international situation and the quick changes therein and added that it had left their mark on the people's movements in India also. With a world war in the offing it had become impossible for India to remain aloof and unaffected. There was lack of goodwill and confidence among the people of the world and every nation was arming itself to the teeth. War preparations were being speeded up for a great conflagration. Nobody was confident of the morrow. In India the situation in the States was such that hard times were in store for the State subjects.

WORLD HEADING TOWARDS DESTRUCTION

Extracts from a report in the "Hindustan Times" of Sept. 8, 1939 of a speech delivered by Sardar Patel at a meeting of about 20,000 persons at Meerut on Sept. 5, 1939

REFERRING TO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, SARDAR PATEL said that the world was heading towards destruction. The question before them, therefore, was what to do. They must consider that the boat in which they all were sailing was in midstream ; its upturn would sink them all. They had not equipped themselves with military and police power. No one could say that India was not in the danger zone at the moment. War had been declared. What would be its outcome could not be predicted by anyone. Such was the delicate situation, added the Sardar, in which they had been placed. What were they to do then ?

NEED FOR CAUTION

Proceeding, the Sardar said that the strength they had secured must be assimilated ; otherwise, it would prove injurious to them. They must be cautious with every step they took. India was a land of diverse religions and languages and embraced within its fold one-fifth of the world's population. Making India free required very cautious steps. The Indian National Congress was the only competent institution in the country which could bring freedom to the country.

Continuing, he said that some people held that now that the British Government was within the danger zone they

must seize the opportunity and liberate the Motherland. If by this, said the Sardar, they could get what they aimed at, they must surely take advantage of the opportunity. But circumstances, he added, were not favourable to them. The air surrounding them was not healthy.



CONTEXT.

NAZISM WOULD LEAD TO WORLD DESTRUCTION

Extract from an Associated Press report dated Ahmedabad, Nov. 5, in the "Tribune" of Nov. 7, 1939, of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's address to Congress volunteers on Nov. 4, 1939:

THERE WAS NO INTENTION THAT THE CONGRESS SHOULD harass the British Government in its present plight. *The sympathies of all Indian leaders were with Britain and France in the present war, as they believed that Nazism would lead to the destruction of the world.* All that the Congress had done was to withhold co-operation, as the assurances demanded by her were not given by British statesmen.

PROFULLA GHOSH, DR.

GERMAN VICTORY WILL BE A DISASTER

Extract from a report dated Jayyram (Birbhum), May 18, in the "Statesman" (Delhi) of May 19, 1940.

"THE VICTORY OF GERMANY WILL BE A DISASTER BOTH for India and the world", declared Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh, a member of the Congress Working Committee, presiding over the Birbhum and Murshidabad Districts Constructive Workers Conference today. He said that India had her grievances against Great Britain but on that ground no Indian could wish well of Germany.

He appealed to Congressmen to desist from weakening the Congress organisation in any way. The Congress was the only anti-imperialist organisation fighting for independence.

NEHRU, Mr. Jawaharlal

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S STATEMENTS

"WE CANNOT ISOLATE INDIA"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's presidential address at the 49th session of the Indian National Congress at Lucknow on April 12, 1936.

"SIXTEEN YEARS AGO UNDER THE INSPIRATION OF OUR leader, we took a new and long step, converting this Congress from an ineffective body, feebly functioning amongst the upper classes, into a powerful democratic organisation with its roots in the Indian soil and the vast masses who live on it. We sensed the new spirit of mass release, of psychological escape from the cramping effects of long subjection, we gloried in the breaking in the mental bonds that encompassed us.....

"We were engrossed in our national struggle and the turn taken bore the powerful impress of our great leader and of our national genius. We were hardly conscious then of what was happening outside. And yet our struggle was but part of a wider struggle for freedom, and the forces that moved us were moving millions of people all over the world and driving them into action.

"All Asia was astir from the Mediterranean to the Far East, from the Islamic West to the Buddhist East. Africa responded to the new spirit; Europe, broken up by the war, was struggling to find a new equilibrium. And right across a vast area in Europe and Asia, in Soviet territories, a new conception of human freedom and social equality fought desperately against a host of enemies. There were great differences in the many aspects of this freedom struggle all over the world and we were misled by them and did not see the common background. Yet if we are to understand these vast phenomena, and derive a lesson from them for our own national struggle, we must try to see and understand the whole picture. And if we do so we cannot fail to observe an organic connection between them which endures through changing situations.

"If once we grasp this organic connection, the world situation becomes easier to understand and our own national problems take their proper places in the wider picture.

"We realise then that we cannot isolate India or the Indian problem from that of the rest of the world. To do so is to ignore the real forces that are shaping events and to cut ourselves adrift from the vital energy that flows from them.

To do so, again, is to fail to understand the significance of our own problems, and if we do not understand this how can

we solve them ? We are apt to lose ourselves and we have indeed done, in petty conflicts and minor questions, like the communal problem, and forget the major issues ; we are apt to waste our energy (like our moderate friends do) in interminable discussions over legal quibbles and constitutional questions."

TWO RIVAL SYSTEMS

Continuing Mr. Nehru said that during the troubled aftermath of the Great War two rival, economic and political systems faced each other in the world.

" One of them was the capitalist order which had inevitably developed into vast imperialisms, which, having swallowed the colonial world, were intent on eating each other up. Powerful still and fearful of war, which might endanger their possessions, yet they came in inevitable conflict with each other and prepared feverishly for war. The other was the new socialist order of the U. S. S. R. which went from progress to progress, though often at terrible costs, and where the problems of the capitalist world had ceased to exist.

Capitalism in its difficulties took to fascism with all its brutal suppression of what western civilization had apparently stood for; it became, even in some of its homelands, what its imperialist counterpart had long been in the subject colonial countries. Fascism and Imperialism thus stood out as two faces of the new decaying capitalism.

" Thus we see the world divided up into two vast groups to-day—the Imperialist and Fascist on one side, the Socialist and Nationalist on the other.

" Where do we stand then, we who labour for a free India ? Inevitably, we take our stand with the progressive forces of the world which are ranged against Fascism and Imperialism ".

" ABYSSINIA DAY "

CONTEXT.

Statement dated May 5, 1936 issued by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, in calling for the observance of Abyssinia Day.

ADDIS ABABA LIES AT THE FOOT OF THE CONQUEROR. Ethiopia in spite of her gallant defence of her independence, lies helpless and prostrate before the brutal might of fascist imperialism. Poison gas and liquid fire and all the modern engines of destruction have triumphed and in their triumph have not only exposed afresh the true nature of imperialism, but have also shown us the hypocrisy and duplicity of the Great Powers and the utter futility of that body which is known as the League of Nations.

For the moment; imperialism triumphs again in the long world struggle for freedom, but that struggle will go on in Ethiopia as elsewhere till freedom comes and puts

an end to imperialism everywhere. We, in India, can do nothing to help our brethren in distress in Ethiopia for we also are the victims of imperialism. But we can at least send them our deep sympathy in this hour of their trial. We stand with them to-day in their sorrow as we hope to stand together when better days come.

I appeal to the Indian people therefore to give countrywide expression to our sympathy and solidarity with the Ethiopian people and our resolve not to submit to the fascist imperialist menace. I trust that demonstrations for this purpose will be held throughout the country on Saturday next May 9*. . . ,"

PRESIDENT APPEALS AGAIN

The Italian Consul-General in Calcutta in a statement protested against the President's appeal. The President issued a reply to it and again appealed to Indians to observe Abyssinia Day.

(*Congress Bulletin No. 2, May 12, 1936.*)



CONTEXT.

"ABYSSINIA DAY" DEMONSTRATIONS

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, presiding over a largely attended public meeting held at Allahabad on May 9, 1936, in observance of "Abyssinia Day" said :

THE SECOND LESSON THEY HAD TO LEARN WAS FROM THE significant and revealing attitude of the Great Powers towards this Abyssinian problem, especially that of England. They had heard all their brave talk of sanctions and the like, of supporting Abyssinia and giving her assistance, and they had seen how they had failed her at every step. Few things in past years had shown up more the duplicity and hypocrisy of these Great Powers than this betrayal of Abyissinia after the brave promises made to her.

They applied some petty ineffective sanctions but the oil sanction which might have made a difference was deliberately avoided. They were jealous of Italy and so tried to hinder her a little, but they could not afford to see an imperialist Power suffer defeat at the hands of a colonial country.



INDIAN TROOPS FOR CHINA

On August 21, 1937, the Government of India issued

THE DESPATCH OF INDIAN TROOPS TO SHANGHAI BY THE British Government is a matter of the gravest import and

* May 9 was observed as Abyssinia Day throughout India. Resolutions were passed expressing sympathy with Abyssinia and condemning Italy. In many places resolutions were also passed condemning the League of Nations, which had betrayed Abyssinia.

(*Congress Bulletin No. 38, Aug. 1936.*)

a communique to the effect that, in view of the situation in Shanghai, two army units had been placed under orders to proceed to the Far East. Before the communiqué was issued the Viceroy had a conference with the leaders of the various parties in the Central Assembly.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, (Congress President) issued the following statement—

concern to India. This has been done in continuation of the old policy of using Indian troops abroad, without any reference to the wishes of the Indian people. That policy has been condemned by the Congress which has declared emphatically that India cannot permit her armies and peoples to be exploited to her own disadvantage and for the benefit of British imperialism.

It is stated that Indian troops have been sent to Shanghai to protect Indian interests there. What these Indian interests are few people seem to know and it is manifest that the interests to be protected are British imperial interests. And even if Indian interests have to be protected, it is for the Indian people to decide what steps should be taken. The sending of Indian troops, therefore, without the consent of the Indian people, is an affront to India. Though by itself it might be a small matter, it is the thin end of the wedge and might lead us to all manner of unforeseen entanglements. It might indeed lead us unwittingly to war.

The Congress has repeatedly warned us of the danger of war and declared its opposition to the participation of India in any imperialist war. This was no empty warning but a declaration made after full consideration of the grave issues involved. By that declaration and warning the Congress stands.

The world is drifting helplessly to a state of continuous conflict. The Spanish struggle has continued for over a year and there is no sign of its ending. The Sino-Japanese war, begun in the modern way without any declaration, but with bombs bringing destruction and death to thousands, may last, it is said, for years. Wars begin but do not end easily. They spread and consume other countries. This is the world prospect before us and the possibility of an international conflagration threatens to overwhelm humanity. How shall we face this crisis of history? Not surely as camp followers of Imperialist Britain, being ordered about to fight her battles and preserve her interests.

THE MAJOR ISSUE

In our preoccupations with our provincial governments and our domestic problems, grave as they are, we may not forget this mighty thing that overshadows the world and might upset, in one great sweep, all our schemes and planning. That is the major issue before India, as before all other countries, and in a decision as to how to face it the people of India will have their say and it is their wishes that must count. Congressmen must be vigilant to this end; not to be so is to invite disaster.

Therefore, India must protest against this despatch of troops to China. In the Far Eastern conflict our sympathies are inevitably with China, and we wish her people success in maintaining their freedom against imperialist aggression.

But in this international game we cannot allow our man-power and resources to be used as pawns by others. Today we can protest only, but that protest will have the full strength of the Congress behind it if this policy continues.



WORLD PEACE CONGRESS AT BRUSSELS

CONTEXT.

Extracts from statement dated September 2, 1936, by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President.

ON THE 6TH OF SEPTEMBER THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS meets at Brussels. Among the many efforts that have been made to consolidate the forces of peace, this Congress is the most remarkable and it represents, more than any other, a consolidation of all the forces in the world today that stand for peace and progress.

It is strange that this Congress should meet just when the world seems to be on the verge of the precipice. Yet that is the very reason why this World Peace Congress has become inevitable and has drawn to its ranks such diverse groups which are prepared to sink their many differences in the face of the common danger.

In Spain today we have some indication of the horror that might overtake the world on a much larger scale. There, a peacefully elected democratic government representing the progressive elements was suddenly attacked by the rebel groups with the aid of a mercenary army from abroad. And these rebels have received comfort and material aid from fascist countries, and there has been no lack of sympathy for them even in Britain.

Those who talk so loudly of law and order in India do not hesitate to support the rebels against the Government in Spain. That Government was not even Socialistic ; it was a liberal democratic regime. But because it was progressive it was disliked by the reactionaries everywhere, and in Spain today we see the determined attack of fascist forces against a rising democracy. That is a lesson for us all, and that in miniature shows us the state of the world today.

All minor problems sink into insignificance before this vital question of progress versus reaction all over the world.

It is well that we should throw our weight on the side of progress and peace and line up with the forces that stand for this. But that peace can come only when the root causes of war are removed. Peace cannot come out of imperialism or out of fascism for both are founded on war.

MESSAGE TO WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

Extracts from the Congress President's "Message of Greetings to the World Peace Congress":—

While we desire peace and try to check the forces making for war, we feel that real peace can only come when the causes

of war are removed. I should like to emphasize that peace in colonial countries can only be established with the removal of imperialist domination. Peace cannot be made an excuse for the continuation of that domination, for imperialism is itself the negation of peace. Therefore for us in India, as well as for other countries situated like us, the first step must be political freedom, to be followed, I hope, by social freedom.

In India today we suffer from all the ills of imperialist domination and exploitation, and our energies, therefore, are directed towards the removal of these evils. The new Act which the British Parliament has passed with reference to the Indian constitution strengthens this imperialist domination instead of weakening it. Therefore we have to combat it and we should like our comrades of other countries to realise this present position in India and the difficulties we have to face.

Thus the economic situation has reached a stage when a mere political solution without the solution of the economic problem will bring little relief to the people. Still the political solution must inevitably precede all other steps. And that political solution can only be the independence of India. The Indian National Congress looks forward to a world order based on equity and co-operation between nations.



CONTEXT.

"VITAL HAPPENINGS" IN SPAIN

Addressing a public meeting held at Allahabad on September 27, 1936, to consider "the happenings in Palestine and Spain and their bearing on Indian politics." Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, said:

"IT IS IN SPAIN TODAY THAT THE MOST VITAL HAPPENINGS are taking place, frightful and terrible events, of enormous consequence to the future of Europe and the world. The fate of my countrymen in India is bound up with them more than they realize."

It was, he said, a rebellion against law and order, against the constituted government of the country, against a moderate liberal regime. He said that the military bosses dared to raise the flag of rebellion with the material aid of the Fascist countries, Germany and Italy. Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy were entirely on the side of the rebels and gave them every help. France sympathized with the Spanish Government but dared not help. In England, great newspapers like "The Times" frankly sympathized with the rebels. European governments evolved a policy of non-intervention which meant in effect that the Spanish Government could not be helped, but the rebels could draw aid from outside. Thus a terrible tussle was going on in Spain, with everything weighted in favour of the rebels and yet the ordinary people, men and women, boys and girls were keeping their end up and giving their lives in thousands to prevent their country from falling under a reactionary tyranny.

In Spain today they saw clearly the terrible conflict of the forces of progress and the forces of reaction, the conflict

which was latent all over the world. On the issue of that conflict depended whether Europe and the world would or would not be dominated by Fascism. The struggle in Spain was not between Communism or Socialism and Fascism, but between democracy and a cruel military Fascism. That, he said, was not really surprising; for essentially imperialism and Fascism were of one family and if a crisis came they stood together. Between the imperialist and Fascist Powers there was also an inherent conflict, for many of them wanted a greater share in the spoils of exploitation.



CONTEXT.

Extracts from Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's Presidential address to 50th Session of the Indian National Congress at Faizpur, on December 27, 1936.

"PART OF GREAT WORLD PROBLEM"

WE IN INDIA ARE ALL ENGROSSED AT PRESENT IN THE provincial elections that will take place soon. The Congress has put up over a thousand candidates and this business of election ties us up in many ways, and yet I would ask you, as I did at Lucknow, to take heed of the terrible and fascinating drama of the world.

Our destinies are linked up with it, and our fate, like the fate of every country, will depend on the outcome of the conflicts of rival forces and ideas that are taking place everywhere. Again I would remind you that our problem of national freedom as well as social freedom is but a part of this great world problem, and to understand ourselves we must understand others also.

Even during these last eight months vast changes have come over the international situation; the crisis deepens, the rival forces of progress and reaction come to closer grips with each other, and we go at a terrific pace towards the abyss of war.

In Europe, Fascism has been pursuing its triumphant course speaking ever in a more strident voice, introducing an open gangsterism in international affairs. Based as it is on hatred and violence and dreams of war, it leads inevitably, unless it is checked in time, to world war.

We have seen Abyssinia succumb to it; we see today the horror and tragedy of Spain.

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

How has this fascism grown so rapidly, so that now it threatens to dominate Europe and the world?

To understand this one must seek a clue in British foreign policy. This policy, in spite of its outward variations and frequent hesitations, has been one of consistent support of Nazi Germany. The Anglo-German Naval Treaty threw France into the arms of Italy and led to the rape of Abyssinia.

Behind all the talk of sanctions against Italy later on, there was the refusal by the British Government to impose any effective sanction. Even when the United States of America offered to cooperate in imposing the oil sanction, Britain refused, and was content to see the bombing of Ethiopians and the breaking up of the League of Nations system of collective security. True, the British Government always talked in terms of the League and in defence of collective security, but its actions belied its words and were meant to leave the field open to Fascist aggression. Nazi Germany took step after step to humiliate the League and upset the European order, and even the British 'National' Government followed meekly in its trail and gave it its whispered blessing.

SPANISH CONFLICT

Spain came then as an obvious and final test, a democratic government assailed by a fascist military rebellion aided by mercenary foreign troops. Here, again, while Fascist Powers helped the rebels, the League Powers proclaimed a futile policy of non-intervention, apparently designed to prevent the Spanish democratic government from combating effectively the rebel menace.

So we find British imperialism inclining more and more towards the fascist Powers, though the language it uses, as is its old habit, is democratic in texture and pious in tone. And because of this contradiction between words and deeds British prestige has sunk in Europe and the world, and is lower today than it has been for many generations.

So in the world today these two great forces strive for mastery—those who labour for democratic and social freedom and those who wish to crush this freedom under imperialism and fascism. In this struggle Britain, though certainly not the mass of the British people, inevitably joins the ranks of reaction. And the struggle today is fiercest and clearest in Spain, and on the outcome of that depends war or peace in the world in the near future, Fascist domination or the scotching of Fascism and Imperialism.

That struggle has many lessons for us, and perhaps the most important of these is the failure of the democratic process in resolving basic conflict and introducing vital changes to bring social and economic conditions in line with world conditions. That failure is not caused by those who desire or work for these changes. They accept the democratic method, but when this method threatens to affect great vested interests and privileged classes, these classes refuse to accept the democratic process and rebel against it.

For them democracy means their own domination and the protection of their special interests. When it fails to do this, they have no further use for it and try to break it up. And in their attempt to break it, they do not scruple to use any and every method, to ally themselves with foreign and anti-national forces. Calling themselves nationalists and patriots, they

employ mercenary armies of foreigners to kill their own kith and kin and enslave their own people.

In Spain today our battles are being fought and we watch this struggle not merely with the sympathy of friendly outsiders, but with the painfull anxiety of those who are themselves involved in it.

We have seen our hopes wither and a blank despair has sometimes seized us at this tragic destruction of Spain's manhood and womanhood. But in the darkest moments the flame that symbolizes the hopes of Spanish freedom has burnt brightly and proclaimed to the world its eventual triumph So many have died, men and women, boys and girls, that the Spanish Republic may live and freedom might endure. We see in Spain, as so often elsewhere, the tragic destruction of walls of the citadel of freedom. How often they have been lost and then retaken, how often destroyed and rebuilt.

I wish, and many of you will wish with me, that we could give some effective assistance to our comrades in Spain, something more than sympathy, however deeply felt. The call for help has come to us from those sorely stricken people and we cannot remain silent to that appeal. And yet I do not know what we can do in our helplessness when we are struggling ourselves against an imperialism that binds and crushes.

ORGANIC CONNECTION BETWEEN WORLD EVENTS

So I would like to stress before you, as I did before, this organic connection between world events, this action and interaction between one and the other. Thus we shall understand a little this complicated picture of the world today, a unity in spite of its amazing diversity and conflicts. In Europe, as in the Far East, there is continuous trouble, and everywhere there is ferment. The Arab struggle against British imperialism in Palestine is as much part of this great world conflict as India's struggle for freedom. Democracy and Fascism, nationalism and imperialism, combat each other in the world of ideas, and this conflict develops on the material plane and bayonets and bombs take the place of votes in the struggle for power.

Changing conditions in the world demand a new political and economic orientation and if this does not come soon, there is friction and conflict. Gradually this leads to a revolution in the minds of men and this seeks to materialise, and every delay in this change-over leads to further conflict. The existing equillibrium having gone, giving place to no other, there is deterioration, reaction, and disaster.

It is this disaster that faces us in the world today and war on a terrible scale is an ever present possibility. Except for the the Fascist Powers, every country and people dreads this war and yet they all prepare for it feverishly, and in doing so they line up on this side or that. The middle groups fade out or,

ghost-like, they flit about, unreal, disillusioned, self-tortured, ever-doubting. That has been the fate of the old liberalism everywhere, though in India perhaps those who call themselves Liberals, and others who think in their way, have yet to come out of the fog of complacency that envelopes them. But we—

" Move with new desires,
For where we used to build and love
Is no man's land, and only ghosts can live
Between two fires."

What are these new desires ? The wish to put an end to this mad world system which breeds war and conflict and which crushes millions ; to abolish poverty and unemployment and release the energies of them for the progress and betterment of humanity ; to build where today we destroy.



FIRST " CHINA DAY "

CONTEXT.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President issued the following statement on September 14, 1937.

THE WAR IN CHINA GOES ON, UNDECLARED IN THE APPROVED modern way, but nevertheless ruthless and accompanied by the slaughter of thousands of human beings. Japanese aggression continues and the League of Nations, originally founded to protect the rights of peoples and to prevent aggression, has become so helpless and impotent that it dare not even discuss the urgent problems of the day, much less take a decision on them.

Meanwhile, Fascism grows and tears up every international treaty and obligation. Britain, one of the principal League Powers, does not even protest and gives its indirect support to Fascism. India, though not in a position to take any effective action, cannot remain a silent spectator of this tragedy, which might affect it considerably.

We must organise our protest and keep a vigilant eye on what is happening. I suggest that Sunday, September 26th, should be observed as a special day for this purpose, when we should condemn Japanese aggression and send our full sympathy to the Chinese people. We must also record our organised protest against sending of Indian troops to China without the assent of the Indian people. And in doing so we should keep the larger danger of international war before us.

The War Danger resolution of the Faizpur Congress should therefore be repeated and explained. I trust that Congress Committees will organise meetings all over the country for this day and pass these resolutions.

SECOND " CHINA DAY "

The President received an appeal for help from General Chu-Teh of China in which the latter described the spirited

resistance which the Chinese were offering to Japan's Imperialistic aggression and expressed appreciation of India's sympathy with them in their hour of trial. The President on receipt of this letter issued an appeal to the country to observe another China Day on January 9.

Meetings were held on that day throughout India and collections made to help the Chinese with medical supplies. At all these meetings resolutions were passed conveying greetings to the Chinese people in their heroic struggle and expressing condemnation of the brutality of Japanese aggression.

"To help China in this hour of trial is the duty of all nations who wish to espouse the right cause", declared Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru at a public meeting.



INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE

CONTEXT.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru headed the Indian Delegation to the International Peace Campaign Conference in Paris on July 23, 1938. It was attended by delegates from thirty countries. At the end of his speech the delegates rose and applauded Mr. Nehru. He said:

WHAT MUST WE THINK OF THE GOVERNMENTS WHO DO not know how to resist aggressors and allowed the Spanish nationalists to receive all necessary war material but insisted that the Pyrrenean frontier should be closed against Republican Spain? Aid for the victims of aggression should be organized on a world basis.

I appeal to the Conference to take some concrete action. If peace and democracy perish, we perish too; but if they live on, so shall we.

The Conference passed a resolution asking that the supply of anti-aircraft armament should not be hindered and financial aid should be given to countries which were the victims of aggression, that an embargo should be placed on the supply of petroleum and metals to the aggressor, and that Chinese and Spaniards threatened by bombing should be evacuated.



RENAISSANCE IN REVERSE

Extracts from an air mail report from Munich, appearing in the "Hindustan Times" of August 22, 1938, of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's speech at the Indian students' banquet in Munich on August 8, 1938.

MR. NEHRU SAID THAT, IN INDIA, WHILE STUDENTS WERE not discouraged to come to Germany they were not encouraged to do so. This was on account of the existing political regime in Germany. In the beginning the treatment meted out to Indians was definitely bad. That was due partially to the racial theory and also, to a certain extent, to the desire to please the British.

However, the main questions that faced the students were treatment and the question of study. As far as the sciences were concerned, probably, progress was still being made in

Germany. But, taking education as a whole, there could be no progress. Political ideology imposed from above by people who might not be primarily concerned with education could have only bad results. Of course, that was the case almost everywhere. In the British Empire the glorification of the Empire was a tenet that had been imposed over the prevailing system of education.

Still, the Nazis were far more advanced in this respect than any body else. Books were burned and professors, renowned all over the world, were chased out of the country. The intellectual level of the country could not but fall, and this would become apparent as the years passed.

Here Panditji referred to a recent conversation with Professor Gilbert Murray on this subject. According to Professor Murray, an extremely curious thing was happening in Europe. This was a repetition of the Renaissance in a reversed sense. Then the Greek scholars, chased out of Turkey, helped in the intellectual development of Europe where they migrated. Now it was the European scholars who were migrating to Turkey, Palestine and other countries. As there was no doubt these latter countries would benefit from it, there was also no reason to doubt that Germany would suffer from it. In fact, any country in a similar position would suffer.



CONTEXT.

"INDIA'S SYMPATHY IS FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA"

Extracts from a statement made by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru to the London correspondent of the "Hindustan Times".

WAR IS COMING. ALL OUR SYMPATHY WILL BE FOR Czechoslovakia whose people have behaved with courage and dignity and raised themselves in the eyes of the world. We would gladly do all we can to help them, but it must clearly be understood that we are not going to be pawns in imperialist adventures nor are we prepared to help a Government which will betray democracy whenever they have a chance to do so.

It is we who will decide, not the British Government. Our decision will depend, not on promises, but on definite action which takes us to our goal.



FOOD FOR REPUBLICAN SPAIN

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru landed in Bombay on November 17, 1938, after a five-month tour of the Continent. Addressing the gathering, he said:

"ONE THING I WANT TO EMPHASIZE IS THAT THE WORLD today is witnessing a revolutionary change. Only those nations which are strong and united, forgetting dissensions, can attain freedom and retain it.

"The biggest problem for us is to attain our freedom and remove our poverty. It is our first duty but even then we

cannot forget the happenings in Spain, China and Palestine. Those events are bound to have repercussions in this country."

Mr. Nehru then appealed for food for Spain. When he was in Spain, he witnessed air raids and other horrors of war. He was never a sentimentalist nor was he swayed by compassion but the situation in Spain was indeed terrible. Food was the main problem and with the approaching winter it would be even more acute. He hoped that those in India who could afford it would send a shipload of foodstuffs to the people in Republican Spain. The leaders in Spain asked him to convey a message to them and that was that their struggle was not confined only to their liberation but it represented the struggle of all the oppressed nations of the world. They expressed the hope that India would soon be made free.

INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL STATUS

" One fact which is worthy of attention is the new status that India seems to have acquired in international affairs," said Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru at a press conference at Bombay on November 17, 1938. He added: " In International conferences and elsewhere India has begun to function practically on a level with independent nations and Indian nationalist opinion, of course, is greatly valued today. I do not, of course, refer to the League of Nations when I say this. There is a general feeling abroad that India is on the threshold of independence and, therefore, the goodwill and friendship of India are considered worth while by all nations.

" Naturally at present I am full of developments in Europe which will ultimately affect India. I had occasion to watch these developments at very close quarters in Czechoslovakia, Geneva, Paris and London and to meet many prominent people. The present policy of the British Government is so astounding as to upset all my former conceptions. The British Government are definitely in favour of encouraging the Fascist and Nazi policy in Europe. There is no doubt that democracy in Europe today is, in a sense on its last legs; unless something happens it will collapse."

In Mr. Nehru's opinion the British Government were more afraid of winning the war than losing it, because victory would mean an end to the present regimes in Germany and Italy and would mean Britain's cooperation with Russia which at present the Government wanted to avoid at all costs.

BRITAIN'S ROLE IN EUROPEAN CRISIS

Addressing a mass meeting on Azad Maidan in Bombay on November 18, 1938, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru referred at great length to the situation in Europe and in particular to the recent European crisis, says the Associated Press.

He condemned the British Government's attitude towards the crisis and added that, forgetting for the moment Britain's

policy *vis-a-vis* India, Britain's role in the European crisis was sufficient justification for India to sever her connections with the British Government. He had read the history of the world, but a case such as that of Czechoslovakia had no parallel.



ANOTHER APPEAL FOR SPAIN

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a statement issued by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru on November 23, 1938, from Wardha.

IMMEDIATELY ON MY ARRIVAL IN BOMBAY I VENTURED TO draw attention to the plight of the people of Republican Spain and the numerous refugees there and appealed for foodstuffs to be sent to them from India. My appeal met with an immediate and heartening response and a strong and representative committee of the leading merchants and businessmen of Bombay was formed.

Bombay, as so often in the past, has taken the lead in this matter and I am confident that her citizens will give generous support to this noble endeavour. But the call has not been made to Bombay alone but to the whole of India and I earnestly trust that other provinces and cities will line up with Bombay and stretch out their helping hands to the sorely stricken people of Spain who have, for more than two years, fought with astonishing courage and determination for democracy and freedom.

It has long been recognised that the struggle of Spain has a vital significance for all those who care for freedom. It is thus intimately related to our own struggle for freedom. By sending food to Spain we help indirectly our own cause and enhance the prestige and position of India in the world. By the help we have sent to China and Spain we have compelled the attention of the world and made it clear that our sympathies and policy are not those of the British Government. We are thus building up an international position for our country and our voice counts already in the councils of the world. Thus, not only for humanitarian reasons but for consideration of self-interest and the growing international status of India we have to help the Spanish people with food.



IMPERIALISM IS NOT THE PROBLEM

Extracts from a speech by Jawaharlal Nehru at the 4th session of the All-India Students' Conference at Calcutta on January 2, 1939.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM WAS ONE OF THE BIGGEST AND MOST powerful organisations in the world, but, in the long view of things, it is dead. Historically speaking, it has given up the ghost though not in actuality. It might live 12 or 15 years or one or two years more. Historically speaking it is a dying

thing and has lost everything that gave it strength though it might still carry on because of a certain impetus.

It has lost its spirit and material resources and cannot live long. I have no shadow of doubt that British imperialism cannot prevent us from achieving independence. We are strong enough to face it, provided certain inner weaknesses do not come in our war.

Our problem is not fighting Imperialism but certain disruptive tendencies such as communalism.



CONTEXT.

CRITICISM OF APPEASEMENT POLICY

Inaugurating the second term of the Allahabad University Union on Jan. 7, 1939, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru spoke on 'European Problems'.

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, SAID MR. NEHRU, TALKED OF peace and appeasement and brought war nearer; he talked of democracy and did everything to strangle it. Ordinarily, Governments were afraid of defeat in war but recently they had the queer spectacle of the British Government being afraid of victory. As someone had said, Mr. Chamberlain snatched defeat out of the jaws of victory; or he was so afraid that war might result in the ending of the Nazi regime and Fascism that he was prepared to put up with losses to the British Empire.

Mr. Chamberlain's policy, Mr. Nehru observed, had not been one of being frightened by German might but one of deliberate support for the Nazi policy. The events of 1938 as well as earlier showed how the British Government had almost consistently supported Fascism and Nazism, despite temporary conflicts.

In the summer of 1938 the sending of the Runciman Mission to Prague and all that followed clearly indicated a definite policy which inevitably led to Munich. All that, as well as the British policy in Spain, led one to the conclusion that there had been a deliberate conspiracy against freedom.

Mr. Nehru next referred, at some length, to events in Spain. Concluding, he said that in view of the British foreign policy being so injurious to democracy and freedom and to India, they in India must dissociate themselves from it completely.



" BRITISH EMPIRE DISAPPEARING "

On Feb. 11, 1939, Mr. Nehru addressed a " very big gathering " in Benares.

MR. NEHRU APPEALED TO THE PEOPLE TO TAKE A KEEN interest in the world situation because all that was happening in Europe or other parts of the world affected their country.

The local correspondent of the "Leader" (Allahabad) reported :

Their sympathies with the Spanish Republic and the Chinese Republic showed their future policy.

Mr. Nehru thought that the British Empire was disappearing and he appealed to Indians to be prepared to meet the situation. India had now secured a status in the world. Although other countries knew that Indians had not yet attained freedom, they had now come to believe that India would soon be free.



WELCOME TO EGYPTIAN DELEGATION

CONTEXT.

Extract from a report (in the Indian Annual Register) of the proceedings of the session of the Indian National Congress on March 10, 1939, at Tripuri.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU WAS GREETED WITH PROLONged cheers when he rose to thank the Egyptian delegation. The Pandit said that the delegation was there to-day to fulfil a long-standing promise. They had brought a message of hope to the people of India.

"I hope", said Pandit Nehru "we will be able to send through the delegates a similar message to Egypt. The Egyptian struggle is part of our own struggle, as they are fighting the same enemy as ourselves, namely, British Imperialism. It is true that conditions in India are different, but yet we can benefit from each other's experiences. Therefore, it is a peculiar pleasure for us to meet them here to-night. But our great regret is that their great leader, Nahas Pasha, was unable to accompany the delegation. When I was in Egypt he had expressed his eagerness to visit India, and I have no doubt that, when he is in a position to do so, he will visit India."



ANGLO-FRENCH "TREACHERY"

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru moved the resolution entirely disapproving British foreign policy at the annual session of the Indian National Congress on March 12, 1939.

MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR INDIA taking a keen interest in foreign policy because it affected ed their interests considerably. India had to pay special attention to British foreign policy because unfortunately she was still part of the British Empire. She had no direct voice in this policy and she was often misrepresented.

Mr. Nehru strongly criticised the foreign policy pursued by Mr. Chamberlain and said that it was a dangerous one, particularly to India as it meant the destruction of what had been regarded as good and necessary.

"I hate the foreign policy of the British Government and emphatically declare that I cannot stand it and that India cannot associate herself with this policy."

LEAGUE: "TOMBSTONE OF PEACE"

Mr. Nehru instanced the recent happenings in Czechoslovakia and China. He said that he had the picture of Czechoslovakia before his mind and he could not but condemn in the strongest terms, the " betrayal of Czechoslovakia by England and France ". The League of Nations at Geneva was nothing but a tombstone of peace. History would never forget the treachery of the British and French Governments in their betrayal of the little democratic country of Czechoslovakia.

Referring to the Spanish war, Mr. Nehru said that if Republican Spain had failed, it was not because of the arms supplied by Italy and Germany but because of the plotting of the British and French Governments, which were determined to kill it and succeeded in doing so.

" We cannot keep quiet when these murders of Democracies are going on. India cannot be a party to this kind of murder of democracy. India must dissociate itself from British foreign policy and line up with those countries which love freedom and democracy.

" India is on the threshold of freedom, and she is bound to play an important role in the world's history. Therefore, she cannot remain indifferent."



CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report of a speech delivered by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru at a public meeting held under the auspices of the City Congress Committee, on April 13, 1939, at Allahabad, in celebration of National Week.

NAZISM AND FASCISM: TWO OBNOXIOUS THINGS

THERE WERE TWO OBNOXIOUS THINGS BORN IN THE WORLD. They were Fascism and Nazism, which were prevailing in Italy and Germany and also in Japan. What was done by Fascism in Europe was done by British Imperialism in India. Fascism was a close relation of Imperialism. The method of the countries which pretended to favour democracy, namely Britain and France, was peculiar. They openly favoured freedom but sometimes also openly helped Fascism and Nazism and even went to the length of betraying their friends, as, for instance in the case of Czechoslovakia.

The reason for this policy, said Mr. Nehru, was to avoid an alliance with Russia. Britain and France would not like to combine with Russia for fear that coalition with Russia might lead to the spread of the new ideas of Russia in those countries. Therefore, Britain and France chose to allow Germany to increase its power. Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Halifax and some of their comrades had been speaking in a different strain but, so far as action was concerned, there was no change in their policy and the basic reason for that attitude was that they did not want to join Russia. He thought that the present British Cabinet was unique during the last 150 years. Whatever it did was on the wrong lines.



CONTEXT.

PETTINESS IN INDIA

Extracts from a signed article by Mr. Nehru in the "National Herald", Lucknow.

THE TRAGEDY OF SPAIN AND MUCH THAT HAS HAPPENED in the West has been a personal sorrow to me, leaving a deep and lasting impress. But Spain is far and the problems of India fill the mind and distress me. It is not external difficulty that troubles me but the whole background of India with its conflicts and disruptive forces, its pettiness and mutual suspicion. There is no faith in us today in each other and every foolish statement and wild charge is believed. Vulgarity, that most distressful symptom, creeps into our public life, in the Congress and even more outside it. Policies and programmes and high principles have their importance; they are vital and urgent. But behind them all lies the human material without which these principles and policies can have little meaning.

UTTER INCOMPETENCE

But we may not, simply because we are driven by a sense of resentment, take a step which weakens us and leads to worse consequences. The world is in a sad mess today, tragic to those who are sensitive, heart-breaking to those who feel. We assure ourselves that we are living during an age of transition and that the sorrows of today are but the birth-pangs of the new order. It may be so, or perhaps our wishes are fathers to our thoughts. Meanwhile we go through this agony, almost unendurable at times, and there is little hope of comfort in the future that we can see. Everywhere there is a cracking up, a dissolution of things as they are, but the building up of a new structure is not so evident.

Ruling classes and groups, who have dominated affairs for so long, exhibit their utter incompetence and grow increasingly ineffective and incapable of dealing with the problems of today. And yet no other group or class appears strong enough or competent enough to take the reins of affairs in its hands. History has few examples of sheer ineptitude and failure such as Mr. Neville Chamberlain and the British Government have exhibited; but Mr. Chamberlain and his Government continue, for lack of others to take their place.

CONGRESS AND WAR DANGER

Extract from an Associated Press report of Mr. Nehru's remarks at a Press conference on the morning of June 3, 1939.

DISCUSSING THE RESOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS ON WAR, Mr. Nehru said that the only means of implementing the resolution were: first, general propaganda, that is, creating mass psychology; and secondly, such possible steps as the Provincial Governments might take chiefly in connection with the India

Act Amending Bill now before Parliament and war preparations ; and thirdly, for the Congress Executive, or the men at the helm, to be clear in their minds as to what was happening. They must consider the various possibilities and probabilities, so that, when the time came, they might be able to take quick decisions. He added that the final approach to the problem required a great deal of examination because the situation was changing quickly.

The Congress resolution on war, said Mr. Nehru, was not very simple. If there was a conflict between real Fascism and real Democracy the Congress would certainly desire the defeat of Fascism. But that was only a theoretical proposition. As a matter of fact there was going to be no contest between pure Democracy and Fascism. The war that was likely to be fought would be between one imperialistic side against another imperialistic side. Mr. Nehru had no objection to accepting the theoretical possibility of India joining a war for Democracy if India herself were a democratic country, but Democracy was a pre-requisite.

RESISTANCE TO INVASION

Speaking about his attitude towards war generally, Mr. Nehru observed that he disliked wars, but he could not see how they could be avoided, just as he could not see how police could be prevented from taking action against dacoits and other unsociable characters. In the case of an unsociable nation, war might be a necessity.

Asked whether his attitude towards war did not conflict with the creed of non-violence which had been adopted by the Congress, Mr. Nehru said that the creed of non-violence had nothing to do with defence from external invasion.



CONTEXT.

Extracts from an article contributed by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru to the "National Herald".

HUMANITY IN A MENTAL RUT

"ONE OF THE TRAGEDIES OF HISTORY IS THE SLOWNESS with which people's minds adapt themselves to a changing environment. So it has been throughout history, so it is today, and even the prospect of an approaching catastrophe does not push us out of our mental ruts, or does so at too slow a pace to prevent that catastrophe. The War of 1914-18 and the Russian Revolution might have been considered a big enough knock on the head to make even the dull of mind think furiously. But it was not, and most people went back to the old ruts and grew angry at those who thought differently. The events that followed during the next twenty years shook every one up, with the failure of the capitalist structure and the great depression and unemployment, the rise of Fascism

and Nazism and the growth of gangsterism in international affairs. Yet the shake-up was not enough.

"Then came the past year with all its horror and tragedy. That seems to have made some difference to many people, but do they yet realise that the remedy for the disease must be a radical one and nothing else will cure our distemper? In India even more than in Europe, we are wedded to the old processes of thought and though externally we differ from each other, the background is essentially the same. That is perhaps inevitable as our main preoccupation must needs be nationalism and the desire to be rid of British Imperialism."

FEDERATION: "AS DEAD AS THE DODO"

Referring to the problem of the Indian States Mr. Nehru says: "The States simply cannot fit in with the modern world and no amount of argument of soft words can change that fundamental fact.

"I had sat down to write about Federation but my mind has strayed and led me into other directions. But the issue in every case is the same and we have to consider this question of Federation from this wider and more essential standpoint to fit the political and economic structure of India to reality in our country and the world.

"It surprises me that people should talk still of Federation in terms of possibility. Even those who oppose it vehemently do so obviously because they think that it might be imposed upon us. My own mind shut the door on Federation long ago, not only because I disliked it and considered it harmful to India, but because I came to the conclusion that under present circumstances it could not come. Let me explain. I am no prophet and, in the changing world today, it needs a very brave or a very foolish man to say what will happen.

"Anything may happen in India and it is a possibility that we might go to pieces and have to submit to something even worse than Federation. It is not impossible that the world may be dominated for a while by Fascism and all freedom crushed. We have seen that Mr. Neville Chamberlain's Government are capable of every species of folly and betrayal and, so far as they are concerned, we can only expect the worst from them.

"And yet I do not think that Federation as proposed, or any variant of it, can come to India. People talk about it but the idea is as dead as the dodo. It is quite possible that Lord Zetland and our other preceptors have not quite realised this, or realising, do not wish to say so. Federation cannot come to India in this shape and form because India has changed and the world has changed completely, and the age of the Round Table Conferences is lost already in the dim mists of antiquity. If British folly seeks still to impose it upon us, it will mean deadly conflict and the break-

up of much that we have in India today. The ultimate result may be good or bad for us, but it will not be the functioning of Federation.

" And so I think that Federation cannot come. It is dead and there is no magic potion that will give it life."



CONTEXT.

Extracts from an article contributed to the " National Herald " by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, on India's future in the light of world problems.

" WORLD UNION NECESSARY "

THE QUESTION OF FEDERATION HAS BEEN CONSIDERED BY us almost entirely in terms of a conflict between Indian nationalism and the desire for independence and British Imperialism. That is obviously an important aspect of it and it is clear that this conflict is inherent in it and every attempt to impose Federation will bring it to the surface. We need not argue about the merits or demerits of the scheme. Enough has been said and written about it. The dominating fact is, that India dislikes it utterly and will not have it. That is enough for us and it is totally immaterial what Lord Zetland and his colleagues think about it.

But there is another and a wider aspect, which we must bear in mind. We have in recent years tried to consider the Indian problem in its relation to the world problem. Even if we had not done so, events would have forced us and others to this consideration. Every one must realise that we have reached a stage when separate national solutions of any problem are ruled out as they come into conflict with a real solution. We must think in terms of the world, which has narrowed down so greatly in our own day and become an organic whole, each part of it sensitive to the other parts. More and more people realise this now and yet, as always, our minds lag behind reality. Peace is indivisible, they say ; so is freedom, so is India, so is the world in any vital matter today.

WORLD CO-OPERATION

Our freedom and our independence must therefore be thought of in terms of the world and of world co-operation. The days of isolated national existence are past beyond recall and the only alternative to world co-operation is, world disruption and war and continuous conflicts between nations till they are all involved in a common ruin.

It is difficult to conceive of effective world co-operation at present because there are forces and powerful nations which are bent on following a contrary policy. Yet, it may be possible to have the right objective and to lay the foundations of such co-operation even now, though it may not be world-wide to begin with. Intelligent opinion all over the world and vast numbers of people are eager and anxious for this to happen, but Governments, vested interests and groups come in the way.

A faint glimpse of this world co-operation came to President Wilson twenty years ago and he sought to realise it. But the War treaties and the statesmen of that generation scotched the idea, and the great pile of the League of Nations rises mournfully today in Geneva, like a mausoleum enshrining the dead body of a great hope. It had to die, as it started under wrong auspices and with the seeds of death within it. It was an attempt to stabilise something which could not endure, to protect the imperialisms and special interests of the victor nations. Its cry for peace meant the continuation of an unjust *status quo* all over the world. Its democracy was a cloak for the subjection of many peoples and nations. It had to die because it was not brave enough to live. There can be no resurrection of that dead body.

But there can be a resurrection of the idea that the League enshrined, not in the limited, twisted, and perverse way that took shape in Paris and Geneva, but fuller, more powerful and organic and based on collective peace, freedom and democracy. On no other basis can it seek rebirth or find sustenance.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

During the last few years, there has been much talk of collective security but England and France killed it and, with it, the League. Faced by new dangers, threatening their very existence, they are trying to find allies in case of war. But even now they do not think in terms of real collective security for peace.

This idea of collective security failed for various reasons. The main reason for this failure was its alliance with Imperialism. Collective security is intimately allied to democracy and freedom and in a world where these do not exist, except in limited areas, it is bound to fail. The crux of the question thus becomes, as Mr. Leonard Barnes has pointed out in his recent book, the liquidation of Imperialism and the independence of India.

Many people are being driven to the conclusion that closer co-operation between nations is essential for peace and progress. Vaguely they hanker after a World Commonwealth, which is something much more than a League of Nations. Some ardent Britishers imagine that the British Empire or Commonwealth of Nations offers a nucleus for this, forgetting that the basis of this Empire is Imperialism and the exploitation of subject peoples...In case of war, it is exceedingly doubtful if the British Empire, as such will survive.

FEDERAL UNION

A world union is necessary today. Unhappily it will not come because those in authority are children of the old world which has ceased to be and cannot think or act in terms of the new. It will not come before the world is shattered again by war and millions have perished. But it will come because

there is no other way out. Such a union can have nothing to do with imperialism or Fascism and must be based on the fullest democracy and freedom, each nation having autonomy within its borders, and submitting, in international matters, to the Union Legislature to which it sends its representatives. Inevitably, it will have to work under a planned and socialised economy in order to end the conflicts of today.

To such a Federal Union, India would gladly belong and contribute to her utmost for the peace and progress of the world. The India which belongs to it will also have her own Federation, but it will be a Federation very different from that misshapen and ill-begotten thing that is thrust open us by Britain. To this we shall give no quarter.



MUST NOT BEHAVE IN A PETTY MANNER

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report of a speech delivered by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru to a huge gathering on the Triplicane Beach, Madras, on July 26 1939.

INDIANS IN THE PAST CARRIED ON TRADE OUTSIDE INDIA and carried Indian culture and civilisation to distant lands and built famous structures which were perhaps better specimens of old Indian architecture and culture than any building they might find in India, said Mr. Nehru. He was telling them all these things to give them the proper perspective, as it were, to understand the nation's problems.

No problem today could be isolated and treated separately. Every national problem was inter-linked with international problems. If they looked at the world today, it appeared to be a jig-saw puzzle and it might be that some little things happening in some distant land might upset the equilibrium of the world. If they wanted to see a big picture, they could not do so by merely looking at a corner of it.

Continuing, Mr. Nehru said: " It became necessary for us to see things in their proper context now that we have arrived at the present stage in our political evolution. We have become, in spite of the fact that we are a subject country, a powerful country in many ways. In the world outside India, we count for a great deal to-day."

India had gone up in the national scales. This was not merely because they had a number of Provincial Governments controlled by the Congress. That itself was the outcome of so many other things. It might be the result of the battle and that battle must continue. There could not be any cooperation between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. The only way in which they could mix was by one becoming completely subject to the other. They had always to keep that in mind and they had to keep up a spirit of militancy.

BAR OF WORLD OPINION

Mr. Nehru went on to say that like an individual, a powerful nation would look very foolish in the eyes of the world, if it did not develop dignity and self-control. During the last 19 years of struggle, Indians had developed a great deal of power. That might not be reflected in their achievements but they possessed it and would wield it in a proper manner when the time came.

They had also developed a measure of dignity and self-control and he was sure that they would not behave in a petty manner before the bar of world opinion. If they had to put up a fight to save their honour, if there was no other course left open except through a conflict, they would do so. But they would not act like urchins, throwing stones in the street. They had a powerful, agitational organisation and they must keep its spirit alive.

The militant spirit seen in them revealed the life that had grown in them. While they needed that agitational spirit, they also needed dignity, which was vital and which would raise India in the estimation of the world. These two things must be co-ordinated.

Mr. Nehru said that Hitler got into power on the basis of mass slogans, of Socialist slogans more or less. As soon as he got into power, the first thing he did was to crush everything in the nature of Socialism or Communism or Liberalism. It was very dangerous for them, therefore, merely to go after slogans.



CONTEXT.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru left Allahabad for China by the Air France plane "Ville de Calcutta" on Aug. 20, 1939. Extract from an Associated Press message dated Lucknow, August 19, 1939.

"CHINA PULLS ME IN A HUNDRED WAYS"

"I GO TO CHINA, FOR THAT COUNTRY PULLS ME IN A hundred ways. Reluctantly I leave India at this crisis," declares Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in a signed article in the "National Herald".

"I go to China, heavy at heart, at the seeming disruption of what she laboured to build during these many years. I shall, however, bring back something of the courage and invincible optimism of the Chinese people and their capacity to pull together when peril confronts them."



VISIT TO CHINA IN PERSONAL CAPACITY

Extracts from a report of an interview given by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru to Press representatives at Calcutta on August 20.

"I DO NOT GO TO CHINA AS AN AMBASSADOR OF THE Congress, but as myself", said Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru who stressed the importance of closer contact between China and India.

"My visit, of course, is a personal and unofficial one, although I have the good wishes of the leading people here and the leaders of the Congress. My object is not only to convey our good wishes to the Chinese people, but also to meet them and develop contacts with them."



CHINESE RESPECT FOR CHIANG KAI-SHEK

CONTEXT.

Extracts from "Diary of A Journey", by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, in the "National Herald" of September 30, 1939.

AUGUST 23—MANY LEADING OFFICIALS AND OTHERS CAME to see me and I saw the provisional programme that had been drawn up for me for the next week in Chungking. The first item was a meeting at four the same afternoon where an impressive array of 193 organisations were offering me welcome. To this meeting we went. Mr. Wu Chih-hui, an elder statesman, spoke words of welcome and I replied. There were the national slogans, and obeisance before a picture of Sun Yat-Sen and the band playing the Chinese National anthem, which was impressive.

I discovered in the course of this meeting that whenever the name of the Generalissimo is mentioned the audience stands up in respect. If a meeting is not to be interrupted repeatedly by this standing up, it is better to refer to the Generalissimo as the leader or by some other title and to avoid the same.



JAPANESE INVASION DENOUNCED

Reuter cablegram dated Chungking, Sept. 1, 1939.

SYMPATHY FOR THE CHINESE IN THEIR RESISTANCE and denunciation of the Japanese invasion of China as also the hope for the closest co-operation between the Chinese and the Indian peoples were expressed by Pandit Nehru in a radio broadcast last night.



INDO-CHINESE FRIENDSHIP

Extracts from a Chungking report in the "Hindustan Times" of Sept. 7, 1939.

"I BRING YOU THE GREETINGS AND GOODWILL OF INDIA," said Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru as he alighted from the 'plane amidst a tumultons ovation. He continued:

"There is a great future for the two peoples and both China and India have a great cultural past. The two nations are also of tomorrow. We are prepared to co-operate in the freedom of peace-loving peoples."

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

"We heartily appreciate the sympathy of the Indian National Party under your leadership accorded to our present struggle to preserve justice and world peace," said an address of welcome bearing the signature of 193 local organizations.

The Chungking Press also extended a warm welcome to Pandit Nehru, eulogizing his selfless fight for India's independence, recalling the Indian people's sympathy and assistance to China during the war, repledging Indo-Chinese friendship, and dedicating both peoples to the task of preserving Asia against Japanese aggression.



INDIA SHOULD PLAY HER FULL PART

CONTEXT.

Report, dated Rangoon, Sept. 8, in the "Statesman" (Delhi) of Sept. 10, 1940.

"WE HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED THAT WE ARE NOT OUT to bargain, we do not approach the problem with a view to taking advantage of Britain's difficulties," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an interview with the Associated Press.

He added: "This war is going to change the face of things. The old order is dead and cannot be revived. If we are making for a new order let us do so consciously, defining it clearly and acting up to it from now onwards. It is perfectly true that, in a conflict between democracy and freedom on the one side and Fascism and aggression on the other, our sympathies must inevitably lie on the side of democracy, and we cannot tolerate with pleasure ideas of victory for the Fascist and Imperialist aggressors.

"But mere repetition of phrases about democracy and freedom does not mean that the struggle is for democracy. The last war showed that, and the past year or more demonstrated still more how democracy can be betrayed in the name of peace and freedom. The real test as to whether this struggle is for democracy and freedom does not lie in loud enunciations of principles, but in practice. If England stands for self-determination the proof of that should be India.

"I should like India to play her full part and throw all her resources into the struggle for the new order. I hope that my country will look at this problem, not from a narrow national view, but from the widest international viewpoint and seek to foster the further good of the world because our own good is involved in it. I hope that all of you will be wise enough and strong enough to forget petty rivalries and conflicts and rise to the height of the occasion, thinking only of the freedom of India and the evolution of a new world order."



CONTEXT.

RETURN FROM CHINA

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru returned to India (from China) on September 9, 1939.

PANDIT NEHRU TOLD THE PRESS THAT HE HAD BROUGHT innumerable messages of greetings and goodwill from the leaders of China to India and her people. " More specially I have been charged by the Generalissimo to convey his greetings to Mahatma Gandhi and to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore ."

Mr. Nehru regretted that he was unable to meet the members of the Indian Medical Unit in China.



HITLERISM IS ALSO AN IMPERIALISM

Extracts from a report in the " Hindustan Times " of Sept. 21, 1939, of a speech delivered by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru to about 10,000 persons at Allahabad, on the international situation :—

MR. NEHRU SAID THE WHOLE WORLD WAS PASSING THROUGH a revolutionary phase and " we in India, occupied as we are with our own affairs, must not forget that the political and economic happenings in any one part of the world affect the whole world."

Referring to the Russo-German Pact, he said that Russia had made such non-aggression pacts with other Powers also, but the way in which these pacts came into existence was not beyond suspicion. This pact was a very clever move and assured Hitler of safety from attack on one frontier.

One thing was clear that this pact had brought about war even though, perhaps, ultimately it could not have been avoided.

Referring to the Russian invasion of Poland, he said the situation was not clear. It might be that the invasion was really undertaken out of the danger of Germany becoming too strong.

" England and France are better equipped for a prolonged war which would wear cut Germany. In these circumstances what Russia will do will be very material."

Coming to India's part in the war, Mr. Nehru said : " We have always maintained that we should be free to decide whether to go to war or not. Our *sympathies are not with Hitlerism.* If India were free today, we might or might not have jumped into the war straight away. We might have joined it later.

" Whatever the results of the present war, new forces will come into being after it. We should not, in this moment of tension and excitement, take a step which we might not be able to implement in the eyes of the world. All these matters were before the Congress Working Committee when they, after a long discussion issued a statement.*

*Please see page 136.

" I would require of you all to read it well and follow its argument. England and France say that they are fighting for democracy. We want to see the end of the law of the jungle, but we also want to see the end of imperialism. Some points are clear. Our free status should be recognized.

" DIGNIFIED STAND " BY CONGRESS

" As regards recruitment and help with war material, I would say that during the last war the foundations of our industrialism came into being, much as Britain might not have liked it. *I feel that the possibilities of industrial development during this war are tremendous.* Lastly, in the final peace, India should have a free voice not only with regard to her own matter but also in a new world order as a free nation.

" We have taken a dignified stand so that we can show the world that we can take wise and statesmanlike decisions. We have acquired a responsible status in the eyes of the world.

" We have not taken the final step ; our final step will depend upon a gesture from Britain. There is no bargaining spirit. Bargaining would not be compatible with our professions of freedom. It is up to the British Government to give a response.

" If we are a responsible nation, we should sink our differences based on politics or religion. We should act as a united and responsible nation. *Britain is a decaying imperialism, but we should bear in mind that Hitlerism is also an imperialism and a young and rising imperialism.* We should prepare to protect ourselves from both."



CONTEXT.

Extracts from an article contributed (by Mr. Nehru) to the " National Herald," Lucknow, and reproduced in the " Hindustan Times " of Sept. 22, 1939.

" WHAT PART WILL INDIA PLAY ? "

IN THIS TRAGIC WORLD DRAMA OF EPIC SIGNIFICANCE WHAT part will India play ? In words of power and dignity the Working Committee have indicated the road we have to travel.

England faces this crisis with courage and determination, but she has to carry the heavy burden of her past policy, and in the light of that policy her present declaration in favour of democracy and freedom carry little weight.

For our own people, as for others, this is a time of trial and testing. If we fail in this test, we are left behind and others march ahead. To continue our petty bickerings and lay stress on differences, to suspect evil motives in one another, to seek advantage for a group or a party is to demonstrate our pettiness when great issues are at stake.



CONTEXT.

MESSAGE TO BRITAIN

Extracts from a message sent by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru on Oct. 9, 1939, to the "News Chronicle," London, in response to a cablegram.

HISTORY IS BEING MADE NOT ONLY ON THE BATTLEFIELDS but in the minds of men, and the vital question for all of us is whether that history is going to be different from that of past ages and whether this terrible war will make an essential difference to human freedom and end the very causes of war and human degradation.

To India, with her thirst for freedom and horror of war and violence, this question is of paramount importance.

She has reacted strongly against the philosophy and methods of Fascism and Nazi aggression and brutality and seen in them the negation of all she stands for. World peace for her means freedom and democracy and the ending of the domination of one nation over another.

India will, therefore, gladly throw in her resources for a new order of peace and freedom.

If this kind of peace is the objective, then Britain's war and peace aims must be clearly defined and action today must conform to them. Not to do so or to hesitate is to demonstrate that there are no clear aims and what is said vaguely is not meant seriously. It is to justify the apprehensions of all who have learnt from bitter experience that wars overwhelm ideals and result in imperialism fighting for mastery and entrenching themselves.

India wants to forget the past of conflict and wants to stretch out her hand in comradeship. But she can do so only as a free nation on terms of equality. She must be convinced that that past is over and we are all striving for a new order not only in Europe but in Asia and the world.

CANNOT WARD OFF ARMED ATTACK WITH NON-VIOLENCE

Extracts from a report of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's reply to the debate, in the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Wardha on the war crisis resolution moved by him.*

MR. NEHRU FELT THAT THE PRESENT WAR WOULD CREATE a new order in the world and if India played her part in the right direction she could influence this change for the better.

Proceeding he said they had supported the principles of collective security. When a weaker nation was oppressed others should go to its rescue, and so it would not be a question of strengthening British imperialism if they decided to support war. He averred that the present resolution would uproot British imperialism and certainly not help it.

Mr. Nehru referring to Mr. Gandhi's firm conviction that the principle of non-violence should be applied in the present

* Of Oct. 10, 1939, page 141.

case also said that he did not see how they could ward off an armed attack by observing non-violence.

" Our path is slippery and we may commit mistakes. But it is necessary to maintain complete unity."



CONTEXT.

RUSSIA'S OPPORTUNISM

Extracts from a signed article contributed by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru to the "National Herald" of Lucknow.

WAR AND VIOLENCE, AGGRESSION AND DUPLICITY, AND unadulterated opportunism overshadow the world, and the shape of things to come grows more and more amorphous and shapeless.

Perhaps we grow unduly pessimistic and lack faith and courage, and the future is not so dark as the present would lead us to think.

Nothing is more significant to-day, or more full of sorrow, than the weakening almost everywhere (though not so much in India) of the progressive forces.

> Soviet Russia, their symbol of hope and fulfilment, has descended from the pedestal on which her ardent champions had placed her, and bartered away her moral prestige and the friendship of so many of her friends for seeming political advantage.

While the Nazi and Fascist Powers were openly carrying out their programme of unabashed aggression and England and France were aiding them by their foreign policy, Soviet Russia stood as a symbol of a straightforward and integrated policy of international peace.

RUSSO-GERMAN PACT

The Russo-German pact was a shock and the manner and timing of it smacked patently of this opportunism. Yet it could be understood and partly explained. Subsequent policy in the Baltic regions carried us a step further. There was an explanation for this also, for the Soviet wanted to protect its north-western frontier from attack and everyone knew that this was the danger zone. Yet our doubts increased.

Then came the attack on Finland. The demands made on Finland had some justification from the point of view of Russia's future security. Yet it must be remembered that every great Power tends to extend its frontiers on the plea of security. In wartime and with the possible danger of a shift in Europe which might bring about a concerted and joint attack on Russia, the desire to protect these frontiers and the great and vital city of Leningrad was understandable.

But the armed invasion of Finland passed these bounds, and Russia lined up with aggressor nations, and thereby was false to the traditions she had herself nourished for these many years.

A small democratic nation is fighting gallantly for its freedom and against aggression and it is inevitable that sympathy should go out to it.

LEAGUE'S CONDEMNATION

To the forces of reaction everywhere this war in Finland has come as a special dispensation from heaven. Under cover of it they have hidden their own aggressions and betrayals, and presumed to stand up as the champions of the oppressed against aggression. Their hatred of socialism and Soviet Russia as a Socialist State now finds a congenial atmosphere in which to function. The League of Nations, which had slumbered peacefully throughout the rape of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, which had philosophically accepted Munich and connived at the infamous policy of non-intervention in Spain, which had said nothing about the Nazi invasion of Poland, now suddenly wakes up and is used as a weapon to strike Soviet Russia.

But for us to advocate and defend Soviet aggression or even to acquiesce in it passively, is to do a grave disservice to socialism. There are those who have made it their creed to defend every activity of the Soviet Government, and who consider it a heresy or *lese-majeste* for any one to criticise or condemn any such activity. That is the way of blind faith which has nothing to do with reason. It is not on that basis that we can build up freedom here or elsewhere. Integrity of mind and sincerity of purpose can be given up only at peril to ourselves and to our cause.

We have to remember that Soviet Russia in spite of her many failings, has gone a long way to establish this economic system, and it would be a tragedy if this mighty scheme of things, so full of promise for the future, was ended or crippled. We can be no parties to this.

But we must also realize that the Soviet Government has erred egregiously in many matters and based itself too much on violence and opportunism and authoritarianism.

We in India, therefore, extend our friendly sympathy to the socialism of Russia, and any attempt to break it will meet with our strong disapproval. But we do not give our sympathy to the political manoeuvres and aggressions of Russia's Government.

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INVASION OF NETHERLANDS

CONTEXT.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's comment (May 10, 1940) on the Nazi invasion of Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg.

WHILE A MEASURE OF ADMIRATION GOES OUT TO THE efficiency and thoroughness of the military machine of Germany, it is obvious that the menace of Nazi domination of Europe and to some extent, other parts of the world is a

real one. But the clinging on to the British Empire and a fight against Fascism cannot go together with any effectiveness.

While India is completely opposed to the idea of the triumph of Nazism, it is no good asking her to come to the rescue of a tottering imperialism, which still presumes to speak of her with arrogance and in terms of domination.

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AFTER THE FALL OF PARIS

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report of a speech delivered by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in Lahore on June 12, 1940 at a meeting held by the Lahore District Congress Committee and attended by 20,000 persons.

"I THINK THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT MUST BE FEELING sorry today for having treated India in the manner in which they have done. If India were a free country today, it would have made a great difference in the present circumstances."

Mr. Nehru added leadership in Britain appeared to have stagnated. He remarked that British Imperialism was now vanishing. It was bound to vanish. He felt no hesitation in saying that even if the British Government won the war British Imperialism would never live.

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ITALY'S "BLATANT OPPORTUNISM"

Extracts from a report dated Lahore, June 12, 1940 of a talk with Punjab journalists.

I DO NOT DESIRE NAZI DOMINATION OF EUROPE, BECAUSE I dislike Nazism intensely. I have great sympathy with the people of France and England in their hour of trial. I do not understand at all the manner in which Italy has declared war after sitting on the fence for such a long time. A more blatant example of sheer opportunism it would be difficult to find. As has been stated before, India's attitude towards the British Government does not depend on the war situation, but on the British Government's attitude towards the Indian problem.

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IF THE WAR IS PROLONGED

Extracts from an article contributed to the "National Herald" by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru.

IF THE NAZIS WIN THROUGH, AS WELL THEY MIGHT, THERE is little doubt of what they would try to make of Europe and the world.

What happens if the Nazis do not win within the next few months? Probably a long and exhausting war in which both combatants suffer greatly and are completely exhausted.

The economic structure of England and Europe collapses and the only possible future is one of large federations of nations, or of a world federation, based on a different economy and on strict world control of production, transport and distribution. The present day capitalist system goes. The British Empire ends. Small States cannot exist as independent units. Possibly even the conception of money changes.

THE BURMA-CHINA ROAD

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a statement issued by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru on July 16, 1940.

THE NEWS ABOUT CHINA IS OMINOUS. WE WERE TOLD recently that the British Government had agreed to close the Burma-China Road during the monsoon. We are now informed that this Government is engaged in a peace move in the Far East.

England may be in a perilous condition today and it is easy to understand that she does not want further entanglements. But the betrayal of China will not bring her relief; it will have far-reaching consequences affecting American opinion as well as Indian opinion.

The policy of appeasement of the aggressor has proved to be disastrous in the past; it will not succeed now. It will expose still further the pretension that Britain fights for democracy and confirm us in our resolve not to be a party to this.

DOMINION STATUS " SINGULARLY ABSURD "

Extracts from a report in the "Hindustan Times" of July 19, 1940.

" WE ARE ENTIRELY OPPOSED TO NAZISM, AND WE THINK it would be a tragedy if Nazi Germany dominated the world, but we are sick of being imposed upon by British Imperialism," writes Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in a signed article in the " National Herald " under the caption " What Of Us " ?

" To us waiting patiently for months and deliberately not trying to embarrass the English people in the hour of their trial and distress," adds Mr. Nehru, " this functioning of British Imperialism has come as a revelation."

Mr. Nehru expresses the opinion that whether Germany wins or loses will obviously make a great difference to the future of Europe and the world.

Explaining the significance of the independence which India seeks, Mr. Nehru stresses that this has never been looked at as isolation, or the mere addition of a new national State to a crowd of others.

" We have always realized and looked forward to the world gathering closer together and functioning through a federation or union which India would gladly join. But to ask us to accept Dominion Status, or to try to impose a particular union on us against our wishes, is something which, in the world context today, is singularly absurd."



CONTEXT.

" SMALLER NATIONS CANNOT EXIST AS SEPARATE ENTITIES "

Extract from a report in the " Hindustan Times " of a speech delivered by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru at Gorakhpur (U. P.) on Oct. 8, 1940.

" THE WAR HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT SMALLER NATIONS cannot exist as separate entities," observed Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a large public meeting here yesterday.

He added that it was difficult even for the greater nations to claim a separate existence or to command wide empires. One had to think of federations of nations, either of smaller or bigger ones. Mr. Nehru stressed the importance of India being very wary before making her next move. If they could face the present upheaval with courage and strength, they could turn the situation in their favour.

PRASAD, Dr. Rajendra

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a statement made on behalf of the Congress Working Committee by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, then Congress President, at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on June 24, 1939, and reprinted in the "Congress Bulletin".

WAR DANGER

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

THE DANGER OF A WORLD WAR IS EVER PRESENT AND IT might materialise in the course of months. This would be a disaster to the world but, if unfortunately war comes, attempts are likely to be made to involve India in it. Already the British Government have taken some steps to this end in India, and the proposed amendment of the Government of India Act prepares the ground for further action by concentrating all power, in the event of war, in the hands of the Central Government. This Government is only an agent of the British Government and is in no way responsible to the people of India. Such a war will thus be of vital concern to India and there is grave danger of our being exploited for imperialist purposes. We must, therefore, be ready to meet this crisis and to resist all attempts to drag us into war, and thus give effect to the oft-declared policy of the Congress.

But, apart from international happenings, the national problems that we have to face are of the gravest import, and the position of our countrymen overseas is rapidly becoming intolerable.....

THE INDIAN STATES

In the Indian States there has been a marked deterioration in the situation and many of the Rulers or their advisers have pursued a policy of intensive repression and, in some cases, of unabashed gangsterism against their people.....

The Working Committee realise fully that the struggle in the States is a vital part of the larger struggle for Indian freedom and cannot be dissociated from it. The Committee are guided by the resolution of the Tripuri Congress and will seek to give effect to it insofar as they can. But the Committee are convinced that the burden of the struggle must inevitably fall on the people of the States and they cannot advance without developing self-reliance and strength.

FEDERATION

A significant feature of the States struggle has been the part played by the representatives of the British Government. The Paramount Power has in many cases thrown the

weight of its influence on the side of the misgovernment of the rulers and has itself taken part in the repression of the people. This policy of the British Government has demonstrated still further the dangers in the scheme of Federation which the Congress has completely rejected. Although Federation is not a live issue at present, it is possible that attempts might still be made to impose it on India. Such an imposition, if it comes, must be combated and the country must be prepared for it.

We cannot merely wait for the British Government to impose Federation, so that we might combat it and thereby seek to reach our objective; it is necessary for us to devise means to do so apart from any action taken by the British Government. In the opinion of the Working Committee the situation in the world and in India urgently demands, in the interests of our people as well as of world peace and freedom, that Indian independence be recognised and steps be taken to establish it. . . .

"BARRIERS TO ALL PROGRESS"

In some provinces communalism and sectarianism have increased and have resulted in riots and bloodshed, and in intolerance and bitterness of feeling. The Working Committee have noted this deterioration with distress for they realise that such conflicts and divisions are barriers to all progress. They are keenly anxious to do all in their power, in co-operation with Congressmen and all others, to root out the causes of communal disharmony.

There are thus all these and many other vital problems which face the country, and it is clear that the Congress can only tackle them effectively if its own house is in order. At present there is a conflict within the Congress which disables us and the growth in the power of the Congress has led to undesirable practices and the entry of many fictitious names in our rolls, which weaken the organisation. Even within the organisation disruptive and anti-Congress elements have found place.

THE WAR CRISIS

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a statement made by Babu Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Wardha, October 9 and 10, 1939 ("Congress Bulletin"):—

THE PRESENT WAR, WE ARE ALL AWARE, IS BEING WAGED by England and France against Germany. The declared objective is to free Europe from the constant fear of Nazi aggression and generally to secure freedom for all nationalities.

We have expressed our detestation of Nazi methods of aggression on many occasions. We have also expressed our sympathy in unmistakable terms with all those countries which have from time to time been made the victims of unprovoked attacks. We protested when Abyssinia was attacked. We expressed our sympathy with the democratic forces in Spain. We protested against the conquest and annexation

of Czechoslovakia. We have expressed our sympathy with all the suffering nations. We have thus made our position perfectly clear. What we want is clarification of the position of the Allies and particularly of England. . . . .

We are aware that in the past there have been occasions when the avowed objects for which a war was fought were not the real objects. The last Great War fought with slogans of self-determination and 'making the world safe for democracy', did not fulfil any of these objects. We are, therefore, naturally doubtful if the professed aims of the present war are its real aims.

India at the present moment is not an independent country. If it were independent it would have considered whether it should join the present war. Many other countries which sympathise with Poland have not joined the war and it is possible that with all our sympathy with Poland and with the best wish in the world to save the cause of democracy, we might have decided in favour of neutrality.

If India is asked to help in a war for restoring and guaranteeing the freedom of Poland is it any wonder that India should ask to be made free before she can render any help ?

It is no question of bargaining or taking advantage of the difficulties of England. It is a simple and straightforward question that India asks. What part or lot can she have in a war waged for the freedom of other countries when her own freedom is denied to her by people who are fighting for freedom and democracy in Europe ?

" ENGLAND IS ANY DAY BETTER "

CONTEXT.

Associated Press report in the " Hindustan Times " of May 12, 1940, of an interview with Dr. Rajendra Prasad, ex-President of the Congress, on the German invasion of Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg.

THE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE, INVOLVING THE conquest of country after country, have created a most intriguing situation for a man like me, who feels as if he were on the horns of a dilemma.

I have felt very much upset by the happenings within the last few days. We have undoubtedly our grievances against England, and we know that she has not behaved fairly and squarely towards India.

At the same time, I realize that England is any day better than the Totalitarian States, and I cannot but wish that England and France should win the war.

While England's hesitation to meet India's most just demands makes it impossible to shut our eyes to world events, and the Congress must take note of them, our sympathies are entirely with the peoples whose freedom has been attacked—Poland, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and the Czechs.

Rajagopalachariar, Mr. C.

CONTEXT.

" WE MUST ALL PRAY FOR ALLIES' SUCCESS "

Extracts from a report in "The Mail" of January 29, 1940, from its Negapatam correspondent:

" WE MUST ALL PRAY FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE ALLIES in this war. It is folly to rejoice over the news of the sinking of a British steamer," declared Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, former Premier of Madras, speaking at a public meeting here yesterday (January 26, 1940).

" Britain's prestige will be enhanced the day India attains complete freedom ", he added. India's object was bound to be achieved as Britain, which was waging a war to restore the freedom of Poland, could not think of keeping in subjection a land of 35 crores of people.

Some persons, continued Mr. Rajagopalachariar, gloated over the resignation of the Congress Ministries. But the resignation was not brought about by the efforts of those who were rejoicing over it.

The solid fact remained that within four months of their resignation, without any civil resistance being resorted to, the Viceroy had given the assurance, on behalf of the British Government, that Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety was India's goal and that efforts would be made to achieve it as early as possible.

GERMAN BARBARISM

Extract from a report dated April 11, from the Conjeevaram correspondent of "The Hindu", of a speech by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar at a public meeting.

THE WORLD AND INDIA WERE NOW PASSING THROUGH momentous times and none of them could help being affected by the crisis. Indians had all along imagined that British imperialism could not be equalled for violence and suppression of the liberties of people; but to-day they witnessed the sight of barbarities committed by Germans which few could have ever thought possible.

CONTEXT.

GERMAN LIES ABOUT INDIA :

OPPOSITION TO COALITIONS

Extracts from a report dated Coimbatore, May 25, 1940, in "The Mail" of a speech in Tamil by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar at a meeting of over 10,000 persons.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR DECLARED HIS OPPOSITION TO a coalition government. Those who advocated a coalition government must accept the principle of joint electorates. Some political parties which had no following and some self-styled leaders opposed joint electorates from their own selfish point of view.

No good could come out of a coalition ministry, he asserted. It would come to no conclusions and the Governor's opinion would finally prevail. He added that he was speaking from personal experience.

The Germans were doing a lot of false propaganda about India. They uttered several lies, but they mixed up their lies with some truth. They kept on stating that Great Britain had not given freedom to India. But, whatever Germany might say, the British Government must take steps to give freedom to India as urged by Mahatma Gandhi. In India, Mahatma Gandhi was in the position of Hitler in Germany, but Gandhi believed in non-violence and was praying for the success of the Allies.

GERMAN METHODS OF WARFARE

Extract from a report dated May 25, 1940, from the Coimbatore Correspondent of "The Hindu" of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's speech at a "huge public meeting".

NO ONE COULD SAY HOW THIS WAR WAS GOING TO END, said Mr. Rajagopalachariar. One side must certainly lose. But there was no shame or humiliation in it. In the last war Germany lost. Heavy penalties were imposed on her. Defeat from physical weakness was no real defeat. Falsehood, deceit, not doing justice, all these brought shame upon one.

Germany had cast to the winds all laws of justice and humanity and, by scaling the walls, as it were, in Belgium and Holland, was going towards England. If Britain lost in this treacherous and deceitful campaign she suffered no shame. With her was associated France, the most civilised nation in the world. In this war, whoever won, the conqueror could not subjugate and reduce to slavery the defeated nation. Therefore, the war must end in peace. Supposing peace came and a treaty was signed, England would be placed in a very awkward situation if she was confronted with the question, why India had not been freed. Therefore, the real difficulty did not arise during the war but would arise only afterwards.

CONTEXT.

HITLER'S POLICY CONTRARY TO RIGHTEOUSNESS

Extracts from a report dated Madras, July 1, in the "Indian Express" of July 2, 1940, of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's speech at a public meeting.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR SAID HE WAS A FRIEND OF BRITAIN and wished, like others, that Hitler would be defeated. People need not be alarmed at the spectacular success of Hitler. The situation might change. Hitler's success was not going to be permanent because he was acting contrary to the principles of righteousness.



"HITLER MUST BE DEFEATED"

Extracts from a report in "The Hindu" of June 3, 1940.

PRESIDING OVER THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE LALA Lajpat Rai Deseeya Valibhar Sangam, Royapuram, Madras, last evening, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar made a fervent appeal to the people of India to strengthen the hands of Mahatma Gandhi in his efforts to establish Purna Swaraj (complete independence) in the country. He said that the internal differences in the country would soon disappear and India would be free.

Addressing the huge gathering in Tamil, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar said a grim and terrible war was now going on in the West. Thousands of miles away from the scene, they could not feel its horrors. The present war reminded them of the fights of the Rakshasas in the Puranas. A ruthless massacre of innocent people was being carried on to satisfy the cravings of a few persons. Though they in India had not experienced destruction of property and bombing of cities, they were exploited economically.

The situation was getting worse day by day. *Brute force was gaining ground. Hitler and Hitlerism must be defeated and routed out of the world. There would be more trouble for the world if Hitler should be victorious and more injustices would be perpetrated. Therefore, it must be the wish of all that Hitler should be defeated.*

It was true that the Allies were having reverses and that they had to withdraw from important places. The situation, however, was not irretrievable. The battle could be won on the moral plane. If only Britain conceded the right of Self-Determination to India, the moral position would be reversed and there would be considerable improvement.

India would help Britain to a man if only Britain would say the word. Only a free India could effectively help to restore British prestige. It was a pity that British statesmen had not realised this.



CONTEXT.

ALLIES' DISADVANTAGE: THEIR SUPERIOR CULTURE

Extracts from an Associated Press report dated Ambasamudram, June 9 in the "Statesman", Delhi, June 10, 1940, of Mr. Rajagopalachariar's address at the Tinnevelly District Political Conference.

ALL THE DISADVANTAGES OF A SUPERIOR CULTURE AND a humanitarian form of government are hampering the motions of the Allies, while the very inhumanitarianism and the baser feelings of revenge and hunger for land and wealth are helping the German forces to fight like savages, but with modern weapons.

I feel it almost impossible to turn from this scene to our own problems. Yet every nation has its own life to look after, and India cannot afford to forget her own problems in the grim enchantment of the Western struggle. It is perhaps not even desirable, even if it were possible. We do not serve civilization by forgetting our rights. We cannot help the Allies by agreeing to be a subject people. On the contrary, such surrender would help the Germans by furnishing both a justification and a motive and edge to their appetite.



"DECLARATION OF FREEDOM": WHAT CONGRESS MEANS

Extract from a report dated Madras, July 22 1940, in "The Hindu".

THE DECLARATION OF FREEDOM THAT WE DEMAND DOES not mean a withdrawal from the British plan of defence. It means a free alliance and a partnership in a free atmosphere. Such a declaration will result in a better tie than a coercive partnership, imposed in spite of our repeated demand for a voluntary alliance in place of it", says Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, ex-Premier, in a statement to the Associated Press.



INDIA CAN REPLACE FRANCE AS ALLY

Extracts from a report, dated Delhi, July 9, in the "Hindustan Times" of July 10, 1940, of an interview given to a representative of the paper by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar on the Congress Working Committee resolution of July 7, 1940.

CONGRESSMEN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WILL SEE that the claim for the status of a free country stands intact as it should be both in the interests of India and England. The sacrifice involved in this co-operation will be realized by those who know Gandhiji's fundamental creed. The Working Committee have taken the responsibility of differing from him and taking this grave step in view of what they consider is a national necessity, as India stands to-day.

If England has lost France it is open to her to gain India. And a free India is no smaller than France in the calculations of net assets. This is not an occasion for either side to higgle or lose precious time or to give up fundamental principles.



CONTEXT.

Extract from Associated Press report dated Tiruvellore, Sept. 30, in the "Hindustan Times" of Oct. 1, 1940, of a speech delivered by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar at the Chingleput District Political Conference on Sept 29, 1940:—

AXIS-JAPANESE PACT

THE CONCLUSION OF A MILITARY PACT BETWEEN JAPAN, Germany and Italy has brought danger very near India as well. By being a belligerent, India cannot rest content by paying a few coins for the War Fund, but must be prepared for all sacrifices and suffering like the Londoners. It was a tremendous responsibility that India had been asked to shoulder as a belligerent in this war.

Santhanam, M.L.A., Mr. K.

Satyamurti, M.L.A., Mr. S.

Shankerrao Deo, Mr.

Sri Krishna Sinha, Mr.

M84DPI

SANTHANAM, M.L.A., MR. K.

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a special article by Mr. K. Santhanam, Congress M.L.A. (Central), in the "Hindustan Times" of Sept. 13, 1939:—

HITLER'S LUST FOR POWER

"IT IS NEEDLESS TO SAY THAT THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF the war is Hitler's lust for power.....

"British statesmen fondly imagine that the British Empire is tantamount to a world Federation.....A peaceful and evolutionary liquidation of the conglomerate British Empire and the reorganization of Europe into large Federations are necessary conditions for the successful continuation of European civilization."

SATYAMURTI, M.L.A., MR. S.

INDIANS WANT ALLIED VICTORY

Mr. S. Satyamurti, Congress M.L.A. (Central), issued this statement on November 6, 1939:

It is a thousand pities that it looks as if, for the present at least, the Congress and the Government must go their own separate ways in respect of the prosecution of this war.

There is not one right-minded Indian, who does not want the victory of the Allies against Hitlerism and Stalinism.

I believe there is not one right-minded Britisher who believes that Britain can get the right kind of moral co-operation from India except with the support of the Indian National Congress.

CONTEXT.

"BRITAIN WITH ALL HER FAULTS IS A DECENT NATION"

Extracts from a report in "The Mail" of May 5, 1940.

"I KNOW THIS: THAT BRITAIN, WITH ALL HER FAULTS is a decent nation, and in this war, I have no doubt Mahatma Gandhi wishes, the Congress wishes, I wish, and all of us wish England wins the war," declared Mr. S. Satyamurti, Mayor of Madras, addressing the Pudukottah Bar Association on the 'Rule of Law' yesterday.

"We in India have a heritage and when India wins freedom, we wish to show to the world by our foreign policy that we have no territorial ambition. We shall be content to be free, for we have tasted the evils of slavery too long and I beg of you as lawyers to think of the freedom of India which will mean the rule of law, not only in this country but throughout the world."

Mr. Satyamurti concluded by saying that England would win the war and at the end of the war would come the rule of law in the international sphere.

"ALL SHOULD WISH FOR SUCCESS OF ALLIES"

Extracts from a report of Mr. S. Satyamurti's address of welcome to delegates at the Madras District Political Conference on May 19, 1940.

MR. SATYAMURTI SAID THAT WHILE THEY WERE ASSEMBLED there, aeroplanes were raining bombs on the innocent women and children of France and Belgium. The war had reached a stage of surprising possibilities. America was still wavering and the future of the war depended to a certain extent on her attitude. A few people in this country seemed to feel that England should lose this war. He wanted them to get such a thought out of their minds. If Hitler won, there could not be real happiness either for this country or for the world. All should wish for the success of the Allies.

What more could they do than wish for the success of Britain? If they were to give active support, they must know clearly what their future was going to be.

THE MENACE TO INDIA

Extracts from a report of a speech delivered by Mr. S. Satyamurti, Mayor of Madras, as Chairman of a public meeting addressed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on June 12, 1940.

MR. SATYAMURTI, AFTER WELCOMING MRS. SAROJINI Naidu, said: "While we are sitting here, Paris, the cynosure of all eyes in the domain of European civilization, the place where culture, music, drama and other fine arts flourished and still flourish, is the prey of incendiary bombs.

"I want all people in this country to feel that this menace to civilization, culture, democracy and freedom must be

fought and destroyed. The victory of Hitler, Mussolini or their companions will be the victory of dictatorship, injustice and brute force in this world. I hope and pray that it will be given to those who are fighting these demons to win the victory.

"We in India are anxious, are almost dying, to give our fullest cooperation.

"We are anxious that democracy should win, Britain should win and France should survive. But we cannot give the cooperation we want to give unless we are able to believe that this war is fought not only for the freedom of France and Great Britain, but also for the freedom and independence of our Motherland."

After repeating his suggestion that the Secretary of State for India should fly to India and meet Mr. Gandhi, Mr. S. Satyamurti said: "All the frantic attempts to set up war committees and civic guards will only intensify a bad situation. The remedy is to set up without delay in the provinces and at the centre strong popular governments who will deal with the situation and give the utmost cooperation that India is capable of..."

INDIA IN DANGER

But whether the Government responded or not, the natural leaders of the people in whom the people reposed confidence, had to deal with the situation in a realistic manner. The danger to India was real. The Premier of the Punjab had disclosed that the Khaksars had foreign connexions and that there were "fifth columnists" in the country. These were dangerous elements. The Congress was keen on maintaining internal law and order and ensuring protection against external aggression.

Referring to the Commander-in-Chief's proposal to have 100,000 people in India trained, Mr. Satyamurti said that this would be as nothing in the balance against the hordes and well-disciplined army of Hitler.

Mr. Satyamurti also appealed to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee to remember that, in these perilous times, that they should protect the honour, freedom, unity, peace and order of India and should not stand on false prestige. He knew that Mr. Gandhi would not.



CONTEXT.

Extract from a report of a speech delivered by Mr. S. Satyamurti at a public

NO FUTURE FOR INDIA, IF HITLER WINS

MR. SATYAMURTI SAID THAT IMPERIALISM WOULD HAVE no place in the world of the future. Whatever the difference between Britain and the people of this country, if Hitler or

meeting in Karaikudi on June 29, 1940.

Mussolini won this war, there was no future for this country or its civilisation.



CONTEXT.

" INDIA WOULD BECOME SLAVE OF OTHER COUNTRIES "

Extracts from a report, dated Coimbatore, July 21, 1940, in "The Mail", Madras.

Hitlerism must be defeated. If Britain did not win the war India would become a slave of other countries, and, therefore, Indians wished for Britain's success in this war.

Thus declared Mr. S. Satyamurti, addressing a largely attended public meeting held here yesterday (July 20).

Mr. Satyamurti explained the Congress Working Committee's resolution on war, and appealed to British statesmen to realise the gravity of the situation and concede the Congress demand for a declaration of independence. If such a declaration of independence were made the Congress would be prepared to offer the fullest cooperation to Britain in the successful prosecution of the war.

The speaker then criticised the British Government's decision regarding the temporary closing of the Burma route for the transport of war materials to the Chungking Government. It was Britain's duty, he said, to support China in her war against Japan, which was pro-German.

SHANKERRAO DEO, MR.

" CONGRESS WANTS ENGLAND TO WIN "

Extract from a report from Jubbulpore, in the "Hindustan Times" of April 24, 1940.

INTERVIEWED BY MR. HAROLD E. FEY, FIELD CORRESpondent of the 'Christian Century Magazine', Chicago, U.S.A., Mr. Shankerrao Deo, a member of the Congress Working Committee, explained to him the Congress viewpoint.

He said: The Congress has no sympathy with the Nazis or Hitler, who are but the products of British Imperialism.

It stands for a democracy based on the principle of non-violence. It is against dictatorship of any type. The Congress wants England to win and we all pray for her success in the war, but India should have the right of self-determination and of shaping her destiny.

SRI KRISHNA SINHA, MR.

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report from Muzaffarpur (Bihar), in the "Statesman" of May 19, 1940.

BRITAIN FIGHTING FOR SMALL NATIONS

"WE CANNOT SEE AN END OF WAR IN THE WORLD UNLESS a new world order based on truth and non-violence is created and the different nations of the world learn to deal with one another in a just and fair manner," declared Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha, ex-Premier of Bihar, addressing the members of the Muzaffarpur Satyagraha Camp. Continuing, Mr. Sinha said: "Though the war is being fought directly by Great Britain for the preservation of an Empire it cannot be denied that the British are also fighting indirectly for the safety of the small and independent nations of Europe.

"In a Nazi empire there can be no place for autonomous units, while the British Empire contains in its fold several autonomous units. It is because of these facts that our sympathy goes to Britain, but it is very necessary that before the British people carry the world through carnage and bloodshed to a new order they should boldly shed the garment of imperialism. And the acid test of this will be the way in which they handle the situation in India."

Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr.

THIRD "CHINA DAY"*

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a statement issued at Calcutta on May 27, 1938, by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, then Congress President.

EVER SINCE THE JAPANESE AGGRESSION IN CHINA BEGAN last year, the Indian National Congress has repeatedly expressed its sympathy for the Chinese people and their struggle for freedom and peace. Apart from resolutions of sympathy being passed, pro-Chinese demonstrations have been held all over the country. A sum of over Rs. 8,000 has also been collected and is now in the hands of the All-India Congress Committee office. The Working Committee of the Congress, at its last meeting in Bombay, decided to send an ambulance unit with doctors to China to demonstrate our solidarity with the Chinese people, instead of sending only monetary relief.

The Sub-Committee held a meeting in Bombay on the 24th instant and decided to send a fully equipped motor car ambulance to China and a batch of four qualified doctors, preferably experienced surgeons. One year's expenses were worked out and it was found that a sum of Rs. 30,000 was needed for the Medical Mission.

In order to demonstrate once again our deep sympathy for the Chinese people in their hour of trial, I request all Congress organisations in the country to observe the 12th June, 1938, as All-India China Day. Meetings and processions should be held on that day and a serious endeavour should be made to collect funds for our Medical Mission.

MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT BENES

Mr. Subhas Bose sent the following cablegram to President Benes of Czechoslovakia :

"CONGRESS PASSED RESOLUTION EXPRESSING PROFOUND sympathy for your brave people in their struggle to preserve freedom. We hope better part of human nature will still assert itself and save humanity from impending catastrophe. Pray accept personal regard and admiration."

*Under Congress auspices, "China Day" was observed on Sept. 26, 1937 and again on Jan. 9, 1938.

CONTEXT.

"ATROCIOUS REPRISALS ON JEWS"

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's comment (Nov. 12, 1938) on the persecution of Jews in Germany.

WE, IN INDIA, ARE KEENLY SENSITIVE TO QUESTIONS concerning racial equality and we naturally share the indignation of the whole civilized world at the atrocious reprisals on the entire Jewish community in Germany for the criminal act of an unbalanced boy. It is time to enquire how such an orgy of savagery has been possible in the year of grace 1838.

Having lived in Germany, I know that the teaching of racial science on a nationwide scale has prepared the Nazis psychologically for such a pogrom. When the Nazis are taught to regard the Jews as vermin it is small wonder that their conscience does not revolt against organized brutality against innocent and unarmed people.

The shameful surrender of the big Powers at Munich has undoubtedly emboldened the Nazis to a degree and they now feel strong enough to flout the civilized world and treat public opinion abroad with callous contempt. I wonder how long the world will tolerate this.



"ABJECT SURRENDER" TO NAZIS

Extracts from the text of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's presidential address at the 52nd session of the Indian National Congress on March 10, 1939, at Tripuri.

SINCE WE MET AT HARIPURA IN FEBRUARY, 1938, SEVERAL significant events have taken place in the international sphere. Most important of these is the Munich Pact of September 1938, which implied abject surrender to Nazi Germany on the part of the Western Powers—France and Great Britain. As a result of this, France ceased to be the dominant Power in Europe, and the hegemony passed into the hands of Germany without a shot being fired.

In more recent times, the gradual collapse of the Republic an Government in Spain seems to have added to the strength and prestige of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The so-called democratic Powers—France and Great Britain—have joined Italy and Germany in conspiring to eliminate Soviet Russia from European politics for the time being. But how long will that be possible ? And what have France and Great Britain gained by trying to humiliate Russia ?

There is no doubt that, as a result of recent international developments in Europe as well as in Asia, British and French imperialism has received a considerable setback in the matter of strength and prestige.

FEDERATION

Coming to home politics, in view of my ill-health, I shall content myself with referring to only a few important pro-

blems. In the first place, I must give clear and unequivocal expression to what I have been feeling for some time past, namely, that the time has come for us to raise the issue of Swaraj and submit our national demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum. The time is long past when we could have adopted a passive attitude and waited for the federal scheme to be imposed on us. The problem no longer is as to when the federal scheme will be forced down our throats.

The sanctions that we possess today are mass civil disobedience or satyagraha. And the British Government today are not in a position to face a major conflict like All-India satyagraha for a long period.



CZECHOSLOVAKIA : WARNING TO INDIA

CONTEXT.

Extract from a report (dated Aug. 5, 1939) in the Hindu of a speech delivered by Mr. Subhas Bose to the students of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack :—

MR. BOSE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO THINK that India's problems would be solved once freedom was won. The recent events relating to the tragedy of Czechoslovakia and Spain and the annexation of China had disproved the same. He referred to the position of the Wafd Party in Egypt as a warning to India and said that the Wafd had struggled and secured considerable independence through the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, but could not retain power after entering office. He did not want the same story repeated in India.

Another point was India's defence. Some people believed that after winning independence through non-violence, they could maintain it through non-violence. Mr. Bose did not hold that view. " I do confess that I have a modern mind and when thinking of defence, I think of modern defence."



IF HITLER IS DEFEATED

Extracts from a report in the " National Herald " of October. 13, 1939.

"WE WILL FIGHT ONLY FOR THE DEFENCE OF A FREE INDIA and our fight will be carried under the command of Indian officials and under the tri-colour National Flag. All attempts to involve Indians in a war in which they are called upon to fight under the Union Jack and under the command of alien officers, are bound to fail ", declared Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, addressing a meeting of the citizens of Lucknow.

Mr. Bose said a victorious Germany would mean a shattered British Imperialism. Hitler's defeat was bound to result in the conversion of Nazi Germany into a Soviet Germany. But it would not end there. Sovietisation of

France as well as England would be a natural corollary. But, so far as India was concerned, whether Hitler came out victorious or was defeated in the present war, India had nothing to lose except her chains.

Mr. Bose ridiculed the suggestion that India might apprehend foreign invasion any moment.

He pointed out that in the last war India generously placed her resources at the disposal of Great Britain, and in return for the sacrifice got Jallianwalla Bagh and the Rowlatt Act. India should profit by that lesson, he emphasized.

"If Britain wants to fight for freedom, let her establish her 'bona fides' by freeing India." Never before was India more prepared to strike than today.

British imperialism, in its present weak and shattered condition, was not capable of standing against the united will of the Indian people to shake off their alien domination.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

"VAST AND TERRIBLE WAR THREATENS WORLD"

CONTEXT.

Resolutions adopted at the 49th Session of the Indian National Congress at Lucknow (April 12—14, 1936).

THE CONGRESS, AT ITS SESSION HELD IN MADRAS IN 1927, drew the attention of the country to the danger of an imperialist war and the possibility of India being made a tool in such a conflict for imperialist purposes, and declared the right of the Indian people to refuse to participate in any such war without their express permission.

That danger has become more evident and urgent since then with the growth of Fascist dictatorships, the Italian attack on Abyssinia, the continuing Japanese aggression in North China and Mongolia, the rivalries and conflicts of the great imperialist Powers, and the feverish growth of armaments, and a vast and terrible war threatens the world.

In such a war an attempt will inevitably be made to drag in and exploit India to her manifest disadvantage and for the benifit of British imperialism. The Congress therefore reiterates its old resolve and warns the people of the country against this danger, and declares its opposition to the participation of India in any imperialist war.

SYMPATHY FOR ABYSSINIA

The Congress expresses the sympathy of the Indian nation for the Ethiopian people who are so heroically defending their country against imperialist aggression, and considers Abyssinia's fight as part of the fight of all exploited nations for freedom.

The Congress condemns the Great Powers and the League of Nations for their policy in regard to the Italo-Abyssinian war.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Congress, as representing the will of the Indian people for national freedom and a democratic state, declares that no constitution imposed by outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people of India and does not recognise their right to shape and control fully their political and economic future can be accepted. In the opinion of the Congress such a constitution must be based on the independence of India as a nation and it can only be framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on adult franchise, or a franchise which approximates to it as nearly as possible.

The Congress therefore reiterates and stresses the demand for a Constituent Assembly in the name of the Indian people and calls upon its representatives and members in legislatures and outside to work for the fulfilment of this demand.



CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO

CONTEXT.

Extracts from the election manifesto adopted by the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on August 22-23, 1936, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru presiding.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL SPHERE CRISIS FOLLOWS CRISIS in an ever-deepening degree and world war hangs over the horizon. The Lucknow Congress called the attention of the nation to this grave situation in India and the world, and declared its opposition to the participation of India in an imperialist war and its firm resolve to continue the struggle for the independence of India.

COMMUNAL AWARD

The rejection in its entirety of the new Act by the Congress inevitably involves the rejection of the communal decision. Even apart from the Act as a whole, the communal decision is wholly unacceptable as being inconsistent with independence and the principles of democracy; it encourages fissiparous and disruptive tendencies, hinders the normal growth and consideration of economic and social questions, is a barrier to national progress, and strikes at the root of Indian unity. No community or group in India profits by it in any real sense, for the larger injury caused by it to all outweighs the petty benefits that some have received. Ultimately, it probably injures most those groups whom it is meant to favour. The only party that profits by it is the third party which rules and exploits us.

But the Congress has repeatedly laid stress on the fact that a satisfactory resolution of the communal question can come only through the goodwill and co-operation of the principal communities concerned. An attempt by one group to get some communal favour from the British Government at the expense of another group results in an increase of communal tension and the exploitation of both groups by the Government.

The Congress, therefore, holds that the right way to deal with the situation created by the communal decision is to intensify our struggle for independence and, at the same time, to seek a common basis for an agreed solution which helps to strengthen the unity of India. The effort of one community only to change the decision in the face of the opposition of another community might well result in confirming and consolidating that decision, for conflict between the two produces the very situation which gives Government a chance of enforcing such a decision. The Congress thus is of the opinion that such onesided agitation can bear no useful result,

It is necessary to bear in mind that the whole communal problem in spite of its importance, has nothing to do with the major problems of India—poverty and widespread unemployment. It is not a religious problem and it affects only a handful of people at the top. The peasantry, the workers, the traders and merchants and the lower middle class of all communities are in no way touched by it and their burdens remain.



CONTEXT.

FAIZPUR CONGRESS

Resolutions passed at the 50th Session of the Indian National Congress at Faizpur, Dec. 27-29, 1936.

THE STRUGGLE IN SPAIN

THE CONGRESS HAS FOLLOWED WITH DEEPEST SYMPATHY and anxiety the struggle that is going on in Spain between the people of Spain and a military group aided by foreign mercenary troops and Fascist Powers in Europe. The Congress realizes that this struggle between democratic progress and Fascism is of great consequence to the future of the world and will affect the future of imperialism and India.

The Congress has noted without surprise in this struggle the policy of non-intervention followed by the British Government has been such as to hamper in many ways the Spanish people fighting the Fascist rebels and has thus, in effect, aided these rebels who are being openly backed and helped by the Fascists.

The Congress, on behalf of the people of India, sends greetings to the Spanish people and the assurance of their solidarity with them in the great struggle for liberty.

WORLD MENACE

The Congress has drawn repeated attention in the past to the danger of imperialism and has declared that India can be no party to it. Since the last session of the Congress the crisis has deepened and Fascist aggression has increased, the Fascist Powers forming alliances and grouping themselves together for war with the intention of dominating Europe and the world and crushing political and social freedom.

The Congress is fully conscious of the necessity of facing this world menace in cooperation with the progressive nations and peoples of the world, and especially with those peoples who are dominated and exploited by imperialism and Fascism. In the event of such a world war taking place, there is grave danger of Indian manpower and resources being utilised for the purposes of British Imperialism and it is, therefore, necessary for the Congress to warn the country again against this and prepare it and resist such an exploitation of India and her peoples.

No credits must be voted for such a war and voluntary subscriptions and war loans must not be supported and all other war preparations resisted.



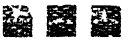
BRUTAL MASSACRE OF ETHIOPIANS

CONTEXT.

Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Congress at Allahabad, April 26-29, 1937.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE EXPRESSES ITS ABHORRENCE of the brutal massacre of peaceful masses of Ethiopians by Italian intruders and offers its sympathy to the victim of Fascist imperialism.

The Working Committee takes strong exception to the closing of the Mohamed Ali Stores in Abyssinia and regards this as an act of grave injustice. The Committee is of the opinion that the Italian Government should withdraw this ban and grant adequate compensation to the owners of the stores.



BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS

Resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Calcutta, October, 29-31, 1937.

THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE VIEW WITH GRAVE concern and horror the imperialist aggression of Japan in China attended with wanton cruelty and the bombing of the civil population.

The Committee express their deep admiration for the brave and heroic struggle which the Chinese people are conducting against heavy odds for maintaining the integrity and the independence of their country and congratulate them on achieving internal unity in the face of national danger.

The Committee offer their heartfelt sympathy to the Chinese people in their national calamity and, on behalf of the people of India, assure them of their solidarity with them in their struggle for maintaining their freedom.

The Committee, further, call upon the Indian people to refrain from the use of Japanese goods as a mark of their sympathy with the people of China.

TRIBUTE TO TAGORE

The All-India Congress Committee felicitates the nation on the happy recovery of the illustrious son of India, Poet Rabindranath Tagore, from his recent illness and hopes that he may be spared for many years for the service of India and humanity.

MINORITY RIGHTS

Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee at Calcutta, Oct. 26—Nov. 1, 1937.

THE CONGRESS HAS SOLEMNLY AND REPEATEDLY DECLARED its policy in regard to the rights of the minorities in India and has stated that it considers it its duty to protect these rights and ensure the widest possible scope for the development of these minorities and their participation in the fullest measure in the political, economic and cultural life of the nation.

The objective of the Congress is an independent and united India where no class or group or majority or minority may exploit another to its own advantage, and where all the elements in the nation may co-operate together for the common good and the advancement of the people of India.

This objective of unity and mutual co-operation in a common freedom does not mean the suppression in any way of the rich variety and cultural diversity of Indian life, which have to be preserved in order to give freedom and opportunity to the individual as well as to each group to develop unhindered according to its capacity and inclination.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

In view, however, of attempts having been made to misinterpret the Congress policy in this regard, the All-India Congress Committee desires to reiterate this policy. The Congress has included in its resolution on Fundamental Rights that—

(*i*) Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, for a purpose not opposed to law or morality.

(*ii*) Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality.

(*iii*) The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected.

(*iv*) All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex.

(*v*) No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

(*vi*) All citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, tanks, roads, schools and places of public resort, maintained out of State, or local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public.

(*vii*) The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions.

(*viii*) The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

(*ix*) Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to acquire property and to follow any trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India.

These clauses of the Fundamental Rights resolution make it clear that there should be no interference in matters of conscience, religion, or culture, and a minority is entitled to keep its personal law without any change in this respect being imposed by the majority.

The position of the Congress in regard to the Communal Decision has been repeatedly made clear in Congress resolutions and finally in the Election Manifesto issued last year The Congress is opposed to this decision as it is anti-national, anti-democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian unity. Nevertheless the Congress has declared that a change in or supersession of the Communal Decision should only be brought about by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned. The Congress has always welcomed and is prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to bring about such a change by mutual agreement.

In all matters affecting the minorities in India, the Congress wishes to proceed by their co-operation and through their goodwill in a common undertaking and for the realization of the common aim, which is the freedom and betterment of all the people of India.

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CONTEXT.

" BANDE MATARAM "

VALIDITY OF MUSLIM OBJECTION

Extracts from a statement adopted at a meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Calcutta, Oct. 26, Nov. 1, 1937, and issued to the Press.

A CONTROVERSY HAVING RECENTLY ARISEN ABOUT THE Bande Mataram song, the Working Committee desire to explain the significance of this song. This song appears in Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel 'Anandamatha', but it has been pointed out in his biography that the song was written independently of, and long before, the novel, and was subsequently incorporated in it. The song should thus be considered apart from the book. It was set to music by Rabindranath Tagore in 1896.

The song and the words 'Bande Mataram' were considered seditious by the British Government and were sought to be suppressed by violence and intimidation. At a famous session of the Bengal Provincial Conference held in Barisal in April 1906, under the presidentship of Shri A. Rasul, a

brutal lathi charge was made by the police on the delegates and volunteers and the ' Bande Mataram ' badges worn by them were violently torn off. Some delegates were beaten so severely as they cried ' Bande Mataram ' that they fell down senseless. The song and the words thus became symbols of national resistance to British imperialism in Bengal especially, and generally in other parts of India.

POPULAR USAGE

The song was never sung as a challenge to any group or community in India and was never considered as such or as offending the sentiments of any community. Indeed the reference in it to thirty crores of Indians makes it clear that it was meant to apply to all the people of India. At no time, however, was this song, or any other song, formally adopted by the Congress as the National Anthem of India. But popular usage gave it a special and national importance.

The Committee recognise the validity of the objection raised by Muslim friends to certain parts of the song. While the Committee have taken note of such objection insofar as it has intrinsic value, the Committee wish to point out that the modern evolution of the use of the song as part of the national life is of infinitely greater importance than its setting in a historical novel before the national movement had taken shape.

Taking all things into consideration, therefore, the Committee recommend that wherever ' Bande Mataram ' is sung at national gatherings only the first two stanzas should be sung, with perfect freedom to the organisers to sing any other song of an unobjectionable character, in addition to, or in the place of, the Bande Mataram song.

SUB-COMMITTEE APPOINTED

The Committee appoint a sub-committee consisting of Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Subhas Chandra Bose and Shri Narendra Dev, to examine all the current national songs that may be sent to it and those who are so inclined are invited to send their compositions to this sub-committee. The Committee will, out of the songs so received, submit to the Working Committee the collection that it may choose to recognise as being worthy of finding a place in a collection of national songs. The sub-committee shall consult and take the advice of Poet Rabindranath Tagore.

The Working Committee recommends to Provincial Congress Committees to take similar steps in regard to songs in the provincial languages.

Resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress at its 51st session at Haripura (February 19—21, 1938).

"BRUTAL IMPERIALISM" IN CHINA

THE CONGRESS HAS VIEWED WITH ANXIOUS CONCERN THE aggression of brutal Imperialism in China and the horrors of frightfulness that have accompanied it. In the opinion of the Congress this Imperialist invasion is fraught with the gravest consequences for the future of world peace and freedom in Asia.

The Congress sends its deepest sympathy to the people of China in their great ordeal and expresses its admiration for the heroic struggle they are conducting to maintain their freedom and integrity. It congratulates them on achieving national unity and coordination in the face of danger and assures them of the solidarity of the Indian people with them in the common task of combating Imperialism and achieving freedom.

As a mark of India's sympathy with the Chinese people the Congress calls upon the people of India to refrain from purchasing Japanese goods.

DISARMAMENT AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

In view of the grave danger of a widespread and devastating war which overshadows the world the Congress desires to state a fresh the policy of the Indian people with regard to foreign relations and War.

The people of India desire to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours and with all other countries and for this purpose wish to remove all causes of conflict between them. Striving for their own freedom and independence as a nation, they desire to respect the freedom of others and build up their strength on the basis of international cooperation and goodwill. Such cooperation must be founded on world order, and Free India will gladly associate itself with such order and stand for disarmament and collective security.

But world cooperation is impossible of achievement so long as the roots of international conflict remain and one nation dominates over another and Imperialism holds sway. In order, therefore, to establish world peace on an enduring basis, Imperialism and exploitation of one people by another must end.

During the past few years there has been a rapid and deplorable deterioration in international relations ; Fascist aggression has increased and unabashed defiance of international obligations has become the avowed policy of the Fascist Powers. British foreign policy, in spite of its evasions and indecisions, has consistently supported the Fascist Powers in Germany, Spain and the Far East, and must, therefore, largely shoulder the responsibility for progressive deterioration of the world situation.

That policy still seeks an arrangement with Nazi Germany and has developed closer relations with rebel Spain. It is helping in the drift towards an Imperialist world war.

WAR PREPARATIONS DISAPPROVED

India can be no party to such an Imperialist War and will not permit her man-power and resources to be exploited in the interests of British Imperialism. Nor can India join any war without the express consent of her people. The Congress, therefore, entirely disapproves of the war preparations being made in India and the large-scale manoeuvres and air-raid precautions by which it has been sought to spread an atmosphere of approaching war in India. In the event of an attempt being made to involve India in the war, this will be resisted.

FEDERATION

The Congress has rejected the new Constitution and declared that a constitution for India, which can be accepted by the people, must be based on independence and can only be framed by the people themselves by means of a Constituent Assembly, without interference by any foreign authority.

Adhering to this policy of rejection, the Congress has, however, permitted the formation in provinces of Congress Ministries with a view to strengthening the nation in its struggle for independence. In regard to the proposed Federation, no such considerations apply even provisionally or for a period, and the imposition of this Federation will do grave injury to India and tighten the bonds which hold her in subjection to imperialist domination. This scheme of Federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility vital functions of government.

The Congress is not opposed to the idea of Federation ; but a real Federation must, even apart from the question of responsibility, consist of free units enjoying more or less the same measure of freedom and civil liberty, and representation by the democratic process of election.

The Indian States participating in the Federation should approximate to the provinces in the establishment of representative institutions and responsible government, civil liberties and method of election to the Federal Houses. Otherwise, the Federation as it is now contemplated, will, instead of building up Indian unity, encourage separatist tendencies and involve the States in internal and external conflicts.

The Congress, therefore, reiterates its condemnation of the proposed Federal Scheme and calls upon the Provincial and Local Congress Committees and the people generally, as well as the Provincial Governments and Ministries, to prevent its inauguration.

In the event of an attempt being made to impose it, despite the declared will of the people, such an attempt must be combated in every way, and the Provincial Governments and Ministries must refuse to co-operate with it. In case such a contingency arises, the All-India Congress Committee is authorised and directed to determine the line of action to be pursued in this regard.

RESOLUTION ON MINORITY RIGHTS APPROVED

The Congress welcomes the growth of anti-imperialist feeling among the Muslims and other minorities in India and the growing unity of all classes and communities in India in the struggle for India's independence, which is essentially one and indivisible and can only be carried on effectively on a united national basis.

In particular, the Congress welcomes the large numbers of members of the minority communities who have joined the Congress during the past year and given their mass support to the struggle for freedom and the ending of the exploitation of India's masses.

The Congress approves of and confirms the resolution of the Working Committee on Minority Rights passed in Calcutta in October 1937, and declares afresh that it regards it as its primary duty and fundamental policy to protect the religious, linguistic, cultural and other rights of the minorities in India so as to ensure for them, in any scheme of government to which the Congress is a party, the widest scope for their development and their participation in the fullest measure in the political, economic and cultural life of the nation.

CONGRESS AND INDIAN STATES

In view of the fact that, owing to the growth of public life and the demand for freedom in the Indian States, new problems are arising and new conflicts are taking place, the Congress lays down afresh its policy in regard to the States.

The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which cannot be separated. *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence, which is the objective of the Congress, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection.

The only kind of federation that can be acceptable to the Congress is one in which the States participate as free units, enjoying the same measure of democratic freedom as the rest of India. The Congress, therefore, stands for full responsible government and the guarantee of civil liberty in the States, and deplores the present backward conditions

and utter lack of freedom and suppression of civil liberties in many of these States.

The Congress considers it its right and privilege to work for the attainment of this objective in the States. But, under existing circumstances, the Congress is not in a position to work effectively to this end within the States, and numerous limitations and restrictions, imposed by the rulers, or by British authority working through them, hamper its activities. The hope and assurance which its name and great prestige raise in the minds of the people of the States find no immediate fulfilment, and disillusion results.

It is not in consonance with the dignity of the Congress to have local committees which cannot function effectively, or to tolerate indignity to the National Flag. The inability of the Congress to give protection or effective help, when hopes have been raised, produces helplessness in the people of the States and hinders the development of their movement for freedom.

BURDEN MUST FALL ON PEOPLE OF STATES

In view of the different conditions prevailing in the States and in the rest of India, the general policy of the Congress is often unsuited to the States and may result in preventing or hampering the natural growth of a freedom movement in a State. Such movements are likely to develop more rapidly and to have a broader basis, if they draw their strength from the people of the State, produce self-reliance in them, and are in tune with the conditions prevailing there, and do not rely on extraneous help and assistance or on the prestige of the Congress name.

The Congress welcomes such movements but, in the nature of things and under present conditions, the burden of carrying on the struggle for freedom must fall on the people of the States.

The Congress will always extend its goodwill and support to such struggles, carried on in a peaceful and legitimate manner, but that organisational help will inevitably be, under existing conditions, moral support and sympathy. Individual Congressmen, however, will be free to render, further assistance in their personal capacities. In this way the struggle can develop without committing the Congress organisation and thus unhindered by external considerations.

The Congress, therefore, directs that, for the present, Congress Committees in the State shall function under the direction and control of the Congress Working Committee and shall not engage in parliamentary activity nor launch direct action in the name and under the auspices of the Congress. Internal struggles of the people of the State must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress.

For this purpose independent organisation should be started and continued where they exist already within the States.

The Congress desires to assure the people of the States of its solidarity with them and of its active and vigilant interest in and sympathy with their movement for freedom. It trusts that the day of their deliverance is not far distant.



FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

CONTEXT.

Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta, on April 2, 1938.

RESOLVED THAT IN VIEW OF THE CRITICAL INTERNATIONAL situation and the possibilities of crises which must involve India's interests, a foreign affairs committee, consisting of the Congress President, the general Secretary and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru be appointed.

This committee will keep in touch with the international situation and advise the Working Committee thereon, and take such steps as it might deem necessary to make clear to the people of foreign countries the Congress viewpoint and policy in regard to international affairs, as contained in the Haripura Congress resolution on foreign policy and other resolutions.



AMBULANCE UNIT FOR CHINA

Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at Bombay (May 15—19, 1938), Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, presiding.

RESOLVED THAT A COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF THE PRESIDENT, Dr. Jivaraj Mehta, Dr. Sunil Chandra Bose, Dr. R. M. Lohia and Shri G. P. Hatheesing (Convener), with power to coopt, be appointed to take necessary steps to send a motor ambulance unit, with the necessary doctors and nurses, to the Chinese National Government and that Dr. M. Atal be requested to take charge of the unit.



WAR DANGER : POWERS DELEGATED TO C. W. C.

Resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi, September 24—26, 1938.

IN THE EVENT OF WAR BREAKING OUT IN EUROPE, THE A.-I.C.C. delegates its powers to the Working Committee to deal with the situation as it arises from time to time in the light of the Haripura resolution on foreign policy and the war danger.

CONTEXT.

FEDERATION : RESOLUTION REITERATED

Resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi (September 24—26, 1938) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding in the absence of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose.

AS DOUBT HAS BEEN EXPRESSED IN CERTAIN QUARTERS AS to the attitude of the Congress on the question of Federation, the A.-I.C.C. considers it necessary to reiterate the following resolution passed at the Haripura Session of the Congress...

The A.-I.C.C. is of the opinion that developments have justified the wisdom of the Congress resolution and warns the British Government against entertaining the hope that the Congress will ever submit to the imposition of Federation on the country against its declared will to the contrary.

The A.-I.C.C. further declares that the continuance of the irresponsible Government at the Centre is becoming intolerable and further prolongation may precipitate a crisis which all desire to postpone if at all possible.

" PROFOUND SYMPATHY " FOR CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at Delhi (Sept. 24—Oct. 2, 1938).

THE WORKING COMMITTEE HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING, WITH great anxiety, events as they have been developing in Europe. They view with great concern the unabashed attempt that is being made by Germany to deprive Czecho-Slovakia of its independence or reduce it to impotence. The Working Committee send their profound sympathy to the brave people of Czecho-Slovakia in their struggle to preserve their freedom.

Being themselves engaged in a war, though non-violent but not less grim and exacting, against the greatest Imperialistic power on earth, India cannot but be deeply interested in the protection of Czecho-Slovakian freedom. The Committee hope that the better part of human nature will still assert itself and save humanity from the impending catastrophe.

POPULAR MOVEMENTS IN INDIAN STATES

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Wardha, December 11, 1938, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose presiding.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE WELCOME THE AWAKENING OF the people of the Indian States in many parts of the country and consider this as a hopeful prelude to the larger freedom, comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Committee support the demand for civil liberty and responsible government under the aegis of the Rulers in the States and express their solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression.

While appreciating that some Rulers of the States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it, in co-operation with their people, the Committee regret that other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisation and all political activity and, in some cases, resorting to cruel and inhuman repression.

In particular, the Committee deplore the attempt of some Rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people, and the Committee assert the right of the Congress to protect the people against an unwarranted use of military or police forces, lent by the British authorities, for the suppression of the legitimate movement of the people for responsible government within the States.

The Committee desire to draw attention afresh to the resolution of the Haripura Congress which defines Congress policy in regard to the States. While it is the right and privilege of the Congress to work for the attainment of civil liberty and responsible government in the States, existing circumstances impose certain limitations on this work and considerations of prudence prevent the Congress from interfering organisationally and directly in the internal struggles of the States.

This policy was conceived in the best interests of the people, to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. It was also intended as a measure of the good-will of the Congress towards the States and of its hope that the Rulers, of their own accord, would recognise the spirit of the times and satisfy the just aspirations of their people. Experience has proved the wisdom of this policy. But this was never conceived as an obligation.

The Congress has always reserved the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence. With the great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States, there must be an increasing identification of the Congress with the States' people.

HARIPURA POLICY CONTINUES

The policy laid down by the Haripura Congress, which has been so abundantly justified, must continue to be pursued. While, therefore, the Working Committee welcome the movements in the States for the attainment of responsible government, they advise the people, not belonging to the States concerned, against taking part in civil disobedience and the like.

Participation by such people will bring no real strength to the movement, and may even embarrass the people of the States concerned and prevent them from developing a mass movement on which strength and success depend.

The Committee trust that all movements in the States will adhere strictly to the fundamental Congress policy fo non-violence.

LEAGUE AND MAHASABHA DECLARED COMMUNAL ORGANIZATIONS

Resolved that for the purposes of Article V (*c*) of the Congress Constitution the following organisations be declared communal organisations :—

(1) The Hindu Mahasabha.

(2) The Muslim League.

[Article V (*c*) reads : " No person who is a member of any elected Congress Committee shall be a member of any similar Committee of a communal organisation, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are, in the opinion of the Working Committee, anti-national and in conflict with those of the Congress."]



CONTEXT.

MUSLIM REPRESENTATION ON CONGRESS COMMITTEES

Extract from report of the proceedings of the Working Committee meeting at Wardha (Dec. 11—16, 1938).

THE WORKING COMMITTEE ISSUED THE FOLLOWING INstructions to the Provincial Congress Committees with regard to the representation of Muslims in Congress Committees :

The Working Committee having learnt that in some local committees Muslims are not sufficiently represented advises all committees to arrange for their adequate representation. This representation should be, if necessary, provided for in the constitution, but, meanwhile, conventions should be established to give effect to it.



TRIPURI CONGRESS

INHUMAN JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

Resolutions adopted by the Indian National Congress at its 52nd session (March 10—12, 1939) at Tripuri.

THE CONGRESS SENDS ITS GREETINGS TO THE PEOPLE OF China and its deepest sympathy in their trial and privations in their struggle against a ruthless and inhuman imperialism. It congratulates them on their heroic resistance.

The Congress expresses its approval of the sending of a medical mission on its behalf to the people of China, and trusts this mission will continue to receive full support so that it may carry on its work of succour effectively and be a worthy symbol of Indian solidarity with China.

DISAPPROVAL OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

The Congress records its entire disapproval of British foreign policy, culminating in the Munich Pact, the Anglo-Italian Agreement and the recognition of Rebel Spain. This policy has been one of deliberate betrayal of democracy, repeated breach of pledges, the ending of the system of collective security, and cooperation with Governments which are avowed enemies of democracy and freedom.

As a result of this policy, the world is being reduced to a state of international anarchy where brutal violence triumphs and flourishes unchecked and decides the fate of nations, and in the name of peace stupendous preparations are being made for the most terrible of wars.

ORGANIZED NAZI TERRORISM

International morality has sunk so low in Central and South-Western Europe that the world has witnessed with horror the organized terrorism by the Nazi Government of people of the Jewish race and continuous bombing from the air by rebel forces of cities and civilian inhabitants and helpless refugees.

The Congress dissociates itself entirely from British foreign policy, which has consistently aided the Fascist Powers and helped in the destruction of democratic countries. The Congress is opposed to imperialism and Fascism alike and is convinced that world peace and progress require the ending of both of these.

In the opinion of the Congress, it is urgently necessary for Indians to direct their own foreign policy as an independent nation, thereby keeping aloof from both Imperialism and Fascism, and pursuing the path of peace and freedom.

" INDEPENDENCE " INCLUDES INDIAN STATES

The Congress welcomes the awakening of the people of the Indian States in many parts of the country and considers this as a hopeful prelude to the larger freedom, comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Congress supports the demand for responsible government and civil liberty in the States and expresses its solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression, which are integral parts of the larger struggle for the freedom of the whole country.

While appreciating that some Rulers of the States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with their people, the Congress regrets that some other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisations and all political activity and, in some cases, resorting to cruel and inhuman repression.

In particular the Congress deplores the attempt of some Rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people, and condemns the unwarranted use of military and Police forces lent by the British authorities.

The Congress expresses its sympathy with the sufferings of the growing number of refugees from the various States and trusts that the public will render them every assistance.

MR. GANDHI'S FAST

The whole of India was profoundly stirred by the announcement of an indefinite fast by Gandhiji in order to remedy the breach by the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot of the settlement arrived at between him and his councillors on the one hand, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, as representing the people, on the other.

The Congress expresses its gratification at the recent agreement resulting in the termination of the fast and trusts that the people of Rajkot will have their aspirations fulfilled, and further hopes that the Princes of Kathiawar and other parts of India will march with the times and, in cooperation with their people, introduce responsible government.

The Congress regrets that several State Governments besides Rajkot, have gone back upon their assurances to their people and their pledged word. It trusts that these breaches of agreement, will be repaired and the assurances given will be honoured.

The Congress is of the opinion that the resolution of the Haripura session of the Congress, relating to the States, has answered the expectations raised by it and has justified itself by encouraging the peoples of the States to organise themselves and conduct their own movements for freedom. The Haripura policy was conceived in the best interests of the people, in order to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. This policy was dictated by circumstances and by a recognition of the limitations inherent in the circumstances, but it was never conceived as an obligation.

The Congress has always possessed the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence. The great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States may lead to a relaxation or to a complete removal of the restraint which the Congress imposed upon itself, thus resulting in an ever-increasing identification of the Congress with the States' peoples. The Working Committee is authorised to issue instructions in this behalf from time to time as occasion arises.

The Congress desires to reiterate that its objective, complete independence, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, which are integral parts of India which

cannot be separated, and which must have the same measure of political, social, economic and religious freedom as the rest of India.

THE " NATIONAL DEMAND "

The Congress declares afresh its solemn resolve to achieve independence for the nation and to have a constitution framed for a free India through a Constituent Assembly, elected by the people on the basis of adult franchise and without any interference by a foreign authority. No other constitutions or attempted solutions of the problem can be accepted by the Indian people.

The Congress is of opinion that, in view of the situation in India, the organised strength of the national movement, the remarkable growth of consciousness of the masses, the new awakening among the people of the States, as well as the rapid development of the world situation, the principle of self-determination must now be applied to the fullest extent to India so that the people of India might establish an independent democratic State by means of a Constituent Assembly.

Not only the inherent right and dignity of the people demand this full freedom, but also the economic and other problems which press insistently on the masses, cannot find solution nor can India get rid of her poverty and keep pace with modern progress, unless her people have full opportunities of self-development and growth which independence alone can give.

Provincial Autonomy affords no such scope for development and its capacity for good is being rapidly exhausted ; the proposed Federation strangles India still further and will not be accepted. The Congress is therefore firmly of opinion that this whole Government of India Act must give place to a constitution of a free India made by the people themselves.

An independent and democratic India will face the solution of her great problems rapidly and effectively and will line herself with the progressive peoples of the world and thus aid the cause of democracy and freedom.

With a view to speedy realisation of the Congress objective and in order to face effectively the national and international crises that loom ahead and prepare the country for a nation-wide struggle, this Congress calls upon all parts of the Congress organisation, the Congress Provincial Governments and the people generally, to work to this end by promoting unity and seeking to eliminate disruptive forces and conditions which lead to communal conflicts and national disunity, by co-ordinating the activities of the Provincial Governments with the work outside the legislatures, and by strengthening the organisation so as to make it a still more effective organ of the people's will.

INDIA AND EGYPT

The Congress extends its cordial welcome to the fraternal delegation from the Wafd Party of Egypt and considers this visit as symbolising the solidarity of the movements for freedom in Egypt and India.

The Congress sends its greetings to the people of Egypt and its earnest wishes for their complete success in achieving full freedom. It trusts that the association of the peoples of Egypt and India will ever grow closer and more fruitful in the furtherance of world peace and freedom.



DESPATCH OF INDIAN TROOPS TO ADEN

CONTEXT.

Resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Calcutta (April 29 to May 1, 1939).

IN VIEW OF THE IMMINENT DANGER OF INTERNATIONAL war, the A.-I. C. C. reminds the country and all others concerned of the national policy in regard to war which the Congress has often proclaimed. This policy will be strictly adhered to and the Congress is determined to oppose all attempts to impose a war on India and use Indian resources in a war, without the consent of the Indian people.

The Committee has noted with disapproval the despatch of a small body of Indian troops towards Aden as this can only mean their employment for British imperialist purposes.

INDIA ACT AMENDMENT

The Committee, in particular, records its complete disapproval of the attempt being made by the British Government to amend the Government of India Act, with a view to concentrating all power, in the event of a war emergency, in the hands of the Central Government which functions completely as an agent of British Imperialism.

While the Congress is not interested as a rule in amendments to the India Act and has worked for the whole Act to be ended, it cannot tolerate an amendment which strikes at the very basis of Provincial Autonomy and reduces it to a farce in case of war ; which in effect, creates a war dictatorship of the Central Government in India, and which makes Provincial Governments helpless agents of Imperialism. Any attempt to impose such an amendment on India must and will be resisted in every way open to the Congress. Provincial Governments are warned to be ready to carry out the policy in this respect as may be determined by the A.-I.C.C. or the Working Committee, as the case may be.



CONTEXT.

Resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha (August 9—12, 1939), Babu Rajendra Prasad presiding.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MINISTRIES

CENTRAL M.L.A.'S TO RESIGN

THE WORKING COMMITTEE HAVE GIVEN THEIR EARNEST consideration to the critical international situation and to the danger of war that overhangs the world. In this world crisis the sympathies of the Working Committee are entirely with the peoples who stand for democracy and freedom and the Congress has repeatedly condemned Fascist aggression in Europe, Africa and the Far East as well as the betrayal of democracy by British Imperialism in Czecho-Slovakia and Spain.

The Congress has further clearly enunciated its policy in the event of war and declared its determination to oppose all attempts to impose a war on India. The Committee are bound by this policy of the Congress and will give effect to it so as to prevent the exploitation of Indian resources for imperialist ends.

The past policy of the British Government, as well as recent developments, demonstrate abundantly that this Government does not stand for freedom and democracy and may at any time betray these ideals. India cannot associate herself with such a Government or be asked to give her resources for democratic freedom which is denied to her and which is likely to be betrayed.

At its meeting held in Calcutta on May 1, 1939, the All-India Congress Committee reiterated this policy of the Congress and expressed its disapproval of the despatch of Indian troops to foreign countries. In spite of this clear expression of opinion, the British Government has sent, or is sending, Indian troops to Egypt and Singapore against the declared will of the Indian people. Even apart from the War situation, the Central Legislative Assembly had previously declared that no Indian troops should be sent abroad without the consent of the Legislature.

The British Government has thus flouted the declarations of the Congress and the Assembly and has taken steps which might inevitably lead to India's entanglement in a war. It has further prolonged the life of the Central Assembly by another year. The Working Committee cannot accept these decisions of the British Government and must not only dissociate themselves from them but also take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to the Congress policy.

As a first step to this end the Committee call upon all Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session of the Assembly.

DEFENCE PRECAUTIONS

The Committee further remind Provincial Governments to assist in no way the war preparations of the British

Government and to keep in mind the policy laid down by the Congress, to which they must adhere. If the carrying out of this policy leads to the resignations or removal of the Congress Ministries they must be prepared for this contingency.

In the event of a war crisis leading to danger to any part of India from the air or otherwise it may be necessary for protective measures to be taken. The Committee will be prepared to encourage such measures, if they are within the control of popular Ministries in the provinces. The Committee are, however, not agreeable to such protective measures being used as a cloak for war preparations under the control of the Imperial Government.

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CONTEXT.

BRITAIN ASKED TO STATE WAR AIMS

Statement issued by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress from Wardha on Sept. 14, 1939.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE HAVE GIVEN THEIR EARNEST consideration to the grave crisis that has developed owing to the declaration of war in Europe. The principles which should guide the nation in the event of war have been repeatedly laid down by the Congress, and only a month ago this Committee reiterated them and expressed their displeasure at the flouting of Indian opinion by the British Government in India. As a first step towards dissociating themselves from this policy of the British Government, the Committee called upon Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session.

Since then, the British Government have declared India as a belligerent country, promulgated Ordinances, passed the Government of India Act Amending Bill and taken other far-reaching measures which affect the Indian people vitally and circumscribe and limit the powers and the activities of the Provincial Governments.

This has been done without the consent of the Indian people whose declared wishes in such matters have been deliberately ignored by the British Government. The Working Committee must take the gravest view of these developments.

The Congress has repeatedly declared its entire disapproval of the ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism and their glorification of war and violence and the suppression of the human spirit. It has condemned the aggression in which they have repeatedly indulged and their sweeping away of well-established principles and recognised standards of civilised behaviour. It has seen in Fascism and Nazism the intensification of the principle of Imperialism against which the Indian people have struggled for many years. The Working Committee must, therefore, unhesitatingly condemn the latest aggression of the Nazi Government in Germany against Poland and sympathize with those who resist it.

" COMPULSION "

The Congress has further laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people and no outside authority can impose this decision upon them nor can the Indian people permit their resources to be exploited for imperialist ends. Any imposed decision or attempt to use India's resources for purposes not approved by them will necessarily have to be opposed by them.

If co-operation is desired in a worthy cause this cannot be obtained by compulsion and imposition and the Committee cannot agree to the carrying out by the Indian people of orders issued by an external authority. Co-operation must be between equals by mutual consent for a cause which both consider to be worthy.

ENTIRELY ON SIDE OF DEMOCRACY

The people of India have in the recent past faced great risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom and establish a free democratic state in India and their sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom, but India cannot associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her and such limited freedom as she possesses is taken away from her.

The Committee are aware that the Governments of Great Britain and France have declared that they are fighting for democracy and freedom and to put an end to aggression, but the history of the recent past is full of examples showing the constant divergence between the spoken word, the ideals proclaimed and the real motives and objectives.

During the war of 1914-18, the declared war aims were the preservation of democracy, self-determination and freedom of small nations and yet the very Governments which solemnly proclaimed these aims entered into secret treaties embodying imperialist designs for the carving up of the Ottoman Empire.

While stating that they did not want any acquisition of territory, the victorious Powers added largely to their colonial domains. The present European war itself signifies the abject failure of the Treaty of Versailles and of its makers, who broke their pledged word and imposed an imperialist peace on the defeated nations. The one hopeful outcome of that treaty, the League of Nations, was muzzled and strangled at the outset and later killed by its parent States.

Subsequent history has demonstrated afresh how even a seemingly fervent declaration of faith may be followed by an ignoble desertion.

In Manchuria, the British Government connived at aggression, in Abyssinia they acquiesced in it, in Czecho-Slovakia and Spain democracy was in peril

and it was deliberately betrayed and the whole system of collective security was sabotaged by the very Powers who had previously declared their firm faith in it.

Again it is asserted that democracy is in danger and must be defended and with this statement the Committee are in entire agreement. The Committee believe that the peoples of the West are moved by this ideal and objective and for these they are prepared to make sacrifices, but again and again the ideals and sentiments of the people and of those who have sacrificed themselves in the struggle have been ignored and faith has not been kept with them.

THE ISSUE

If the war is to defend the *status quo*, Imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy then India is intensely interested in it. The Committee are convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or of world democracy.

But there is an inherent and ineradicable conflict between democracy for India or elsewhere and Imperialism and Fascism. If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy then she must necessarily end Imperialism in her own possessions and establish full democracy in India and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly without external interference and must guide their own policy.

A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic co-operation. She will work for the establishment of a real world order, based on freedom and democracy, utilizing the world's knowledge and resources for the progress and advancement of humanity.

A NEW EQUILIBRIUM

The crisis that has overtaken Europe is not of Europe only, but of humanity, and will not pass like other crises or wars leaving the essential structure of the present-day world intact. It is likely to refashion the world for good or ill.

Politically, socially and economically this crisis is the inevitable consequence of the social and political conflicts and contradictions which have grown alarmingly since the last Great War and it will not be finally resolved till these conflicts and contradictions are removed and a new equilibrium established. That equilibrium can only be based on the ending of the domination and exploitation of one country by another and on a reorganisation of economic relations on a juster basis for the common good of all.

India is the crux of the problem, for India has been the outstanding example of modern Imperialism and no refashioning of the world can succeed which ignores this vital problem. With her vast resources she must play an important part in any scheme of world reorganization.

But she can only do so as a free nation whose energies have been released to work for this great end. Freedom today is indivisible and every attempt to retain imperialist domination in any part of the world will lead inevitably to fresh disaster.

RULERS' SUPPORT

The Working Committee have noted that many Rulers of Indian States have offered their services and resources and expressed their desire to support the cause of democracy in Europe.

If they must make their professions in favour of democracy abroad, the Committee would suggest that their first concern should be the introduction of democracy within their own States, in which today undiluted autocracy reigns supreme.

The British Government in India is more responsible for this autocracy than even the Rulers themselves as has been made painfully evident during the past year. This policy is the very negation of democracy and of the new world order for which Great Britain claims to be fighting in Europe.

As they (the Working Committee) view past events in Europe, Africa and Asia and more particularly past and present occurrences in India, they fail to find any attempt to advance the cause of democracy or self-determination or any evidence that the present war declarations of the British Government are being, or are going to be, acted upon. The true measure of democracy is the ending of Imperialism and Fascism alike and the aggression that has accompanied them in the past and the present. Only on that basis can a new order be built up.

In the struggle for that new world order, the Committee are eager and desirous to help in every way, but the Committee cannot associate themselves or offer any co-operation in a war which is conducted on imperialist lines and which is meant to consolidate Imperialism in India and elsewhere.

FINAL DECISION POSTPONED

In view, however, of the gravity of the occasion and the fact that the pace of events during the last few days has often been swifter than the working of men's minds, the Committee desire to take no final decision at this stage so as to allow for the full elucidation of the issue at stake, the real objectives aimed at and the position of India in the present and in the future. But the decision cannot long be

delayed as India is being committed from day to day to a policy to which she is not a party and of which she disapproves.

The Working Committee, therefore, invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and Imperialism and the new order that is envisaged ; in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. Do they include the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people.

A clear declaration about the future, pledging the Government to the ending of Imperialism and Fascism alike, will be welcomed by the people of all countries, but it is far more important to give immediate effect to it to the largest possible extent, for only this will convince the people that the declaration is meant to be honoured. The real test of any declaration is its application in the present, for it is the present that will govern action today and give shape to the future.

War has broken out in Europe and the prospect is terrible to contemplate, but war has been taking its heavy toll of human life during recent years in Abyssinia, Spain and China. Innumerable innocent men, women and children have been bombed to death from the air in open cities. Cold-blooded massacres, torture and the utmost humiliation have followed each other in quick succession during these years of horror. That horror grows and violence and the threats of violence shadow the world, and unless checked and ended will destroy the precious inheritance of past ages. That horror has to be checked in Europe and China, but it will not end till its root causes, Fascism and Imperialism, are removed.

To that end the Working Committee are prepared to give their co-operation, but it will be an infinite tragedy if even this terrible war is carried on in the spirit of Imperialism and for the purpose of retaining this structure which is itself the cause of war and human degradation.

QUARREL WITH SYSTEMS

The Working Committee wish to declare that the Indian people have no quarrel with the German people or the Japanese people, or any other people, but they have a deep-rooted quarrel with systems which deny freedom and are based on violence and aggression. They do not look forward to a victory of one people over another or to a dictated peace, but to a victory of real democracy for all the people of all countries, and a world freed from the nightmare of violence and imperialist oppression.

The Committee earnestly appeal to the Indian people to end all internal conflict and controversy, and in this grave hour of peril to keep in readiness and hold together as a united

nation, calm of purpose and determined to achieve the freedom of India within the larger freedom of the world.



WAR AND PEACE AIMS

CONTEXT.

Text of the resolution (moved by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru) passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Wardha on Oct. 10, 1939, by 188 votes to 58.

The declaration of war in Europe has created an international situation of the gravest import to the world and to India, and the All-India Congress Committee, charged with the heavy responsibility of guiding the people of India in this moment of world crisis, has sought guidance from the principles and declarations of the Congress in considering this grave situation.

The Congress has been guided throughout by its objective of achieving the independence of the Indian people and the establishment of a free democratic State in India, in which the rights and interests of all minorities are preserved and safeguarded. The means that it has adopted in its struggles and activities have been peaceful and legitimate, and it has looked upon war and violence with horror, as opposed to progress and civilisation.

In particular, the Congress has declared itself opposed to imperialist war and to the domination of one country over another. In spite of the repeated declarations of the Congress in regard to war, the British Government have declared India a belligerent country without the consent of the Indian people, and various far-reaching measures have been hurried through the Central Legislature and promulgated in the form of Ordinances vitally affecting them.

The A.-I.C.C., however, does not wish to take any final decision precipitately and without giving every opportunity for the war and peace aims of the British Government to be clarified, with particular reference to India. The Committee approves of and endorses the statement issued by the Working Committee, on September 14 last, on the war crisis and repeats the invitation contained therein to the British Government to state their war aims and peace aims.

DEMOCRACY FOR ALL COLONIES

While the Committee condemns Fascism and Nazi aggression it is convinced that peace and freedom can only be established and preserved by an extension of democracy to all colonial countries, and by the application of the principle of self-determination to them so as to eliminate imperialist control. In particular, India must be declared an independent nation.

The A.-I.C.C., earnestly trusts that this declaration wil be made by the British Government in any statement that it

may make in regard to its war and peace aims. The Committee desires to declare afresh that Indian freedom must be based on democracy and unity, and the full recognition and protection of the rights of all minorities to which the Congress has pledged itself.

The Committee approves of the formation by the Working Committee of the war emergency sub-committee and authorises the Working Committee to take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to this resolution and to their statement on the war crisis.



CONTEXT.

CONGRESS MINISTRIES ASKED TO RESIGN OFFICE

Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at Wardha on Oct. 22, 1939.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE ARE OF THE OPINION THAT the Viceroy's statement* in answer to the Congress invitation for a clear declaration of the British war aims, particularly in their application to India, is wholly unsatisfactory and calculated to rouse resentment among all those who are anxious to gain—and are intent upon gaining—India's independence. This invitation was made not only on behalf of the people of India but also on behalf of the millions of people all over the world who are weary of war and violence and the Fascist and Imperialist systems, which exploit nations and peoples and are ultimately the causes of war, and who yearn for a new order of peace and freedom.

MINORITIES

The Viceregal statement is an unequivocal reiteration of the old imperialistic policy.

The Committee regard the mention of the differences among several parties as a screen to hide the true intentions of Great Britain.

What the Committee had asked for was a declaration of war aims as a test of Britain's *bona fides* regarding India, irrespective of the attitude of the opposing parties or groups.

The Congress has always stood for the amplest guarantee of the rights of minorities. The freedom the Congress claimed was not for the Congress or any particular group or community but for the nation and for all communities in India that go to build that nation. The only way to establish this freedom and to ascertain the will of the nation as a whole is through the democratic process which gives a full opportunity to all.

* Oct. 17, 1939, Appendix 779.

The Committee must, therefore, regard the Viceroy's statement as in every way unfortunate. In the circumstances, the Committee cannot possibly give any support to Great Britain, for it would amount to an endorsement of the imperialist policy which the Congress has always sought to end. As a first step in this direction, the Committee call upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations.

"APPEAL TO NATION"

The Committee earnestly appeal to the nation to end all internal controversies in this hour of great crisis and call upon all Congress Committees and Congressmen generally to be prepared for all developments and eventualities and to show restraint of word and deed, so that nothing may be said or done which is not in keeping with India's honour or the principles for which the Congress stands.

The Committee warn Congressmen against any hasty action in the shape of civil disobedience, political strikes and the like.

The Committee will watch the situation and the activities of the British Government in India and will not hesitate to guide the country to take further steps whenever the necessity for this arises.

The Committee desire to impress upon all Congressmen that a programme of resistance commensurate with the magnitude of the issue before the country requires perfect discipline within the Congress ranks and the consolidation of the Congress organization.

The Working Committee realise that the non-violent resistance offered by the Congress in the past has sometimes been mixed with violence.

The Committee desire to impress upon all Congressmen that any resistance that may have to be offered must be purged of all violence and to remind them of the pledges taken to this effect as early as 1921 during the Congress session at Ahmedabad and repeated on many subsequent occasions.



INSTRUCTIONS FOR M.L.A.'S

CONTEXT.

The Parliamentary Sub-Committee, with the approval of the Congress Working Committee, issued these instructions on Oct. 22, 1939 for the guidance of Ministries and Congress parties in the Congress provinces.

THE RESOLUTION OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE CALLS upon Congress Provincial Governments to tender their resignations. These resignations should be given after the (Provincial) Assembly meetings which have been convened for the purpose of discussing such urgent business as may be pending but it is expected that resignations will be tendered by October 31, 1939.

The Central Provinces and Orissa Assemblies have been convened to meet at the beginning of November and the Provincial Governments in these provinces will remain in office till after this meeting.

Speakers and Deputy Speakers and members of the Assemblies, Presidents and members of the Councils are expected to retain their offices and seats. Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries are the only persons who are at present expected to resign.

With regard to the resolution to be moved in the Assemblies on war aims, suitable amendments should be made in view of the new developments.



CONTEXT.

"WAR FOR IMPERIALIST ENDS"

Text of a resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee at Allahabad on Nov. 24, 1939.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE HAS NOTED WITH PLEASURE THE response of the country to the policy enunciated by it regarding the war in Europe and its repercussions in India. This policy, based on numerous declarations of the Congress, was laid down in the statement issued by the Committee on September 14, and subsequent events have amply justified its wisdom and expediency. The course of the war and the policy pursued by the British and French Governments, and in particular, the declarations made on behalf of the British Government in regard to India, seem to demonstrate that the present war, like the world war of 1914-16, is being carried on for imperialist ends, and British imperialism is to remain entrenched in India. With such a war and with this policy the Congress cannot associate itself, and it cannot countenance the exploitation of India's resources to this end.

The Working Committee's unequivocal demand was for a declaration of war aims in regard to democracy and imperialism and in particular, how these aims were going to be applied to India. These aims could only be considered worthy if they included the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as an independent nation, whose policy would be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people.

The answer to this demand has been entirely unsatisfactory and an attempt has been made on behalf of the British Government to create misunderstanding and to befog the main and normal issue. In justification of this refusal to make a declaration in terms of the Working Committee's resolution, communal pleas have been advanced and the rights of minorities and of the Princes pleaded as a barrier to India's freedom.

MINORITIES AND PRINCES

The Committee wishes to declare, with all emphasis, that no communal considerations arise in meeting the demand of the Congress and the minorities, whatever their other differences might be, do not oppose India 's right to freedom and independence.

The Princes are represented by, and are the emblems of the Paramount Power in India. In the end, it will be the people of the Indian States who will determine what part they will take in a free India, though the British Government have consistently ignored their wishes in a matter which vitally affects them.

In any event, the wishes of those who may oppose India's independence are, and must be, irrelevant to the declaration of the British Government's intentions. The Committee can only interpret this attempt to avoid a statement on war aims and Indian freedom, by taking shelter under irrelevant issues, as a desire to maintain imperialist domination in India in alliance with the reactionary elements in the country.

The Congress has looked upon the war crisis and the problems it raises as essentially a moral issue, and has not sought to profit by it in any spirit of bargaining.

The moral and dominant issue of war aims and India's freedom has to be settled satisfactorily before any other subsidiary question can be considered.

In no event can the Congress accept the responsibility of government, even in the transitional period, without real power being given to popular representatives.

The Working Committee, therefore, approves of, and endorses, the reply* dated November 4 sent by the Congress President to the Viceroy.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Committee wishes to declare again that the recognition of India's independence and the right of her people to frame their constitution through a Constituent Assembly is essential, in order to remove the taint of imperialism from Britain's policy and to enable the Congress to consider further co-operation. It holds that a Constituent Assembly is the only democratic method of determining the constitution of a free country and no one who believes in democracy and freedom can possibly take exception to it. A Constituent Assembly alone is the adequate instrument for solving communal and other difficulties.

This, however, does not mean that the Working Committee will relax its efforts for arriving at a solution of the communal problem. This assembly can frame a constitution in which the rights of accepted minorities would be protected to their satisfaction and in the event of some matters relating to

*Page 794.

minority rights not being mutually agreed to they can be referred to arbitration.

The Constituent Assembly should be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, the existing separate electorates being retained for such minorities as desire them. The number of members in the assembly should reflect their numerical strength.

The declarations made on behalf of the British Government, being inadequate, have compelled the Congress to dissociate itself from the British policy and war efforts, and, as a first step in non-co-operation, to bring about, the resignations of all Congress Governments in the provinces. That policy of non-co-operation continues, and must continue, unless the British Government revises its policy and accepts the Congress contentions.

EFFORTS TO REACH SETTLEMENT

The Working Committee would, however, remind Congressmen that it is inherent in every form of satyagraha that no effort is spared to achieve an honourable settlement with the opponent. While a Satyagrahi is ever ready for a non-violent fight, if it has to come, he never relaxes his efforts for peace and always works for its attainment. The Working Committee will, therefore, continue to explore the means of arriving at an honourable settlement, even though the British Government has banged the door in the face of the Congress.

The Committee must, however, resist, by the non-violent methods of the Congress, all attempts to coerce the people of India along paths which are not of their choice and everything that is against the dignity and freedom of India.

The Working Committee appreciates and expresses its pleasure at the readiness expressed by Congressmen for launching civil disobedience, should this become necessary. But civil disobedience requires the same strict discipline as an army organized for armed conflict. The army is helpless unless it possesses its weapons of destruction and knows how to use them. So also, an army of non-violent soldiers is ineffective unless it understands and possesses the essentials of non-violence.

EXCLUSION OF MILL CLOTH

The Working Committee desires to make it clear that the true test of preparedness for civil disobedience lies in Congressmen themselves spinning and promoting the cause of khadi, to the exclusion of mill cloth, and deeming it their duty to establish harmony between communities by personal acts of service to those other than members of their own community, and individual Hindu Congressmen seeking occasion for fraternising with Harijans as often as possible.

Congress organisations and Congressmen should, therefore, prepare for future action by promoting this programme. They should explain to the people the message and policy and implications of the Constituent Assembly, which is the crux of the Congress programme for the future.



SECRETARY OF STATE'S PRONOUNCEMENT

CONTEXT.

Resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on December 22, 1939.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE HAVE STUDIED WITH REGRET the recent pronouncements of the Secretary of State for India. His reference to the communal question merely clouds the issue and takes the public mind off the central fact that the British Government have failed to define their war aims especially with regard to India's freedom.

In the opinion of the Working Committee, the communal question will never be satisfactorily solved so long as the different parties are to look to a third party, through whose favour they expect to gain special privileges, even though it may be at the expense of the nation.

The rule of a foreign power over a people involves a division among the elements composing it. The Congress has never concealed from itself the necessity of uniting the various divisions. It is the one organisation which, in order to maintain its national character, has consistently tried, not always without success, to bring about unity. But the Working Committee are convinced that lasting unity will only come when foreign rule is completely withdrawn. Events that have happened since the last meeting of the Committee have confirmed this opinion.

The Working Committee are aware that the independence of India cannot be maintained, if there are warring elements within the country. The Committee are therefore entitled to read in the British Government's raising of the communal question reluctance to part with power.

The Constituent Assembly, as proposed by the Congress, is the only way to attain a final settlement of communal questions. The proposal contemplates the fullest representation of all communities with separate electorates where necessary. It has already been made clear on behalf of the Congress that minority rights will be protected to the satisfaction of the minorities concerned, differences, if any, being referred to an impartial tribunal.

SATYAGRAHA MEANS GOODWILL

Congressmen must have by now realised that independence is not to be won without very hard work. Since the Congress is pledged to non-violence, the final sanction behind it is Civil Resistance, which is but a part of Satyagraha.

Satyagraha means goodwill towards all, especially towards opponents. Therefore it is the duty of individual Congressmen to promote and seek goodwill. Success of the programme of Khaddar as an accepted symbol of non-violence, harmony and economic independence is indispensable. The Working Committee, therefore, hope that all Congress organisations will, by vigorous prosecution of the constructive programme, prove themselves fit to take up the call when it comes.



CONTEXT.

RAMGARH SESSION

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE THREAT

Text of resolution adopted by the Indian National Congress at its annual session at Ramgarh (Bihar) on March 19 and 20, 1940, under the presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

THIS CONGRESS, HAVING CONSIDERED THE GRAVE AND critical situation resulting from the war in Europe and British policy in regard to it, approves of an endorses the resolutions passed and the action taken on the war situation by the A.-I. C. C. and the Working Committee.

The Congress considers the declaration by the British Government of India as a belligerent country, without any reference to the people of India, and the exploitation of India's resources in this War, as an affront to them. which no self-respecting and freedom-loving people can accept or tolerate.

The recent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government in regard to India demonstrate that Great Britain is carrying on the war fundamentally for imperialist ends and for the preservation and strengthening of her Empire, which is based on the exploitation of the people of India, as well as of other Asiatic and African countries.

Under these circumstances, it is clear that the Congress cannot in any way, directly or indirectly, be a party to the War, which means continuance and perpetuation of this exploitation. The Congress, therefore, strongly disapproves of Indian troops being made to fight for Great Britain and of the drain from India of men and material for the purpose of the War.

Neither the recruiting nor the money raised in India can be considered to be voluntary contributions from India. Congressmen and those under the Congress influence cannot help in the prosecution of the war with men, money or material.

COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE

The Congress hereby declares again that nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people of India. Indian freedom cannot exist within the orbit of imperialism, and dominion or any other status within the imperial structure is wholly inapplicable to India, is not in keeping with the dignity of a great nation and would bind

India in many ways to British policies, and the British economic structure. The people of India alone can properly shape their own constitution and determine their relations to the other countries of the world, through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage.

The Congress is further of opinion that while it will always be ready, as it ever has been, to make every effort to secure communal harmony, no permanent solution is possible except through a Constituent Assembly, where the rights of all recognised minorities will be fully protected by agreement, as far as possible, between the elected representatives of various majority and minority groups, or by arbitration if agreement is not reached on any point. Any alternative will lack finality.

India's constitution must be based on independence, democracy and national unity, and the Congress repudiates attempts to divide India or to split up her nation hood.

The Congress has always aimed at a constitution where the fullest freedom and opportunities of development are guaranteed to the group and the individual, and social injustice yields place to a juster social order.

SOVEREIGNTY IN STATES

The Congress cannot admit the right of the Rulers of Indian States, or of foreign vested interests, to come in the way of Indian freedom. Sovereignty in India must rest with the people, whether in the States or the Provinces, and all other interests must be subordinated to their vital interests. The Congress hold that the difficulty raised in regard to the States is of British creation and it will not be satisfactorily solved unless the declaration of the freedom of India from foreign rule is unequivocally made. Foreign interests, if they are not in conflict with the interests of the Indian people, will be protected.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The Congress withdrew the Ministries from the provinces where the Congress had a majority in the legislature in order to dissociate India from the war and to enforce the Congress determination to free India from foreign domination. This preliminary step must naturally be followed by Civil Disobedience, to which the Congress will unhesitatingly resort as soon as the Congress organisation is considered fit enough for the purpose, or in case circumstances so shape themselves as to precipitate a crisis.

The Congress desires to draw the attention of Congressmen to Gandhiji's declarati n that he can only undertake the responsibility of declaring Civil Disobedience when he is satisfied that they are strictly observing discipline and are carrying out the constructive programme prescribed in the Independence Pledge.

The Congress seeks to represent and serve all classes and communities without distinction of race or religion, and the struggle for Indian independence is for the freedom of the whole nation. Hence the Congress cherishes the hope that all classes and communities will take part in it. The purpose of Civil Disobedience is to evoke the spirit of sacrifice in the whole nation.

The Congress hereby authorises the All-India Congress Committee and, in the event of this being necessary, the Working Committee, to take all steps to implement the foregoing resolution, as the Committee concerned may deem necessary.

(Sixteen delegates voted against the resolution.)



CONTEXT.

MR. GANDHI ABSOLVED OF RESPONSIBILITY

WARDHA STATEMENT

Statement on the political situation adopted by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on June 21, 1940, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE HAVE BEEN DEEPLY MOVED BY the tragic events that have taken place in Europe in startling succession and, in particular, by the misfortunes that have befallen the people of France. These events have already had far-reaching consequences, and they are likely to be followed by other happenings which will lead to novel situations and complex problems.

Ever since the commencement of the European war, the Congress has followed a policy which was based on its principles and on the attitude of the British Government towards the demand that India should function as a free and independent country. This policy was confirmed in the Ramgarh resolution. The manner of the application of this policy will necessarily depend on the situation which changes from day to day.

Problems which were distant are now near at hand and may soon demand solution. The problem of the achievement of national freedom has now to be considered along with the allied one of its maintenance and the defence of the country against possible external aggression and internal disorder.

The war in Europe, resulting from a desire for imperialist domination over other peoples and countries, and a suicidal race in armaments, has led to human sorrow and misery on a scale hitherto unknown. It has demonstrated the inefficacy of organised violence, on however vast a scale, for the defence of national freedom and the liberties of peoples. It has shown beyond a doubt that warfare cannot lead to peace and freedom, and the choice before the world is the uttermost degradation and destruction through warfare or the way of peace and non-violence on a basis of freedom for all peoples.

MR. GANDHI'S WEAPON

Mahatma Gandhi has presented to the peoples of the world, crying for relief from the crushing burden of war, a weapon in the shape of organised non-violence designed to take the place of war for the defence of a people's rights and freedom against armed aggression. He feels that at this critical phase in the history of man, the Congress should enforce this ideal by itself declaring that it does not want that India should maintain armed forces to defend her freedom against external aggression or internal disorder.

While the Working Committee hold that the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in their struggle for independence, the Committee cannot ignore the present imperfections and failings in this respect of the human elements that they have to deal with, and the possible dangers in a period of transition and dynamic change, until the Congress has acquired non-violent control over the people in adequate measure and the people have inmbibed sufficiently the lesson of organised non-violence.

The Committee have deliberated over the problem that has thus arisen and have come to the conclusion that they are unable to go the full length with Gandhiji. But they recognise that he should be free to pursue his great ideal in his own way and therefore absolve him from responsibility for the programme and activity which the Congress has to pursue under the conditions at present prevailing in India and the world in regard to external aggression and internal disorder.

Many of the problems which the Working Committee have considered in this connection are not of the present, though they may be of the near future. The Committee wish to make it clear that the methods and basic policy of non-violence in the national struggle for freedom continue with full force and are not affected in the least by the inability to extend it to the region of national defence.

ORGANISING PEOPLE FOR SELF-DEFENCE

The War Committees that are being formed are definitely aimed at increasing the war effort. In view of the Congress policy, they cannot be supported, and Congressmen cannot participate in them or contribute to war funds. Nor can Congressmen associate themselves with Government-controlled Civic Guards.

The Working Committee advise Congress Committees to encourage in every way the recruitment and training of peaceful volunteers for national service. Congress Committees should also organise people in villages and other areas for self-defence and in order to maintain a sense of public security in their respective areas. This should be done on a non-communal basis and in full co-operation with all other groups interested in this task.

In view of the difficult times that loom ahead, it is essential that the Congress should function as an active and disciplined organisation. Provincial Committees are enjoined to take the necessary steps for this purpose. They should realise that it is of urgent and vital importance that the Congress should function in this way in these days of crisis, and should not be merely a roll of vast numbers of inactive members.

All members of executive committees, in particular, are expected to take a continuous and active part in Congress work, and those who are unwilling or unable to do so are failing in their duty to the country and are of no service to the organisation.

The critical situation that faces the world today requires vigilant attention and action whenever needed. For this purpose the Working Committee will meet at frequent intervals, and all members must keep in readiness to obey an urgent summons. The All-India Congress Committee should be summoned to meet in the last week of July.



DEMAND FOR PROVISIONAL NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

CONTEXT.

Resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at Delhi, July 7, 1940, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE HAVE NOTED THE SERIOUS happenings which have called forth fresh appeals to bring about a solution of the deadlock in the Indian political situation ; and, in view of the desirability of clarifying the Congress position, they have earnestly examined the whole situation once again in the light of the latest developments in world affairs.

The Working Committee are more than ever convinced that the acknowledgment by Great Britain of the complete Independence of India, is the only solution of the problems facing both India and Britain and are, therefore, of opinion that such an unequivocal declaration should be immediately made and that as an immediate step in giving effect to it, a provisional National Government should be constituted at the Centre, which though formed as a transitory measure, should be such as to command the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central Legislature, and secure the closest co-operation of the responsible Governments in the provinces.

The Working Committee are of opinion that unless the aforesaid declaration is made, and a National Government accordingly formed at the Centre without delay, all efforts at organising the material and normal moral resources of the country for Defence cannot in any sense be voluntary or as from a free country, and will, therefore, be ineffective.

The Working Committee declare that if these measures are adopted, it will enable the Congress to throw in its full

weight in the efforts for the effective organisation of the defence of the country.

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CONTEXT.

POONA RESOLUTIONS

WARDHA AND DELHI DECISIONS CONFIRMED

Resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Poona on July 27 and 28, 1940 (as recommended by the Working Committee), Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding.

THE A.-I. C. C. HAS CONSIDERED THE STATEMENT ISSUED by the Working Committee from Wardha on June 21, 1940 and confirmed it. The A.-I. C. C. is of opinion that, as explained therein, while the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in the struggle for independence, it is unable, in the present circumstances to declare that the principle should be extended to free India's national defence.

The A.-I. C. C. desires to affirm that the Congress organisation should continue to be conducted on the principle of non-violence and all Congress volunteers are bound by their pledge to remain non-violent in the discharge of their duty and no Congress Volunteers Organisation can be formed or maintained except on that basis. Any other volunteer organisation for the purpose of self-defence with which Congressmen are associated must likewise adhere to non-violence.

This meeting of the All-India Congress Committee confirms the Working Committee's Delhi resolution of July 7, 1940.

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FRIENDLY OFFER REJECTED

Resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha (Aug. 18—23, 1940), Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE HAVE READ THE STATEMENT issued by the Viceroy on the authority of the British Government on the 8th of August* and the report of the speech of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons explaining the Viceroy's statement. They note with deep regret that the British Government have rejected the friendly offer and practical suggestion contained in the Poona resolution of the A.-I. C. C. on July 28, framed for a solution of the deadlock and to enable the Indian National Congress to withdraw its non-co-operation and to secure in the present crisis the patriotic co-operation of all the people of India in the governance of India and the organisation of national defence.

The Working Committee have read with deep pain and indignation the declarations and assumptions contained in the statements and speeches made on behalf of the British Government which seek to deny India her natural right of complete

*Appendix page 809.

national freedom and reiterate the untenable claim that Britain should maintain herself in a dominant position in India in the discharge of the higher functions of the state.

These claims render false and empty even their own promise to recognise India, at an early date, as a free and equal unit in the British Commonwealth. Such claims and recent events and developments in the world have confirmed the Committee's conviction that India cannot function within the orbit of an imperial power and must attain the status of a free and independent nation. This does not prevent close association with other countries within a comity of free nations for the peace of the world.

" FATAL BLOW "

The Working Committee are of opinion that the assertion contained in the statements made on behalf of the British Government that they will not part with power and responsibility in favour of the elected representatives of the people of India, and that, therefore, the present autocratic and irresponsible systems of Government must continue so long as any group of people or the Princes, as distinguished from the people of the States, or perhaps even foreign vested interests, raise objections to any constitution framed by the elected representatives of the people of India, is a direct encouragement and incitement to civil discord and strife, and amounts to a fatal blow to all willingness to compromise and adjustment of claims.

The Committee regret that although the Congress has never thought in terms of coercing any minority, much less of asking the British Government to do so, the demand for a settlement of the constitution through a Constituent Assembly of duly elected representatives has been misrepresented as coercion and the issue of minorities has been made into an insuperable barrier to India's progress. The Congress has proposed that minority rights should be amply protected by agreement with elected representatives of the minorities concerned.

The Working Committee, therefore, cannot but conclude that the attitude and assertions contained in these statements made on behalf of the British Government confirm the prevailing feeling that the British authority has been continually operating so as to create, maintain and aggravate differences in India's national life.

The Working Committee note with astonishment that the demand for the constitution of a Provisional National Government, composed of persons commanding the confidence of the various elected groups in the present Central Legislature, formed under the 1919 Constitution of India, has been described by the Secretary of State for India as one that would raise the unsolved constitutional issue and prejudge it in favour of the majority and against the minorities.

The Working Committee are of opinion that the rejection of this proposal unmistakably indicates that there is no willingness on the part of the British Government to part with any power and authority even for the immediate purpose of securing co-operation in the war effort. The British Government would gather together and carry on with such dissentient groups and individuals as oppose the wishes of the majority of the people of India and without any co-ordination with elected legislatures at the Centre or in the Provinces, rather than concede anything that would work towards the recognition of the rights of the people of India to rule themselves democratically.

For these reasons the Working Committee have come to the conclusion that the statements referred to are wholly opposed not only to the principle of democracy as acclaimed by the British Government in the War, but also to the best interests of India, and they cannot be a party to accepting the proposals contained in the statements or advising the country to accept them. The Working Committee consider that these declarations and offers not only fall far short of the Congress demand but would be impediments to the evolution of a free and united India.

The Working Committee call upon the people to condemn the attitude adopted by the British Government by means of public meetings and otherwise, as also through their elected representatives in the provincial legislatures.

STRUGGLE

The decision of the British Government to enforce their will in India, in opposition to the will of the great majority of the people, and regardless of consequences, has produced a situation of the utmost gravity. The rejections of the Congress proposals is proof of the British Government's determination to continue to hold India by the sword.

In order to compass this end they have been endeavouring to undermine the strength of the Congress by picking up and arresting hundreds of public workers, including some of the best workers of the Congress, under the Defence of India Act which has no popular sanction whatever. The desire of the Congress not to embarrass the British Government, at a time of peril for them, has been misunderstood and despised.

They are imposing on the Congress a struggle to vindicate its position and to act for the preservation of the liberties and honour of the people. The Congress can have no thought but that of the supreme good of the dumb and toiling millions of India and through them of the whole of submerged humanity.

In view of the gravity of the situation, the Working Committee have decided to convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on Sunday, September 15.

The Working Committee call upon all Congress organisations to carry on their activities with full vigour and, in particular, to explain the Congress position and recent developments to the public. Satyagraha Committees must see that those who have taken the pledge act in terms of this pledge and carry on the constructive and other activities of the Congress.



MR. GANDHI ASKED TO RESUME LEADERSHIP

CONTEXT.

When the All-India Congress Committee met on September 15 and 16, 1940, at Bombay, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding, this resolution recommended by the Working Committee was formally moved by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and seconded by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. They made no speeches, leaving it to Mr. Gandhi to explain to the Committee the implications of the resolution.

THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE HAS GIVEN ITS careful attention to the events that have taken place since its last meeting held in Poona on July 27, 1940, and to the resolution passed by the Working Committee at Wardha in August last. The Committee approves of and endorses this resolution.

In order to end the deadlock in India and to promote the national cause, in co-operation with the British people, the Working Committee, even at the sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi's co-operation, made a proposal to the British Government in their Delhi resolution of July 7, which was subsequently approved by the A.-I. C. C. at Poona. This proposal was rejected by the British Government in a manner which left no doubt that they had no intention to recognise India's independence, and would, if they could, continue to hold this country indefinitely in bondage for British exploitation.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

This decision of the British Government shows that they will impose their will upon India, and their recent policy has further shown that they will not even tolerate free expression of public opinion in condemnation of their associating India in the war against Germany, against the will of a vast body of people of India, and of exploiting her national resources and man-power for this purpose.

The A.-I. C. C. cannot submit to a policy which is a denial of India's natural right to freedom, which suppresses the free expression of public opinion and which would lead to the degradation of her people and their continued enslavement. By following this policy the British Government have created an intolerable situation, and are imposing upon the Congress a struggle for the preservation of the honour and the elementary rights of the people.

The Congress is pledged, under Gandhiji's leadership, to non-violence for the vindication of India's freedom. At this grave crisis in the movement for national freedom, the All-India Congress Committee, therefore, requests him to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken.

The Delhi resolution, confirmed by the A.-I. C. C. at Poona, which prevented him from so doing, no longer applies. It has lapsed.

TRIBUTE TO BRITISH NATION

The A. I. C. C. sympathises with the British people as well as the people of all other countries involved in the War. Congressmen cannot withhold their admiration for the bravery and endurance shown by the British nation in the face of danger and peril. They can have no ill-will against them and the spirit of Satyagraha forbids the Congress from doing anything with a view to embarrassing them.

But this self-imposed restraint cannot be taken to the extent of self-extinction. The Congress must insist on the fullest freedom to pursue its policy, based on non-violence. The Congress has, however, no desire at the present moment to extend non-violent resistance, should this become necessary beyond what is required for the preservation of the liberties of the people.

In view of certain misapprehensions that have arisen in regard to the Congress policy of non-violence, the A.-I. C. C. desires to state this afresh, and to make it clear that this policy continues, notwithstanding anything contained in previous resolutions which may have led to these misapprehensions.

This Committee firmly believes in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for Swaraj, but also, in so far as this may be possible of application, in free India.

DISARMAMENT

The Committee is convinced, and recent world events have demonstrated that complete world disarmament is necessary, and the establishment of a new and juster political and economic order, if the world is not to destroy itself and revert to barbarism. A free India will, therefore, throw all her weight in favour of world disarmament and should herself be prepared to give a lead in this to the world.

Such lead will inevitably depend on external factors and internal conditions, but the State would do its utmost to give effect to this policy of disarmament. Effective disarmament and the establishment of world peace by the ending of national wars depend ultimately on the removal of the causes of wars and national conflicts.

These causes must be rooted out by the ending of the domination of one country over another and the exploitation of one people or group by another. To that end India will peacefully labour, and it is with this objective in view that the people of India desire to attain the status of a free and independent nation. Such freedom will be the prelude to the close association with other countries within a comity of free nations for the peace and progress of the world.

CONTEXT.

VICEROY—GANDHI TALKS OF SEPT. 27, 1940

Statement issued by the Congress Working Committee from Wardha on October 13, 1940.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE MET AT THE INSTANCE OF Mahatma Gandhi and listened to the account of his talks* with the Viceroy (Lord Linlithgow), and the plan of campaign in so far as he has been able to envisage it.

The Working Committee approve of what he has done, and repeat the instructions given to Congressmen and Congress Committees by the A.-I. C. C. at its last meeting in Bombay, that they should give him the fullest possible co-operation in all that he may require or expect them to do.



INDIAN FINANCE (NO. 2) BILL

Resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha, November 6, 1940.

IN VIEW OF THE NECESSITY TO OPPOSE THE BILL INTRODUCED by the Government of India to finance the war, the Working Committee request the Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to attend and take part in the proceedings relating to the Bill.

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* Appendix page 788, 826.

FORWARD BLOC

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a resolution setting forth the programme of the Forward Bloc, passed by the first All-India Forward Bloc Conference on June 23, 1939, at Bombay.

FORWARD BLOC RESOLUTION

THE PARLIAMENTARY PROGRAMME OF THE CONGRESS should be implemented more vigorously and with a radical revolutionary mentality. The Congress Ministries should function not under the aegis of the British Government but of the Congress. Congress Ministries, as well as the Congress organisations in the country, should set before themselves the objective of developing a parallel government in the country.

There should be close co-ordination between the Congress on the one side and other anti-imperialist organisations, like the Kisan Sabhas, trade unions, youth leagues, students' federations, etc.

Uncompromising hostility should be offered to the Federal scheme and it should be combated by all peaceful and legitimate means should the British Government endeavour to foist the Federal scheme on the Indian people.

All attempts should be made to prevent India being dragged into an imperialistic war by Great Britain and to prevent Indian resources in men and money from being utilised and exploited in the interests of British Imperialism.

BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH

The boycott of British goods and of foreign cloth should be intensified once again. This is necessary not only to help Swadeshi industries in India and the workers engaged in those industries, but also to thwart the war preparations of British Imperialism.

Steps should be taken from now to prepare the country for an early resumption of the national struggle for complete independence.

The Forward *Bloc* is an organisation within the Indian National Congress which is to serve as a common platform for all the Left elements inside the Congress.

The aim of the *Bloc* is the same as that of the Indian National Congress, that is, " the attainment of complete independence by all legitimate and peaceful means."

Membership of the *Bloc* is open to all primary members of the Congress who subscribe to the programme of the *Bloc.*

CONTEXT.

CONGRESS "DUTY" IN THE CRISIS

Extracts from a report in the "Hindustan Times" of the resolutions adopted on Sept. 12, 1939, by the Working Committee of the All-India Forward Bloc at Wardha.

1. THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-INDIA FORWARD *Bloc* condemns the action of the British Government in announcing to the world that India is a belligerent power in the present war on the side of Great Britain.....

2. The Working Committee condemns the amendment to the Government of India Act, 1935.....

3. The Working Committee expresses its emphatic condemnation of the Ordinances recently promulgated by the Government of India, which amount to a negation of both Provincial Autonomy and civil liberty.....

The Working Committee is emphatically of the opinion that the Congress Working Committee should, even at this hour, take immediate steps to resist further exploitation by the British Government of India's resources in the present war. The Committee regrets that, even after the declaration of war the Congress Working Committee has been slow in making up its mind as to its duty in this crisis, despite the clear and unequivocal directions contained in the Haripura Congress resolution on foreign policy and the war danger.....

In view of these circumstances and considerations, this Committee is emphatically of the opinion that the Congress Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee should forthwith proceed to implement the Haripura Congress resolution on foreign policy and the war danger. In the event of the Congress authorities failing to do so, this Committee will deem it its duty to stand by the said Haripura Congress resolution.

RADICALS

CONTEXT.

Extracts from Associated Press report from Poona, dated June 27, 1939.

RADICAL CONGRESSMEN'S LEAGUE

" CONSCIOUSLY REVOLUTIONARY "

THE LEAGUE OF RADICAL CONGRESSMEN IS NOT A MERE WING of the Congress, it is the vanguard of a revolutionary party of the Indian people which is bound to rise before long to lead the Indian struggle for freedom. The League proposes to transform the National Congress into a revolutionary political party of the Indian people," declared Mr. M. N. Roy, in his presidential address at the first All-India Conference of the League of Radical Congressmen to-night. Over five hundred persons attended the conference.

Mr. Roy observed that the League of Radical Congressmen was an association of consciously revolutionary and active Congressmen. Therefore, sooner or later, it would be the rallying ground for all such Congressmen. As soon as that process was complete, the League would cease to exist. It would merge itself into a revolutionary party of the Indian people into which the Congress would have been transformed by then, when its present defect would be removed, and the contradiction in the movement and its leadership would disappear.

Mr. Roy criticised the present Congress policy and the constitutional drift and observed that it had reverted to the traditional methods of exerting pressure, namely, to create public opinion and use the ballot box, but he contended that both these methods were ineffective. As a matter of fact, even the theory of pressure had no place in the present policy of the Congress which, said Mr. Roy, would be governed by the principle of non-violence—and pressure was violence. That being the case, persuasion remained the only guiding principle of the present Congress policy and ministerialism was persuasion in practice.

" Let it be realised once and for all that it is a struggle between those who are in possession of power and others who are striving to capture power. It is a revolutionary struggle. But our present leaders are either afraid of revolution or opposed to it. Therefore, they must make room for others who are being consciously revolutionary and having the courage to act according to the necessity of the situation."

CONFLICT IN CONGRESS

IN HIS SPEECH, WINDING OF THE CONFERENCE, MR. ROY declared that in view of what transpired at the Bombay

conference of the Forward *Bloc*, there was no question of League members joining the *Bloc*. The programme chalked out by the *Bloc* had fallen far short of the Radical League's expectations and all that the latter was prepared to do now was to co-operate with the Forward *Bloc* on concrete individual issues with which they agreed.

Mr. Roy traced recent events in the Congress following the presidential election and the prevailing conflict and regretted that when the victory was theirs, by virtue of a clear verdict of the rank and file of the Congress, Leftists had failed to grasp the opportunity and voluntarily capitulated to the Rightists. It was due to want of clear perception of the implications of the present conflict. Certain sections of Leftists still believed that there was room for compromise between the two wings of the Congress, whereas, in fact, there was none.

The Rightists had set their face against it. " We are at the parting of the ways. Let us not waste time in temporising and arguing at the crossroads, trying to embrace each other. Let us follow our independent ways ", said Mr. Roy.

Mr. Roy also criticised the creed of non-violence which, he said, could never bring complete independence, on account of its inherent limitations. Hence the Congress lowered its goal to the substance of independence and discarded the revolutionary ideal and resorted to reformism and ministerialism, compromising with British Imperialism. It would be the function of the League of Radical Congressmen to rehabilitate the revolutionary ideal and work for it.

MOVE TO ALTER CONGRESS CREED

BY A RESOLUTION THE CONFERENCE SOUGHT THE SUBSTITUTION of the following for Article 1 of the Congress Constitution :

" The Congress is a political organisation of the Indian people and has for its objects the attainment of complete independence, meaning the establishment of a democratic state under which effective political power will be vested in the people ".

The resolution thus sought to eliminate the words " peaceful and legitimate means " after the word " independence " from the Congress creed.

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CONTEXT.

" WE MUST HAVE A DEMOCRACY TO FIGHT FOR "

Extracts from a press statement issued by Mr. M. N. Roy from Dehra Dun on Sept. 10, 1939.

I URGE THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE TO BE GUIDED by the principle formulated in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement issued from Chungking. The principle is that if we fight for democracy we must have democracy to fight for.

In his broadcast, the Viceroy expressed the confidence that India would make her contribution on the side of human freedom. There can be no doubt about that; only her own freedom must be the first concern of India.

All freedom-loving people will congratulate the British Government on the decision, even though belated, to put an end to Hitlerism, which it has been encouraging all the time. Had the decision been taken earlier, the freedom of many European countries would have been saved. On the contrary, British policy abetted the Fascist aggression on freedom and democracy.

Therefore, British Imperialism cannot inspire confidence before the *bona fides* of its belated anti-Fascism have been proved conclusively.

In any case, there being no danger of any attack on India, she has no reason to be actively concerned with the war in Europe. For the moment, her contribution to human freedom will be made by a determined effort to gain her own freedom. Any opposition to that effort will once again expose the hollowness of imperialist professions.



RUSSIA CHECKS GERMANY

POLAND NOT A "NATIONAL STATE"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report in the "National Herald" of Oct. 8, 1939, of an appeal issued by Mr. M. N. Roy from Dehra Dun to the members of the All-India Congress Committee.

THE RUSSIANS WERE BLAMED FOR HELPING HITLERISM. Their intervention, in the first place for protecting the White Russian and Ukrainian minorities against Nazi invasion, decisively checked the German plan of expansion eastwards at the cost of not only Poland, but all the other smaller States of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

The Polish State, as created by the Versailles Treaty, was not a national State. Only a little more than half of its population were Poles. The dissolution of that artificially-created political unit means the freedom of oppressed national minorities.

The question is: Can India remain aloof if leading European countries are involved in a first-class military conflict?

In a way, she cannot. As a part of the British Empire, she will be at war automatically, unless she outgrows that status of dependency. Economically, also, she will be involved, neither with any grief nor with any reluctance. Whatever may be her contribution in human life and labour immediately, in the long run certain sections of her people stand to gain enormously, should the war continue in Europe. Profiteering is a by-product of war. But that cannot be the

motive of India as a whole; much less of the Indian National Congress, for being party to a war.

WORK OF ORGANISATION

Most probably, the war in Europe will stop before long. We should go ahead with our own work of organisation. The question of active resistance does not arise. There cannot be any objection to legitimate commercial and industrial activities which may be helpful to military purposes. The war can affect India injuriously for the time being through the increased economic burden upon the masses resulting from profiteering. Let the Congress Ministries prove their mettle by protecting the popular welfare. Measures for fixing prices should be introduced and effectively administered.

In a letter to the Congress President on the eve of the last meeting of the Working Committee, I suggested certain concrete measures, the immediate introduction of which should be demanded as the basis of any possible interim arrangement. I commend those suggestions for your consideration, hoping that you will insist upon their inclusion, should the Working Committee ask you to endorse any plan of an interim arrangement.

Charity begins at home. India must begin by solving her own problems, the most fundamental of which is the problem of national liberation. The present European war may or may not continue. But the world as a whole is entering upon a new era.

To organise our forces should be the essence of our policy. A plan of concrete action should be elaborated. The central point of the plan should be to build up every single primary Congress committee as a prospective basic unit of the future democratic state of India.

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF OCT. 17, 1939

"PREPARE FOR FREEDOM'S BATTLE"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a letter sent by Mr. M. N. Roy (on Oct. 21, 1939) to the Congress President on behalf of the central executive committee of the League of Radical Congressmen which met at Dehra Dun (U. P.) from Oct. 14, to Oct. 18.

THE VICEROY'S DECLARATION MAKES TWO POINTS ABUNdantly clear: The war and peace aims of the British Government are not what they were given out to be in the beginning of the conflict, or they have been radically changed in the meantime.

The British Government has categorically refused to accept the condition on which, in the opinion of the Congress, India could offer co-operation honourably. So the Viceroy's declaration has created a situation in which the Congress attitude must radically change.

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In this situation, the immediate thing for the Congress to do is to throw its influence and the weight of its international prestige on the side of peace. On behalf of the Congress, as well as by Gandhiji personally, a fervent appeal should be forthwith made for the peoples of Europe, particularly of England and France, to demand an immediate termination of armed hostilities, and such a peaceful solution of the outstanding problems as would spare Europe the cataclysm of a large-scale war.

If there is no response, India will have no other alternative than to leave Europe to its fate, and turn her attention exclusively to her immediate task of winning freedom. The Congress should take up an attitude of neutrality.

Let us apply ourselves to the task of preparing the ground for the decisive battle in our struggle for freedom, which, thanks to the possible development of the international situation, may be fought before long with the greatest chance of victory.



NO BELIEF IN TERRORISM

CONTEXT.

Extract from a statement issued by Mr. M. N. Roy (on Nov. 29, 1939) with reference to a speech delivered by the Punjab Premier in the provincial Legislative Assembly.

CONTRARY TO THE UNFOUNDED CHARGE MADE AGAINST ME by the Punjab Premier (Sir Sikander Hyat Khan), the well-known fact is that, for nearly twenty years, I have been trying to persuade people about the futility of terrorism as a weapon in a political struggle. But the Punjab Premier seems to think that any stick is good enough to beat a dog with. Only, I am not a dog, and shall not be so easily beaten.



"NO COMPROMISE WITH BRITISH IMPERIALISM"

RADICALS WOULD PREVENT IT

Extracts from a report in the "Pioneer" of Jan. 26, 1940, of a speech delivered by Mr. M. N. Roy in which he referred to the statement of Mr. Gandhi on H. E. the Viceroy's Orient Club speech.

MR. ROY CLAIMED THAT, AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE CONGRESS was never committed to the goal of complete independence. The Lahore resolution aimed at nothing more than Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety and that was why Mahatma Gandhi was claiming that the Viceroy's speech at Bombay contained the germs of an honourable settlement.

Continuing, he said that the Congress was not leading the Indian people towards complete independence but only to a compromise with British Imperialism. Radical Socialists were bent upon preventing, this, and, if they failed, the

Congress was doomed. But even if the Congress was crushed and Gandhism disappeared, nationalism would live for ever.



MR. M. N. ROY'S PROGRAMME

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an Associated Press report from Calcutta, dated Feb. 9, 1940.

MR. M. N. ROY'S CONCEPTION OF THE METHOD BY WHICH India should advance towards freedom is expounded by him in a statement issued to the Press today in connection with his nomination as a candidate for the Congress Presidentship.

India's attainment of freedom should be based, according to Mr. Roy, upon the seizure of power by the masses. In this connection, he envisages a definite programme.

" The primary Congress committees " he says, " must be based on groups of Congress members possessed of elementary political consciousness, and engaged actively in the day-to-day struggle of the local masses.

" In the course of time, the primary Congress committees, representing the oppressed and exploited masses of their respective localities, will become the organs of popular power, and at the earliest available opportune moment, will simultaneously assume the functions of local Governments.

" On a foundation constituted of these units, there will rise the new democratic State of free India.

" The constitution of the new State will be framed by a democratic assembly, elected by the popular organs of power created by an entire people. The constitution will be the legalization of the principles of national reconstruction formulated in the Congress programme of national reconstruction. "



COALITION MINISTRIES FAVOURED

Extracts from a statement issued to the Press by Mr. M. N. Roy on Aug. 19, 1940.

THE VICEROY'S DECLARATION ONCE AND FOR ALL PROVES that the Congress leaders have all along been chasing a chimera by demanding from the British Government the recognition of Indian independence..... It is now clear that the British Government can never be expected to recognise Indian independence before it will be an accomplished fact, and that no real power will ever be voluntarily transferred , so as to liquidate imperialism, not even to the extent of effecting any substantial change in the nature of the established State.

Unless its policy is forthwith recast radically, so as to be determined by this lesson, the Congress is bound to meet

political or organisational disaster, in consequence either of some rash action or of a forced passivity.

The danger of minority communities being utilized for any mischievous purpose can still be avoided by the formation of Coalition Ministries in the provinces.

India should participate in the fight, irrespective of Imperialist Britain's policy towards her. The fighters for Indian freedom should co-operate with the British democracy, as distinct from British Imperialism, for the common cause.

Provincial Governments, controlled by popular representatives, can be the medium of that co-operation.

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE URGED

AT A MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GUJARAT, Maharashtra, the Bombay and Karnatak Provincial League of Radical Congressmen at Poona, on July 28, 1940, resolutions were adopted urging active participation by Indians in the anti-Fascist struggle, and criticising the Wardha Statement and the Delhi Resolution which had been endorsed by the A.-I. C.C. The opinion was recorded that the Delhi resolution prolonged the stalemate in national politics. Resumption of power in the crisis by Congressmen, to enable them to protect civic rights and create conditions in which a Constituent Assembly could be convened, was favoured.

WARNING TO CONGRESS LEADERS

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report in the "Hindustan Times" of Aug. 9, 1940, of an interview with Mr. M. N. Roy.

I DO NOT WANT TO SAY MUCH, BUT ONE THING IS CLEAR. Congress leaders must make up their mind. It seems that the Government has decided to force their hands.

Nothing more than has been offered by the Viceroy could be expected from the Government. Congress leaders should have known that.

The offer evidently falls far short of the Congress demand. Therefore, Congress leaders may be now compelled to do what they do not want to do, namely, precipitate a clash.

I am of the opinion that to precipitate a clash will be neither wise nor desirable. The cause of freedom will not be advanced and Fascism may be indirectly helped. I hope the Congress leaders will think seriously before taking the fateful step.

UTILISE "RELATIVE FREEDOM" TO PROMOTE GREATER FREEDOM

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an Associated Press report from Dehra Dun, dated Aug. 25, 1940.

"THE RESOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE is neither statesmanlike nor patriotic", declares Mr. M. N. Roy in a statement to the Press.

He adds: "Those chasing the chimera of the British Government declaring India free were bound to be disillusioned. Even now pain and indignation will not help if the Congress leaders do not learn from bitter experience that freedom can never come as a gift. It is poor patriotism to wait for others to make us free. It is bad statesmanship to abandon strategic positions conquered on the strength of popular support. It is not necessary for Congressmen to expect H. E. the Viceroy to invite them to office."

Proceeding, Mr. Roy says:

The blunders of the leaders have placed the Congress in a helpless position where nothing better can be done than protest. In this fateful moment it is the only leadership the Congress Working Committee can give. Protests betray weakness and petulance. The only result of this futile gesture will be provocation to wholesale repression. Only counsels of despair can prefer that to really practical politics. There must be far-seeing Congressmen who will refuse to travel this easy road to the wilderness".

Concluding, Mr. Roy remarks: "Jail may be an escape for politicians at bay. Others with vision may prefer to utilise relative freedom for promoting the cause of greater freedom."

"DOWN WITH FASCISM!"

Extracts from an appeal entitled "Down With Fascism", issued on Aug. 28, 1940, by Mr. M. N. Roy, on behalf of the League of Radical Congressmen, "to all freedom-loving, progressive, and democratic elements in the public life of India".

NO DOUBT, THEIR OWN FREEDOM MUST BE THE FIRST concern of Indians. At the same time, they must bear in mind that no single country can be free, or remain free, in the midst of an enslaved world, driven back into the darkness of medieval barbarism. Therefore, all regional or particular fights for freedom, irrespective of their own specific objectives, have today become integral parts of the world-historical fight against Fascism, and can be fought effectively and successfully only as such. All the activities of the fighters for Indian freedom must be determined by that realization.

To the great bulk of the Indian population Fascism is practically unknown, except perhaps in name. What it really stands for is very little known, even to the average educated public. Its bloody history of nearly 20 years is also known only partially. On the other hand, its philosophy and some of its social and political doctrines have found expressed

sympathy and even admiration among a certain section of educated Indians. That being the case, Fascism is not a distant danger, either in terms of space or in terms of time. The danger is in our midst—here and now. If it is not checked before it is too late, India will have to experience a worse tyranny, brutalization and retrogression, instead of advancing towards the goal of independence.

BETRAYAL OF ALL HUMAN VALUES

Fascism is the negation of all the positive outcome of modern civilization. The liberating significance of modern civilization is indeed not appreciated by a certain type of Indians. They may pretend to be patriots, but they do not stand for the freedom that the people of India as a whole must have. They even do not represent the true spirit of ancient tradition. The past can be evaluated only as the foundation of the future. Glorification of the past, which compels one to turn his back on the future, represents a betrayal of the positive and ennobling values of the past tradition. Fascism is such a betrayal of all human values, created not only in modern times, but throughout the ages. It is a negation of all the ideals of man, striving for political freedom, social justice, cultural progress, intellectual emancipation and spiritual elevation. Therefore, it is the very antithesis of everything which must inspire all true Indian patriots.

World domination is the declared object of Fascism. The doctrine of the superiority of the white race is a pronounced feature of Fascism. It does not even pretend to " civilize " the non-white races....

The countries of Western Europe having been overrun by triumphant Fascism, the British people are to-day engaged in a desperate struggle against that menace not only for the freedom of their own country, but also for human liberty and human civilization as a whole....

They deserve not only moral support and platonic sympathy, but the active co-operation of all who entertain the ideals of progress and freedom.

SOVIET RUSSIA

On the other side, there stands the Soviet Union as the bulwark against Fascist expansion eastwards. If England is defeated, the Soviet Union will become the next object of Nazi aggression. The subjugation of the whole of Europe, followed by the fall of England, will mean such a tremendous accession of power for Fascism that the very existence of the Soviet Union would be endangered. What will happen to India and other countries of the East if Fascism can score still more victories is too dreadful even to be imagined.

Only the closest co-operation of all the forces of freedom throughout the world can save the world from that imminent calamity.

"PEOPLE'S WAR": INDIA VITALLY CONCERNED

Extracts from a report in the "Hindustan Times" of Sept. 6, 1940.

"IF WE DO NOT FEEL IT TO BE OUR DUTY TO HELP THE British people in their fight against foreign Fascism and the intrigues of the friends of Fascism at home, we talk of freedom in vain," observed Mr. M. N. Roy, speaking at a public meeting in Dehra Dun in observance of Anti-Fascist Day.

Mr. Roy said it was a people's war, and, as such, the people of India were vitally concerned with it. The mobilisation of the Indian people in a world struggle for the defence of human liberty and human progress could not take place through the efforts of a Government which, by its very nature, could not appeal to patriotism, nor claim to be the custodian of popular freedom. The task, therefore, must be undertaken by others.

"We should not be under the delusion that the destruction of democracy in Europe will help its establishment in India. India will gain her freedom by virtue of contributing to the defence of world freedom."

MR. GANDHI'S DEMAND: INDIRECT HELP FOR FASCISM

Extracts from Mr. M. N. Roy's comment on the All-India Congress Committee resolution of Sept. 16, 1940, demanding the "right" to conduct anti-war propaganda.

IT IS BEYOND MORTAL UNDERSTANDING HOW MORAL SUPport for Britain and professed abhorrence for Fascism are reconciled with anti-war propaganda.

The object of the propaganda is obviously to prevent India's participation in the war. Its attainment will not only embarrass the British Government, but will be a setback to British democracy, engaged in a life and death struggle. The propaganda may not succeed, but that will not absolve Congress leaders from the responsibility of encouraging Fascism and betraying the democratic and progressive forces.

The Government is not likely to grant freedom for anti-war propaganda, but by demanding it the Congress leaders stand condemned of readiness to give Fascism indirect help.

The crucial question is how anti-war propaganda will promote the cause of Indian freedom. The Bombay resolution is sure to lead to the extinction of the Congress.

POPULAR MINISTRIES

The Congress leaders having chosen the wilderness, a joint effort should be made by more realistic politicians to form popular Ministries in the provinces. The collaboration of more sensible Congress legislators may be expected. The other alternative is new elections on the issue of India's voluntary participation in the war against Fascism. In the present critical situation the Government and the country

must come under popular control. Otherwise the anti-Fascist war cannot be converted into a people's war, and only as such will it succeed.



"NARROW-MINDED NATIONALISM"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a statement issued by Mr. M. N. Roy on Sept. 14, 1940, when there was a report that the invasion of England seemed imminent.

I WISH, ONCE AGAIN, TO WARN THE COUNTRY THAT THE possible fall of England will not mean the end of imperialism in India. Others' misfortune will not benefit us.

Meeting at this fateful moment, the A.-I.C.C. should feel its responsibility. I appeal for a generous gesture and voluntary co-operation with British democracy, which is holding the last ditch against Fascism. Beware of laying the Congress open to the charge of betrayal of the cause of democracy and connivance with delivering the world to Fascism. No mock heroics, no narrow-minded nationalism but foresight and broad vision are the need of the moment.

MR. ROY RESIGNS FROM CONGRESS

At a meeting of the United Provinces Congress Council at Allahabad on Sept. 7, 1940, a resolution was adopted suspending Mr. M. N. Roy from membership of all elective organisations of the Congress, on the ground that he had openly carried on persistent propaganda against the basic policy and programme and decisions of the Congress at Ramgarh and elsewhere and, at a moment of grave crisis for the Congress and the nation, sought to undermine and nullify that policy and line of action. The Council also called upon Mr. M. N. Roy to submit his explanation.

Mr. Roy subsequently resigned his membership of the Congress.

SOCIALISTS

CONTEXT.

ITALO-ABYSSINIAN WAR

LEAGUE OF NATIONS CRITICISED

Resolution passed at the first session of the Sind Congress Socialist Conference at Karachi on July 18, 1936.

THE CONFERENCE WAS OF THE OPINION THAT THERE WAS imminent danger of war, following development all over the world, and urged the non-participation of India therein.

The Conference condemned the action of the League of Nations in lifting the " Sanctions " imposed on Italy during the Italo-Abyssinian war and in refusing the demand of the Abyssinian Emperor for financial assistance for continuing the war against the imperialist aggression of Italy. This, in the opinion of the Conference, betrayed the utter impotence of League, in protecting weak nations.

The Conference therefore supported the move of Mr. Iyengar, Congress M. L. A., in sponsoring a resolution for the next session of the Indian Legislative Assembly demanding the withdrawal of India from the League.



" MISCONCEPTIONS " ABOUT SOCIALISM

Extract from a Report on speech delivered by Mr. K. Lingaraju as Chairman of the Reception Committee at the Andhra Socialist Party Conference at Rajahmundry on September 26, 1936.

REFERRING TO SOVIET RUSSIA, MR. LINGARAJU SAID YOUNG men in India were reading avidly everything about the Soviet Union but it was a mistake to suppose that the idea in reading Russian literature was to transplant Communism to Indian soil. The ideal of the Socialists was not to make India a pale copy of Russia but to evolve from the Russian experiment a government for India in accordance with her needs and aspirations. With this goal firmly in view what harm was there in our looking towards Russia for knowledge and inspiration ? He enumerated certain prevailing " misconceptions " about Socialism and contended that Socialism did not aim at destroying individuality.

Adverting to the feverish war preparations now being made by the Powers and the imminence of war, he said : " Our duty in such a crisis is plain. We should withhold assistance from the British Government. The National Congress has clearly defined its attitude in the event of war

breaking out. We must follow its lead. We cannot lend our support to the ignoble cause of imperialistic domination ".



MONSTERS OF WAR AND FASCISM

CONTEXT.

Report on the Presidential Address delivered by Mr. Yusuf Meherally at the Andhra Socialist Party Conference on September 26, 1936.

DEALING WITH THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, THE PRESIdent said that Europe today had become an arena for the clash of two systems, the capitalist and the socialist. Eighteen years after the Treaty of Versailles, Europe was again arming itself more dreadfully with more destructive weapons of war to wipe out masses of population and was heading towards a catastrophe from which there seemed to be no escape. The clash of interests inside the capitalist system was sharpening so rapidly that every country was forced to spend more than half its revenues on the development of the war industry.

In every country the progressive elements were closing their ranks and arraying themselves against the forces of reaction, the monsters of war and Fascism. The radical forces had realised this need for unity after the experience of Germany. Socialism in European politics was emerging in a new phase. At the moment, democracy in Spain was carrying on a life and death struggle with the Fascist rebels who, from all available information, were being well supported with arms, aeroplanes and money from the Fascist States of Italy and Germany. India's sympathies must naturally go to the people of Spain.



STUDY OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS URGED

Report on Mr. Meherally's Presidential Address at the Bengal Congress Socialist Party Conference at Calcutta on October 3, 1936.

THE SPEAKER BELIEVED THAT A WORLD WAR WAS IMMINENT and thought that the Far East would be the centre of this gigantic Imperialist conflagration. He urged that they should make a deep study of the Far Eastern question and suggested the establishment of a Chair for the study of Far Eastern affairs at all the Indian Universities. He would like to urge the Calcutta University, which was several shades in advance of other Universities in research work to take up the matter in right earnest.



WAR AN OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN FREEDOM

Resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the All-India Congress Socialists' Conference at Faizpur on Dec. 23, 1936.

THIS CONFERENCE WELCOMES THE DECISION OF THE LUCKnow session of the Congress against the participation of India in an Imperialist war and appeals to the Congress to prepare the people for the crisis and, in particular, to issue a call to refuse to serve in the war, and to make financial contributions to war loans.

This conference feels that the Indian people must now prepare for the crisis with a view to utilising it to secure their freedom and strike a blow for peace and progress.



" FASCIST AND IMPERIALIST ATTACK ON SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY "

CONTEXT.

Summary of a resolution passed on April 13, 1938, by the All-India Socialist Conference at Lahore.

THE RESOLUTION DRAWS ATTENTION TO THE FASCIST AND Imperialist attack on Socialism and democracy of the industrial countries and on national freedom in the colonies. It states that the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is the only major power working for world freedom and peace, and regards the foreign policy of Great Britain as pro-Fascist and as encouraging the forces of reaction and war.

The resolution further records the belief that the united struggle of the world Socialist and Democratic forces alone can meet the Fascist and Imperialist attacks. Warm wishes to the brave defenders of freedom and democracy, in particular, to the National Government of China and the Popular front of Spain are expressed and support for the U. S. S. R. is assured.

The resolution supports wholeheartedly the Congress resolve not to participate in the wars of Great Britain and urges upon the Indian people to prepare for the event to refuse supplies of men and money to the British Empire and utilise it to achieve independence.

NARENDRA DEV, ACHARYA

FASCIST MENACE MUST BE RESISTED

Speaking at Cawnpore, on Aug. 31, 1938, on " The various political parties in India ", Acharya Narendra Dev Congress Socialist, said:

WHILE LIBERALISM IN ENGLAND WAS DEAD, INDIAN Liberals still looked back to the Victorian Liberalism; they had no idea how much the world had changed since. The LIBERAL Party in India was the only other party beside the

Congress which was a purely political party and had no communal outlook. But as a political party it was dead.

The Liberals could take legitimate pride for inculcating the ideal of democracy, which was now challenged by the growing power of Fascism. The speaker wanted this menace of Fascism to be resisted at all costs.

But he felt that the conception of democracy as evolved by the Liberals would have to be changed. Democracy, in order to be able to withstand Fascism, must be allied to economic equality.



" BETRAYAL OF DEMOCRACY " IN WESTERN EUROPE

CONTEXT.

Extracts from Acharya Narendra Dev's Presidential Address to the annual session of the All-India Kisan (Peasant) Conference at Gaya (Bihar) on April 9, 1939.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IS RAPIDLY DETERIORATing and the world is rushing headlong towards a crisis. The system of collective security has completely broken down. Pledges are being violated. The so-called democracies of Western Europe are betraying democracy. Great Britain is a special offender in this respect. It has deliberately aided the Fascist Powers and has, by its week-kneed policy, helped Nazi Germany in extinguishing the freedom of small independent States.

The world is passing through a moral crisis and the moment seems to be ripe when India should consciously prepare herself for the final struggle. The time has come when we should take initiative in our own hands and initiate a nation-wide struggle to gain our national objective. We have so far been sitting on the fence, awaiting the introduction of the Federal Scheme which the Congress is pledged to oppose. But this attitude of mind helps a policy of drift, dangerous for a fighting organisation.

We, therefore, welcome the decision of the Congress at Tripuri which puts an end to this policy of drift and calls upon all parts of the Congress organisations, Congress Governments and the people generally to prepare the country for a nation-wide struggle. This momentous decision of the Congress was, however, taken in an atmosphere surcharged with personal bitterness and animosity and other matters much less consequential seemed to dominate the scene.



COMMUNIST INFILTRATION INTO CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY

On June 29, 1939, Messers. Achut Patwardhan, Ram Manohar Lohia, Asoka Mehta and M. R. Masani,

THE VACILLATION IN THE PARTY'S POLITICS CAN ultimately be traced to the fact that its initiative has not remained unfettered. In its eagerness for Socialist unity, the

issued this statement giving the reasons for their resignation from the Executive of the Congress Socialist Party.

Party has developed close collaboration with the Communists and admitted a number of Communists inside the Party with the result that to-day its initiative is no longer independent.

It is not that its policy is influenced through the impact of outside forces—that would be healthy enough—but that it is shaped by the pressure of members of other organisations inside the Party itself. Communist infiltration in the Party has gone very far and it has seriously affected the working and tone of the Party.

While, no doubt, the policy of the open door for Communists was inspired by an overwhelming desire for unification of the two trends represented by the two parties, the Communists have not, in our opinion, responded in that spirit and in the provinces where they have gained a majority, the Congress Socialist Party tendency has been either suppressed or eliminated.

Time and again, repeated warnings were given to the Party Executive about the designs of the Communists and their strategy of camouflage but the Executive, partly because of its insistent desire for unity and partly because of the embarrassing presence of a large number of Communists in the Party, has failed to pay heed to them to this day.

We believe that the Congress Socialist Party has played and can yet play—a distinctive part in Indian politics. It has been the expression of a Socialist tendency entirely distinct from that emanating from the Communist International. There are many fundamental differences between our principles and approach and that of the Communists. Such, for instance, are the attitude towards the Congress, the adherence to peaceful and legitimate means, insistence on democracy, the attitude towards the acts of the Soviet Government towards the colonial peoples and to war.

"INTOLERABLE POSITION"

In the present circumstances, we consider it to be highly detrimental to the Indian Socialist movement as well as the national movement, that the policies and activities of Indian Socialists should be controlled by an international organisation which has itself in recent years become dependent on the Government of the Soviet Union.

To the extent that Communists control the working of the Congress Socialist Party as they have been increasingly doing, the free initiative and healthy development of the Indian Socialist movement is being crippled.

It is our considered opinion that the continuance of the present heterogeneous composition of the party and of the political drift and organisational paralysis which results from such a composition is intolerable and must end.

A Congress Socialist Party which agrees with the Communist Party in almost all matters and acts almost invariably in collaboration with it has really no business to exist as a separate party. In any event, being less well-knit and financially poorer, it is bound to be eaten up by the other. It is only if there are definite points of difference and these are clearly indicated—that there is justification for having two separate parties.

The only real alternative before the Congress Socialist Party appears to be either to chalk out a more specific programme and thesis distinct from that of the Communists or to merge with the Communists in a single party, by whatever name it may be called.

We have tried frankly to bring to the surface the extent of the differences that have developed. This does not mean that with these members of the original group which formed the Party who may not agree with much of what we have said, we have little in common. Far from it. There is still much in common and, above all, there is deep affection and friendship. But these are not by themselves a sufficient basis on which to function.

If some of us have come to look at things in a way which puts us in the position of being considered obstacles to ' Socialist unity ' of the Party, it is much better that we cease to be such obstructions and allow the dominant tendencies in the Party to follow their natural course. It has been for us a rare pleasure and privilege to work with Jai Prakash Narayan and our other comrades and the ties that hold us together will remain. It is in this spirit that we have resigned.



" PREPARE FOR THE STRUGGLE "

CONTEXT.

Extract from the Presidential Address delivered by Acharya Narendra Dev at the Delhi Socialists' Conference on July 2, 1939.

THERE IS A PHENOMENAL AWAKENING IN THE COUNTRY and the international crisis is deepening and one does not know when the world will be involved in war. Let us now throw away our opportunities.

Let those whose vision is clear, formulate a plan of action and by following a correct line and by resolute action demonstrate to the people the immediate necessity of making elaborate preparations for the impending struggle. Let the Congress Socialist Party realise that it has to perform these urgent tasks, in conjuction with all those who think and act alike.

ANTI-WAR PROPAGANDA URGED

The Delhi Socialists' Conference passed a resolution requesting the Congress to take up *inter alia*, active anti-war propaganda, especially in the chief recruiting areas. It

also desired the Congress Governments in the various provinces to make their position absolutely clear to the British Government that they would resist the working of the proposed amendments to the Government of India Act relating to recruitment.

CHATTOPADHYAYA, MRS.

CONTEXT.

This report received by Air Mail from London, appeared in the "Hindu" dated July 19, 1939. It was based on an interview with Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, a Congress Socialist leader, on her impressions of England.

INDIAN RESPONSIBILITY TO THE WORLD

I COME TO LONDON AFTER A LAPSE OF OVER FIFTEEN years. The decade and a half has seen many changes in the world, some momentous. India has leaped over many decades and passed through revolutionary changes. India and the Colonies still do not find a place in the English Press.

England at one time was the most glorious and powerful country, the Englishmen the only gentlemen in the world and the might of the empire could never be challenged. This bred in Englishmen an insular outlook and a smug contentment. But this hard shield has been violently pierced by a super-imperialist, who has not only challenged but has successfully won all along the line. Spain has been a rude shock, for it has shaken up the complacency and given a glimpse of coming shadows and their horrors. And, therefore, although international problems are beginning to feature more, the empire questions still hang in the background.

INDIANS POLITICALLY BETTER EDUCATED

It is a painful shock for those coming fresh from the lively field of Indian politics to see how much more alive and politically better educated our people are.

How much wider and more comprehensive the Indian vision, so that the Indian movement does not degenerate into a mere narrow nationalist fight for a small geographical unit but grows as part of a larger world movement for democracy and freedom in which India too wishes to play an important role by throwing her weight on the side of these great principles.

The English public are a little slow in understanding this aspect, for it is new to them, never having been told the truth about our country. But undoubtedly this stand that India has taken has made a tremendous impression on the international world and won the admiration and respect of the people of all the countries.

In the event of war all eyes will once again turn to India—particularly that of the other Colonies who, no doubt, will be guided and influenced very largely by India's attitude in that event.

India has, therefore, a very large responsibility resting upon her shoulders, one in which she will have perhaps to give a lead to many millions of struggling people, and thus justify her vast movement and its great philosophy.

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POLITICAL ACTION ON MASS SCALE DEMANDED

CONTEXT.

Messers Damodarswaroop Seth, Mohanlal Gautam, Jogesh Chatterjee and B. P. Sinha, prominent members of the Congress Socialist Party, issued this statement on August 16, 1939.

FULL SIX MONTHS HAVE CLAPSED SINCE WE MET AT TRIPURI and unanimously passed the National Demand resolution. Mahatma Gandhi is making absurd demands and laying down impossible conditions for his leadership. He is no longer content with the kind of non-violence that we Congressmen have practised so far. He demands of us non-violence of the type that will produce a change of heart.

We have seen this non-violence at work in Rajkot after he saw ' new light '. We do not appreciate it. We cannot understand it. We want political action on a mass scale. We would attach no value to Swaraj achieved through the restricted activity of a select band, such as Mahatma Gandhi wants. We would want Swaraj to come through the active intervention of the masses. That alone will be true Swaraj.

A " ROMANTIC " CREED

We shall resist with all our might any attempt to smuggle *ahimsa* (non-violence) of the Rajkot type into the Congress creed. The sturdy commonsense of Congressmen has rejected one attempt to substitute the words ' legitimate and peaceful ' in the creed by the words ' non-violent and truthful.'

It is, therefore, our painful duty to warn the country against treading the path which the present leadership has chosen for it. Its pursuit of a romantic creed, its insistence on Utopian methods of political warfare and its sectarianism are making a united national effort impossible.

It is every day proving increasingly unfit to lead this national concentration against British imperialism. It is time, therefore that our General Secretary, Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan,

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and Acharya Narendra Dev took this matter up with the present leadership of the Congress and cleared the position of the Congress Socialist Party.

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CONTEXT.

"UNCONDITIONAL RESISTANCE TO WAR"

Statement issued on Sept. 16, 1939, by Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan and Mr. M.R. Masani, Socialist leaders.

WE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WHILE respecting the Working Committee's resolution to defer definite action till the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on October 7 next, the Congress Socialist Party stands for unconditional resistance to war and will press for it at the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, because it cannot conceive of any gesture or concession on the part of the British Government which would justify support to this war. We look forward to a united decision for resistance on October 7 next.

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MEHERALLY, MR. Y.

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COMMUNALISM IN INDIA "A MYTH"

Extract from a report in the "National Herald" of Oct. 30, 1939.

"COMMUNALISM IN INDIA IS NOT A REALITY, IT IS A MYTH. It is absured to say that India is divided between peoples believing in two religions, the Hindus and the Muslims. India is divided between the rich and the poor, between the patriots and the traitors," declared Mr. Yousuf Meherally, the Congress Socialist leader, addressing a large gathering of students under the auspices of the Lucknow University Union. Mr. H. C. Tiwary presided.

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CONTEXT.

MINISTRIES' RESIGNATION

" ITS LOGICAL END "

Extract from a statement issued " on behalf of the National Executive of the All-India Congress Socialist Party " on Nov. 11, 1939 in reply to H.E. the Viceroy's statement of Nov. 5, and a subsequent debate in Parliament.

IN INDIA, THERE IS, AND HAS BEEN UNDER BRITISH rule neither peace, nor justice, nor democracy. Therefore, India naturally stood as a challenge to the professions of faith of British statesmen. That challenge has gone home now and the British ruling class stands fully exposed as imperialist exploiters, intent upon maintaining their imperial possessions and their rule by force over the unarmed and defenceless people of India.

Now that these aims have been defined, namely, the continuation of imperialist domination over India, it has become obvious that nationalist India can have nothing to do with this war and that it must oppose actively the utilisation of Indian resources for the perpetuation of India's own slavery. This committee, therefore, welcomes heartily the decision of the Congress Working Committee withdrawing the Congress Ministries.

" UNBRIDGEABLE GULF "

In the opinion of this committee this can be only the first step and its logical end can only be the launching of a nation-wide struggle against this fresh attempt of the imperial power to secure the bondage of this country. The gulf that lies between the Congress and the British Government is unbridgeable and statements and interviews cannot bring the two together.

Imperialist domination prevents the development of India's resources and, of whatever little is produced, imperialism takes away the larger part and shares the rest with the vested interests in the country.

The attempt, therefore, of the so-called representatives of the minorities to serve these interests by seeking the help of the imperial power as against the Congress, not only betrays the national cause but also the cause of the minorities themselves.

It is a matter of extreme significance and of joy to the people that powerful Muslim organisations, like the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Ahrars, Momins and Shias, have dissociated themselves from the All-India Muslim League and are lining up with the Congress in defence of the freedom of India and of of the welfare of the masses.

RANGA, PROF. N.G.

SOVIET INVASION OF POLAND

CONTEXT.

Extract from a United Press report from Bellary (Madras Presidency), dated November 15, 1939, in the "National Herald".

REGARDING THE RUSSIAN SUPPLY OF ARMS AND AMMUNITIONS to Germany, Prof. N. G. Ranga, Congress Socialist M.L.A. (Central) in a press interview said it was in no way worse that the 'cash and carry' policy of America.

"Besides, one must remember that Russia is interested in seeing that the two contending groups of imperialism are destroyed and that can be achieved only by these countries exhausting themselves in this war"

Asked if the Russian invasion of Poland was not imperialistic in outlook, Prof. Ranga said:

"I do not think that Russia can even by mistake become imperialistic. She certainly believes in the federation of all liberated peoples of the world. What has happened in Ukrainian Poland ought not to be mistaken for imperialist aggression because, first of all, that land was for a long time part and parcel of Russia even to an extent greater than Alssace Lorraine was a part of France and, secondly, the people of that area, who are heroic subjects of the Polish Government, welcomed the Russian troops with open arms.

"Even if any one wishes to put this occupation of Ukrainian Poland on the same plane as the German occupation of the rest of Poland, one has to admit that, so far, there has been no other historic parallel to the Russian emancipation of the Polish masses from the thraldom of their landlords and capitalists and the enthronement of the latter's restwhile slaves as their virtual masters."

JAI PRAKASH NARAIN, MR.

INDEPENDENCE PLEDGE : SOCIALISTS' ATTITUDE

Extracts from a statement issued by Mr. Jai Prakash Narayan on January 4, 1940, on Independence Day Pledge.

THE NEW INDEPENDENCE DAY PLEDGE DRAFTED BY THE Congress Working Committee created unfortunate difficulties. It is substantially the pledge of 1930. But sentiments have been introduced in it which make it difficult for the

Socialists or, rather, for all those Congressmen to whom the constructive programme is not an article of faith, to take the pledge. Whatever ambiguity of language the Pledge had in this regard has been removed by the Mahatmaji's (Mr. Gandhi's) recent article in *Harijan*...

I have no doubt that a large number of Congressmen worked the constructive programme not out of faith but because it was a Congress programme. Can they take the pledge ? If not, they are only faithful to fight for and to win Independence.

Speaking here for the Congress Socialist Party, I must say that while we have never obstructed a constructive programme and have often co-operated in it we never accepted it as the only, or even as an adequately effective, weapon in our struggle. We recognize its value as a channel of approach to the masses and as an instrument of social amelioration. But we always stressed its inadequacy and its unscientific social philosophy.

NO RECANTATION

We advanced, for our part, a new programme, that of the labour and peasant organizations, as the foundation of a revolutionary mass movement. Our view regarding those matters remain unchanged.....Yet we are prepared in the present circumstances to carry out the constructive programme because the nation's High Command desires it. But we cannot make an ideological recantation nor can we give up our party beliefs as a matter of discipline. It would be dishonesty for us and renunciation of Socialism if we professed faith in Khadi which the new pledge requires.

As it is, we find ourselves in the painful position of not being able to take this pledge. The members of the Congress Socialist Party shall, therefore, take the original pledge of 1930.

We, on our part, fervently desire to make of it (Independence Day) a day for a great anti-war demonstration as well as for self-preparation and national mobilization.

Let there be meetings everywhere, let us try to see that every village takes the vow of Independence, let every household hoist the Congress flag, let the students come out of their schools and colleges on that day and let the workers lay dowr their tools. Let there be rallies and marches of the peasantry, let the millions of Indians take a vow on that day along with the vow of independence that they will have nothing to do with this Imperialist war.

CONTEXT.

CONGRESS OFFER : SOCIALIST PARTY ALARMED

Extract from a statement issued at Poona on July 27, 1940 by the Executive Committee of the All-India Congress Socialist Party embodying its final views on the Delhi resolution of the Congress Working Committee.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HAS NOTED WITH ALARM THE decision of the Congress Working Committee, at its last meeting in Delhi, to offer support to the British Government in the prosecution of the war on certain conditions. It appeals to Congressmen to raise their voices against this decision and to secure its reversal.

For five years now, the Congress has at each successive session declared its uncompromising opposition to the war, and its decision actively to resist any attempt to involve India in any imperialist war.

Now, however, the basic policy of the Congress of resistance to imperialist war is sought to be abandoned by a majority of the Working Committee.

The Congress Socialist Party has, since its formation in 1934, made war resistance one of its main planks...

CLOSING OF BURMA ROAD

Despite any declaration that Britain can make regarding India, Britain would remain an Imperialist Power and the war an Imperialist war.

The latest illustration to prove that Britain is not fighting for democracy or for the freedom of nations and against aggression is the closing of the Burma Road to China, thus assisting an aggressor against a fellow-member of the League of Nations which is being attacked.

In such a context, a National Government under the Union Jack would be an anti-national Government...

Events are moving so fast on the international stage that India might be called upon to face a grave crisis at any moment...

We suggest that immediate steps should be taken to create an effective organization of National Guards throughout the country, to reorganize the Congress committees in such a way that they become effective in any emergency and to prepare the people for the not-too-distant contingency when they will be called upon to summon a Constituent Assembly to frame the constitution of a free India.

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF AUG. 8, 1940

Comment by Mr. Meherally, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Socialist Party, on H. E. the Viceroy's announcement of Aug. 8, 1940.

" THERE IS NEITHER ANY MENTION OF COMPLETE INDEpendence, nor of even the limited type of National Government for which Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar pleaded so eloquently. In its place we have a skilfully-worded assurance to the minorities and the vested interests that their intransigence will be held at a premium."

MUSLIM LEAGUE, ALL-INDIA

Fazlul Huq, Mr.

Haroon, Sir A.

FAZLUL HUQ, MR.

CONTEXT.

MUSLIM LEAGUE AND THE WAR

Extracts from an Associated Press report from Calcutta on Sept. 21, 1939.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ, PREMIER OF BENGAL, IN A STATEment says that comments in a section of the British-edited Press on the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on the Muslim attitude towards war will cause the deepest regret to the Muslim world. The same section of the Press welcomed the Congress Working Committee's resolution and even urged the British Government to capitulate to the Congress.

" A comparison between the two statements will make it abundantly clear that the Muslims have been more reasonable in their attitude and far more modest in the statement of their case than the Congress. I wish to tell the Britishers, both in India and at home, that it would be a mistaken policy on their part to allow any deep feeling of resentment and discontent to creep into the minds of the loyal Muslims of India. Britain should remember that today she is great among the nations of the world because she enjoys the confidence of the peoples in her sense of justice and she would be well advised to continue to secure more firmly than ever the deep-seated attachment of Muslims to the Throne and the Empire."

HAROON, SIR A.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: WARNING TO HINDUS

Extract from a summary of Sir Abdulla Haroon's speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Sind Muslim League Conference at Karachi on Oct. 8, 1938.

SIR ABDULLA SOUNDED A NOTE OF WARNING THAT THE recent happenings in Czecho-Slovakia would repeat themselves in India if the majority community persisted in their unreasonable attitude and stood in the way of Muslims realising their ambition. In this connection, Sir Abdulla urged his co-religionists to establish the closest contact among themselves in India as well as with co-religionists in other countries.

JINNAH, MR. M. A.

CONTEXT.

INDIA ACT : JINNAH'S VIEWS

Extract from a report of Mr. M. A. Jinnah's speech in moving the resolution on the India Act (1935) at the 24th session of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay on April 26, 1936.

MR. JINNAH ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY LARGEST common agreement in favour of the coming constitution. (Voices : " No, no ".) He advised Indians to do with it what Germans did with the Treaty of Versailles, which was forced upon them. He examined ways and means to put pressure on the British Government to modify the constitution.

Armed revolution was an impossibility, while non-co-operation had been tried and found a failure. There was left constitutional agitation, which meant work inside and outside the Legislatures for releasing the forces which would make the British Government bend. But it could not be done by one community. It required that all communities stand shoulder to shoulder.

He asserted that the Congress would never reach the goal which they all desired unless and until they approached the Muslims. But whether the Congress recognised their claims or not, they (Muslims) owed it not only to their own community but to their country at large to organise themselves and march along the road to freedom and ultimately attain their goal. If they succeeded in doing so, the Congress would be forced to join them.

" BRITAIN THROWS FRIENDS TO THE WOLVES "

Presiding over the Sind Muslim League Conference at Karachi on October 8, 1938 Mr. M. A. Jinnah said :—

MUSLIMS' HEARTS ARE WOUNDED AND LACERATED WHEN they hear the news and the accounts of ruthless and tyrannical oppression and repression of those brave Arabs and I know that the entire Muslim world is watching the doings of Great Britain there.

During the recent times Great Britain has thrown her friends to the wolves and broken her solemn promises. Only those succeed with the British people who possess force and power and who are in a position to bully them. They have also let down and thrown the Muslims of India to the wolves... Just as the Sudeten Germans were not defenceless and survived oppression and persecution for two decades, so also the Muslims are not defenceless and cannot give up their national entity and aspirations in this great continent.

The Congress wants Muslims to be treated in the same way as the Sudeten Germans. It wants to work as the Paramount Power. That intoxication has seized the High Command. The Congress is fighting for domination over the Muslims. It is rank madness, but it has seized the Congress and it is against that design—that mad ideal—that I have rebelled.

SYMPATHY WITH ALLIES

CONTEXT.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement to the Press on September 7, 1939, said :—

AS ALREADY ANNOUNCED I HAD AN INTERVIEW WITH HIS Excellency the Viceroy on September 4, when His Excellency explained to me the situation as much as he was able to do. Naturally, I cannot disclose the contents of this conversation between him and myself. In the midst of these dark clouds let us hope for the silver lining. His Excellency is going to address both the Houses of the Central Legislature on the 11th and the public will then be in a better position to understand the situation.

One cannot help deploring and condemning the resort to arms and brute force. It does not redound to the credit of the statesmanship and civilisation of Europe that an honourable solution could not be found. It is quite obvious that we are facing now a grave situation which is bound to result in horrible destruction of life and property and will mean the greatest disaster all the world over. This is not the time for me to disapprove of the policy of His Majesty's Government. The crisis has come and we have to face and bear it as best as we can.

Naturally my sympathies are with the peoples of Poland, France and Britain, as we are at present a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. If, however, Britain wants to prosecute this war successfully it must take Muslim India into its confidence through their accredited organisation—the All-India Muslim League—and so shape its policy as to apply the principles enunciated by His Excellency the Viceroy, in his recent broadcasts soon after the declaration of war on Sunday last. Mussalmans want justice and fair play.

I will place the views of His Excellency the Viceroy before the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League which is going to meet in Delhi on September 7 and in the meantime I appeal to the Mussalmans to stand solidly and unitedly under the flag of the All-India Muslim League. Let us pray that in this grave hour we shall be guided by Providence to arrive at the right decision in the best interest of Muslim India.

DEMONSTRATIONS ON NOVEMBER 1, 1940

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an Associated Press report in the "Hindustan Times" of Oct. 12, 1940.

IN A CIRCULAR TO THE PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUES MR. Jinnah says: "In accordance with the resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, passed on September 29, 1940, I have, as authorized by the said resolution, fixed November 1, 1940, the last Friday of the month of Ramzan, as the day for the purpose of expressing and demonstrating the deep feeling of sympathy and concern of Muslim India with the Muslim countries at this critical juncture, when war flames are spreading, against any possible design or aggression upon the sovereignty and independence of those countries.

"I am enclosing a copy of the resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League herewith, which should be supported and confirmed in public meetings throughout every province on that day, and also I hope that during the Friday prayers special prayers will be offered in all the mosques throughout all the provinces for the safety and integrity of the sovereignty and independence of Muslim countries.

"I hope that this earnest appeal of mine will receive the fullest support of Muslims generally and of the Muslim Leaguers in particular and that this day will be observed in a manner worthy of Islamic traditions."

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MUSLIM COUNTRIES DAY

Extracts from a Press report from Bombay, dated Nov. 1, 1940.

"IT IS OUR DUTY TO HELP OUR MUSLIM BRETHREN wherever they may be, from China to Peru, because Islam enjoins it", declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, addressing a crowded meeting of Muslims to-night, in observance of Muslim Countries Day.

Mr. Jinnah added: "We have no arms and ammunition but we can in a thousand and one ways help our Muslim brethren if they are stricken". Defining how succour could be best rendered, he said that one method was to organise and equip medical missions and ambulance corps and send them to Muslim countries in the War zones. He wanted Muslim Volunteer bodies and Guards to be trained on such lines. These Volunteers would be able to give first aid to the Muslim war wounded.

Mr. Jinnah continued "We are convinced that in the interest of India, whatever may have been the deeds of the British Government in the past, we should support and co-operate with them as we are now in the same boat and in order to protect our own homes and hearths. We must make every preparation in the event of the war coming to India's shores.

The Muslim League has always made it clear that we are willing to give men, blood and money, but the British Government do not want our co-operation with real authority in the Government and offers that they have made are merely in the name of sharing authority. That is one difficulty in getting Muslim India to give its wholehearted support in the prosecution of this war. Perhaps Government are not meeting us reasonably because they are afraid of the Congress or it may be that they are not prepared to trust us. But these are only my guesses. God only knows what is the real reason why they are not meeting us in a satisfactory manner.

RESOLUTION

The following resolution was passed at the meeting :—

" In view of reports repeatedly reaching India recently that there is a danger of war flames spreading and of aggression by foreign powers against in the independence and sovereignty of the Muslim Countries, such as Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Turkey, this public meeting of the Muslims, of Bombay hereby expresses the deep sympathy and concern of Muslim India with the Muslim Countries and conveys to those who have any such design that, in the event of any such attack upon the Muslim Countries, Muslim India will be forced to stand by the latter and give them all the support it can."

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DANGER TO MUSLIM COUNTRIES

CONTEXT.

Extracts from Associated Press report, dated New Delhi, Nov. 16, 1940, of a statement made by Mr. Jinnah in an interview with a correspondent of the "News Chronicle", London.

" THE ATTITUDE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TOWARDS the Muslims in India is far from satisfactory in the policy they are pursuing in regard to their demands. The Viceroy's offer was only in name, purporting to give a real share and authority in Government, provincial and central for the purpose of prosecuting the war successfully. Nor are the Muslims in India satisfied with regard to the policy pursued by Great Britain in Palestine.

We think the British Government do not care for our support and co-operation on an honourable basis, with a real share in the authority of the Government. The observance of November 1 was based on the bond of brotherhood that exists between Muslim India and other Muslim countries, and it is a mark of our sense of deep sympathy and concern with Islamic countries that we decided to pray for the safety and integrity of their independence and sovereignty and to hold meetings all over the country, to prepare the people to be ready to give all the help we can in the event of any attack or aggression against them by any foreign power.

" We hope that not only the Nazis and Fascists will refrain from defying the solidarity of the Muslim world, but

also that the French and British will revise their policy in Syria and Palestine."

Mr. Jinnah then goes on to say that the speech delivered by him in Bombay on November 1 was mutilated and gives the text of the speech, a fair summary of which appeared in the Press at the time.

(Mr. Jinnah alleged that the test of the interview was not allowed to reach London. A Government *communique* repudiated the allegation that the interview was suppressed and stated that there was no interference either by Government or any Press Adviser with either the text of the interview or of Mr. Jinnah's speech of November 1, 1940.)



"WE WANT BRITAIN TO WIN"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an Associated Press report in the "Statesman" (Delhi) of Nov. 24, 1940

"THE SPOKESMEN OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE recently declared that the door for negotiations is still open. We, the Mussalmans, also re-echo the statement and say that the door for negotiations is still open."

Thus declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in inaugurating the first conference of the Delhi Muslim Students' Federation this afternoon. He continued:

"We feel that it is not only Great Britain but also India which is in danger. Situated as we are, we feel that if Great Britain goes under and the machinery of the Government of India breaks down there is real danger to all of us.

"Apart from other reasons, we do not want the Nazis to win this war. We want Great Britain to win this war.

"There is no question of our changing our masters. We want to take our freedom from Great Britain. For that reason we, from the beginning, did not place any obstacles in the way of Great Britain.

For instance, in spite of the fact that Pakistan is our anchor sheet, we did not demand Pakistan as a condition precedent to our wholeheartedly supporting the British Government. We only asked for an assurance that the British Government would not let us down by entering into an agreement, either interim or final, with the Congress. It was to be purely a war contract, without prejudice to the position of the conflicting parties now or in the future.

> "We promise to give a great deal in men, money and other materials, in fact, the wholehearted support of ninety millions of Mussalmans. I am prepared to bring to the common pool all this, but I must have an equal but real and effective share in power."

CONGRESS "BLACKMAIL"

Mr. Jinnah referred to the statements of Dr. B. S. Moonje and Mr. Savarkar (of the Hindu Maha Sabha) who had declared that the Mussalmans were like the Jews in Germany and should be treated as such, and said Congress nationalism was a perverted nationalism.

The Congress wanted independence for which it demanded a declaration from the British Government.

"Does history know of any country or nation which has won its freedom or independence by the declaration of a foreign Power? Independence can only be had by qualifying for it. It can only be wrested and captured. The fact is that the Congress wants to dominate India under the shelter of British bayonets.

"The Congress wants power, but for coercing other communities. To-day it is attempting to coerce the British Government to surrender power to it. It is a process of blackmail. The Government knows it and we know. But the British Government dare not throw the Mussalmans to the mercy of the Congress or the Hindus."

MUSLIMS, NON-LEAGUE

Allah Bux, Khan Bahadur

Hidayatullah, Sir Ghulam Hussain

Sultan Ahmed, Sir

Wazir Hasan, Sir

Yakub, Sir Mohammed

CENTRAL NATIONAL MOHAMMADAN ASSOCIATION

Azad Muslim Conference, All-India

M84DPI

UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR BRITAIN

CONTEXT.

"THIS IS NO TIME FOR HAGGLING"

Extracts from a Delhi report in the "Hindustan Times" of September 19, 1939.

"I AM FOR GIVING UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT TO BRITAIN in the war. I want the Congress and the Muslim League to unite at this juncture in the defence of India. The seriousness of the situation created by the war has not sufficiently gone home to the people," declared Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, Premier of Sind, in an exclusive interview to the 'Hindustan Times' after attending the Muslim Premiers' Conference at the residence of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, on the latter's invitation.

Khan Bahadur Allah Bux continued: "This is no time for haggling by the Congress or the League or laying down conditions".

COMMUNAL UNITY

He made an impassioned plea for Hindu-Muslim unity at this critical juncture of India's history. He thought that the one man who could bring about that unity was Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan. Once communal unity was achieved, he was sure that they would be able to get all they wanted.

Finally, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux suggested that a Conference of all the Provincial Premiers should be called in order to bring about communal unity. He made an earnest request to Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan to take the initiative in the matter.

ATTITUDE TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Extract from a report dated Lahore, Jan. 19, 1940, in the "Hindustan Times".

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DOES NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEM unless the leaders of different communities agree to it. Any decision by the Constituent Assembly might only be one sided," declared Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, Premier of Sind, in the course of a talk with Lahore journalists.

Khan Bahadur Allah Bux added that the only possible solution was a small conference of leaders, as, under the circumstances prevailling in the country, the Constituent Assembly would fail.

HIDAYATULLAH, SIR GHULAM HUSSAIN

CONTEXT.

Views expressed by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah in an interview at Karachi on April 16, 1940.

INDIA'S DUTY IN WORLD CRISIS

THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE'S PARTITION PROPOSAL (the Pakistan scheme) is to be ruled out on financial and other practical grounds. The segregation of communities makes for increased rivalry and hostility.

In Britain's present life and death struggle, involving issues momentous to the whole world, it is the duty of Indians to give her all possible support.

Civil disobedience is foredoomed to failure due to the opposition of the Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League, the Depressed Classes and the " monied " class.

A conference should be convened of members of the Indian legislatures for the purpose of considering the whole constitutional problem and drawing up a scheme of communal settlement.

SULTAN AHMED, SIR

Sir Sultan Ahmed's statement at Patna on Oct. 15, 1938 on his return from Europe.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S POLICY SUPPORTED

THE TERMS OF THE MUNICH AGREEMENT HAVE ALREADY been published and after reading the statements made by M. Daladier and Lord Halifax some time before and also taking into consideration the original Carlsbad demands and comparing them with the terms of the agreement one cannot help feeling that Herr Hitler has scored all along the line and one feels that if the Czechs were left alone to settle the matter, they would not have been much worse off than they are at present.

The point, however, is whether Mr. Chamberlain was right in averting a world war on the terms settled at Munich....

I am convinced that though Mr. Chamberlain may have come out with a suffered reputation for diplomacy future history will pay him tribute for saving the world from an appalling disaster.

It is obvious that if England and France had kept rearmament in the front of their programme for the last ten years there would have been nothing but peace in this world. There would have been no room for dictators to bully the weak. Unfortunately we did not face realities and though recently there has been an advance, it is not as rapid as one would like it to be and if it has been realized by England that it is heavy rearmament which will prevent war the realization has not come too soon. That will be the only guarantee against future aggression and nothing else—otherwise the evil day, I am afraid, has only been put off.

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CONTEXT.

BRITAIN'S WAR AIMS

Extract from an Associated Press report dated Patna, Jan. 12, 1940.

" THE STATESMANLIKE PRONOUNCEMENT OF HIS EXCELLency the Viceroy at the Orient Club, Bombay, ought to dispel all doubts as to the real objective of the war which the British Empire along with France are waging against Hitler, " says Sir Sultan Ahmad, ex-Member for Commerce and Railways, Viceroy's Executive Council, and a delegate to the Round Table Conference, in a statement.

He adds: " The time when this status will become a reality has also been definitely reduced to the minimum."

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WAZIR HASAN, SIR

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" WAR AGAINST EVIL "

CONGRESS SHOULD CO-OPERATE

Extract from a statement issued by Sir Wazir Hasan former Chief Judge, Oudh Chief Court, on Sept 7, 1939.

IT IS TRUE THAT TODAY WE ARE NOT A FREE PEOPLE, BUT it is equally true, as observed by Mahatma Gandhi, that India's deliverance will come and I may add that it will come soon.

At the present juncture, therefore, the Congress must decide the issue of co-operation with Britain in this war on the assumption that India is a free country, as also on the basis of the message broadcast by His Majesty the King-Emperor on the morning of the fateful Sunday, Sept. 3, and in response to the invitation of the Viceroy of India which has been extended to the Congress Working Committee through Mahatma Gandhi.

Britain has entered this war in order to put a stop to acts of brigandage on the part of the Nazi Government; for if these acts were not resisted the defeated peoples of the world, as declared by His Majesty the King-Emperor, will be kept in the bondage of fear and all hopes of settled peace, security, justice and liberty between nations will be ended.

Further, Britain has declared this war against evil things—brute force, bad faith, injustice, oppression and persecution. No unbiased person can doubt the truth of these words of Mr. Chamberlain.

YAKUB, SIR MOHAMMAD

CO-OPERATION IN WAR

APPEAL TO MUSLIM LEAGUE

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a statement issued by Sir Mohd. Yakub on Aug. 29, 1939.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE CO-OPERATION OF MUSLIMS with the British, in case of war, I have yet to be satisfied as to how the Muslims or the Indians would gain if the British were defeated on the battlefield. The Muslim grievances would not be removed nor would India gain her freedom.

If the worst happens, there might be only a change of masters and certainly we would get much worse masters than the present one.

Nothing could be more undignified than the spirit of bargaining which was shown by some speakers in the Council of the Muslim League when it met in Delhi on Aug. 22

I appeal to the responsible and sober section of the All-India Muslim League to exert their healthy influence and save the Muslims from disintegration and disruption.

CENTRAL NATIONAL MOHAMMADAN ASSOCIATION

CONTEXT.

LOYALTY TO THE THRONE REITERATED

Extracts from a resolution passed unanimously at an emergency meeting of the Committee of the Central National Mohammadan Association on Aug. 25, 1939, Sir A. H. Ghaznavi, M.L.A. presiding.

" THAT IN VIEW OF THE THREATENING INTERNATIONAL complications in Europe, this Association feels called upon, on behalf of its members and the large body of Muslims represented by them, to reiterate and declare its loyal devotion to the Throne of His Gracious Majesty King George VI.

" That notwithstanding the fact that His Majesty's Government as well as the Government of India, have done very little for Muslims outside and inside India and that Muslims, therefore, have just reasons for dissatisfaction and disappointment, particularly in connection with the troubles in Palestine, this Association has no hesitation in appealing to and calling upon the Muslims of Bengal and India to rally round the British flag in the present hour of crisis and respond wholeheartedly to any call for sacrifice and service that may be made of them. "

AZAD MUSLIM CONFERENCE, ALL-INDIA

AZAD MUSLIMS' VIEWS

Extracts from an Associated report dated July 11 1940, of a statement issued to

EVENTS IN THE WORLD AND IN INDIA ARE MOVING WITH the rapidity of lightning. The problems of India's independence and the establishment of a National Government at

the Press by the Central Office of the Azad (Independent) Muslims' Conference at Delhi on the Congress Working Committee resolution of July 7, 1940.

the Centre and in the provinces has acquired an urgency which will brook no delay. The last resolution of the Congress Working Committee should be welcomed by all the parties concerned and by the Muslim Nationalists as a definite step towards realism.

If the country is declared free, though the constitutional frame may take some time to assume the final shape, even through a provisional National Government, India can and India is bound to act as a faithful ally of Britain in distress.

It is a thousand pities that the President of All-India the Muslim League continues to harp on his impossible demand for India's division. Not one of the Muslim majority provinces has supported this demand and the declared attitude of the Governments of the provinces of Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and the North-Western Frontier is clearly and firmly opposed to this demand. On the other hand, Muslim nationalists can safely claim that they represent a very large section of Muslim opinion.

MAHASABHA, ALL-INDIA HINDU

Narendra Nath, Raja

Savarkar, Mr. V. D.

RESOLUTIONS

NARENDRA NATH, RAJA

CONTEXT.

NAZISM AND FASCISM INCOMPATIBLE WITH HINDU IDEOLOGY

Extract from an Associated Press report dated Srinagar, Sept. 2, 1939.

DEWAN BAHADUR RAJA NARENDRANATH HAS SENT A telegram to Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, to convene a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Mahasabha. He is of the opinion that, regardless of the Congress decision, the Mahasabha should advise the Hindus to offer their wholehearted co-operation to the British in the war against Nazism and Fascism.

In the course of his telegram, he says that the victory of the latter will be a curse on humanity and will lead to the moral retrogression of mankind. Fascism and Nazism are incompatible with the Hindu ideology and culture. The Hindus have undoubtedly a grievance on account of the Communal Award, but a victory for the Fascists and Nazis will not change the Award.

Suggestions made in certain quarters that a miniature Round Table Conference of the Congress and the Muslim League for framing a new Federal constitution be convened is ill-advised and should be opposed. This is no time for framing a new constitution or bargaining.

SAVARKAR, MR. V. D.

HINDU DISTRUST OF MUSLIMS

Extracts from Mr. V. D. Savarkar's Presidential Address to the 20th session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Nagpur on Dec. 28, 1939.

THE CASE OF THE SUDETEN GERMANS AND THE CZECHS shows that a common territorial unit, a common habitat, cannot by itself weld peoples differing in religious, racial, cultural and such other affinities into a national unit. It is not only a political fact but a human one that religious, racial,

cultural, linguistic or historical affinities make men feel more akin to each other than the mere fact of their residing in a common habitat, unless that is an addition to these common ties.

It is absurd to call the Hindus a community in India. The Germans are the nation in Germany and the Jews a community. The Turks are the nation in Turkey and the Arab or the Armenian a minority community. Even so the Hindus are the nation in India, in Hindusthan, and the Muslim a minority community.

Referring to the Sudeten Germans, the leaders of the All-India Muslim League threatened us the other day at their Karachi session that if their demands were not granted in India they would play the part of the Sudeten Germans and call their Muslim co religionists across the border to their help, as the Sudeten Germans called in the Germans. To that threat I retort that our friends in the Muslim League should not cry till they are out of the wood. They should remember that their illustration cuts both ways. If they grow stronger they can play the part of the Sudeten Germans alright. But if we Hindus in India grow stronger in time our Muslim friends of the League type will have to play the part of the German Jews instead. We Hindus taught the Shakas and the Huns to play that part pretty well. But it is of no use bandying words till the test comes.

HINDU FOREIGN POLICY

When India is free our foreign policy will be guided from an outspoken and unalloyed Hindu point of view. All those nations who are friendly or likely to be helpful to the Hindu nation will be our friends and allies. All those who oppose the Hindu nation, or are likely to endanger Hindu interests, will be opposed by us. Towards all those who do neither, we will observe a policy of neutrality, irrespective of any political "ism" they may choose to follow for themselves.

No academic and empty slogans of democracy, of Nazism, or Fascism, can be the guiding principle of our foreign policy. Hindu interests alone will be our test. No more 'Khilafats' or 'Palestine-afats' can dupe us into suicidal sympathies and complications. Our relations with England also will be guided by the same Hindu policy, having the absolute political independence of the Hindu nation in view.

Towards the minorities our attitude under the present circumstances must be differential. The Hindu will assure them all that we hate none, neither the Muslims nor Christians nor the Indian Europeans but henceforth we shall take good care to see that none of them dares to hate or belittle the Hindus.

The Parsis are by race, religion, language and culture most akin to us.

The Christian minority is civil, has no extra territorial political designs against India, is not linguistically and culturally averse to the Hindus and, therefore, can be politically assimilated with us.

As to the Jews in India, they, too, have given us no political or cultural trouble and are not in the main a proselytising people. They will be friendly towards the Hindus. With every sympathy with the Jews outside India, the Hindus therefore oppose the present Congressite proposal of inviting or allowing any new Jewish colony in India. India must be a Hindu land, reserved for the Hindus.

MUSLIM MINORITY

So far as the Muslim minority is concerned I have already dealt with it at length. In short we must watch it in all its actions with the greatest distrust possible. Granting, on the one hand, every equitable treatment which an Indian citizen can claim on equality of footing with others, we must sternly refuse them even the least preferential treatment in any sphere of life, religious cultural or political. Not only while we are engaged in our struggle for liberating India but even after India is free we must look upon them as suspicious friends and take great care to see that the northern frontiers of India are well guarded by a staunch and powerful frontier Hindu force to avoid the possible danger of the Indian Muslims going over to the Muslim nations across the Indus and betraying our Hindus to non-Hindu foes.

MAHASABHA RESOLUTIONS

CONTEXT.

Extract from a report in the "Free Press Journal" of February 13, 1939, of resolutions passed at a meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee in Delhi.

SYMPATHY FOR JEWS

ANOTHER RESOLUTION EXPRESSED SYMPATHY WITH THE Jewish community in Europe and elsewhere in their distress and asserted that the best solution of the Jewish question could only be found in unrestricted recolonisation of Palestine by the Jewish people.

CONTEXT.

Extract from an Associated report of resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha at Bombay on Sept. 10, 1939

AMPLE ROOM FOR INDO BRITISH CO-OPERATION

THE RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS *inter alia* says that as the task of defending India from any military attack is common concern to the British Government and Indians and as the latter are not in a position to carry out that responsibility unaided, there is ample room for co-operation between India and England.

To make such co-operation effective, the Mahasabha urges the introduction of responsible government at the Centre, the revision of the Communal Award, modification of the Arms Act to bring it on a par with that prevailing in England and the expansion of the Indian Territorial Force.

The resolution urges the removal of the distinction between martial and non-martial classes, complete Indianization of the army as early as possible and intensification of the training of cadets at the Indian Military Academy in all branches of warfare, so that an effective defence force may be ever ready at hand.

The Government is also asked to take steps to encourage Indian firms to start the manufacture of aero-engines and motor engines and implements of modern warfare, so that India might be made self-sufficient in armaments.

HINDU NATIONAL MILITIA WANTED

By another resolution, the Mahasabha calls upon Hindus throughout India to organize a Hindu National Militia between the ages of 18 and 40. It further condemns "the spirit of bargaining and of taking advantage of the present crisis for the promotion of purely communal interests at the expense of national well-being," and urges the Hindus to guard their rights and privileges

"The Hindu Mahasabha respectfully brings to the notice of His Excellency the Viceroy", says another resolution, "that the Congress does not represent the Hindus and that no settlement will be acceptable to the Hindus if arrived at behind the back of the Hindu Sabha in consequence of any bargain between the Government on the one side and the Muslim League and (or) the Congress on the other."

RAFIQ, MR. MOHD.

CONTEXT.

Khan Sahib Mohammed Rafiq, who was President of the Jhansi district branch of the All-India Muslim League joined the Jhansi War Committee after resigning from the League on July 18, 1940. He issued this statement shortly after resigning.

LEAGUE MEMBER JOINS WAR COMMITTEE

THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE IS A CURIOUS BUNDLE of contradictions and inconsistencies. It has always championed the cause of independent Muslim countries. But today, when the Dictators' hammer is likely to fall on Egypt, Turkey, Afghanistan and Arabia, the League has turned cold and advised the Muslims to boycott all help to Britain, their true ally, who is standing beside them...

During my long connection with the League I found that it only represents the interests of a few Muslims who exploit it to raise their prestige and honour...Rather with a view to confuse their vision it has placed before them unreal, fantastic, absurd and impractical schemes, Pakistan being the latest specimen, which, if it materializes, will drive Hindus and Muslims into two warring camps permanently.

SIKANDER HYAT KHAN, SIR

USE OF INDIAN TROOPS ABROAD

Extract from a report of a speech delivered by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, at the Sind Muslim League Conference on Oct. 8, 1938.

REFERRING TO THE CONGRESS OPPOSITION TO THE RECRUITment Bill, the Punjab Premier asked why, while denouncing recruitment in the Punjab, the Congress favoured the establishment of Military Colleges, rifle clubs and military training schools in their own Provinces. He declared that the Punjab was well-known for producing men for the army. They were a martial race. The Punjab would not only defend the Province but would stand as a protector for the whole country

and defend the frontier of India in the hour of need, in case the British Army were withdrawn.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan added: " We are not slaves. We know how to handle the weapons of war. Let me assure my Congress friends that in no case will I allow my troops to be sent out to China or any other Islamic country. They will be kept inside India. I would rather be shot down than to agree Indian troops being sent to Palestine. "

Concluding, the Premier exhorted the Muslims in Sind in the name of the Muslims of the Punjab to sink their differences and to rally round the banner of the All-India Muslim League for the prestige of Islam in their own province.

" WE SHOULD NOT HESITATE "

At the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Conference at Sholapur on May 7, 1939, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, moving a resolution from the Chair on the alarming international situation, pointed out the wisdom of having a clearly defined policy in regard to India's role in the coming war.

A vacillating policy would be suicidal to India because it might tempt aggression from other powers against India which was unable to defend itself. That might mean only a change of masters.

Sir Sikander recalled the events in September last when war seemed to be imminent and the Congress Working Committee sat in Delhi from day to day watching the situation with a view to driving a bargain with Britain.

As a matter of fact the Congress had little to offer either by way of help or opposition because nearly two-thirds of the Indian Army was provided by the Punjab and the Muslims. It was, therefore, the policy of the Punjabis that mattered most. It would help in stabilising the international situation.

In the next war, aggressive dictatorships were likely to be ranged against the democracies and the question of India's liberty would be deeply involved.

" Previously we fought the battles of others. Now we may fight for the defence and liberty of our Motherland. We should not hesitate to do so ".

This in the speaker's opinion would be the right lead for the executive of the All-India Muslim League to give to the Muslims of India.



CONTEXT.

" TAKE UP CHALLENGE OF WAR LORDS "

Associated Press report of a statement issued by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan from Simla, on Aug. 25, 1939.

WAR CLOUDS ARE AGAIN LOWERING OMINOUSLY. THE diabolical lust of the dictators for domination over, and enslavement of , the smaller nations threatens to jeopardize the peace of the world. It appears that the efforts of the Peace Front Powers to save the peace of the world are likely to prove abortive. Great Britain has continuously and strenuously striven to avert the calamity of a world war. In pursuance of this humanitarian objective, she has gone to the uttermost limit—even to the extent of jeopardizing her prestige and courting ridicule on the ground that her peace-making efforts were actuated by a sense of her own weakness. That this is not the case will be apparent if hostilities break out.

THE CHOICE

If unfortunately a war is forced upon a peaceful world by the insane selfishness of the Axis Powers, Great Britain, France, Turkey and their allies will enter it with a clear conscience and with the satisfaction that they had exhausted every conceivable means to save the human race from what may prove to be the greatest calamity that the world has ever witnessed.

Where then will India stand ? On the one side are the forces of irreligious tyranny and oppression, on the other those of justice and freedom. There is no room for vacillation or doubt. As a self-respecting and god-fearing people we unequivocally throw in our lot with the nations which stand for justice, righteousness and self-determination for all, strong and weak alike.

In this war India will not be called upon to fight the imperialistic battles of Great Britain. It is her own safety she must assure ; her own hearth she must preserve against the aggression of covetous invaders from both east and west. And she must seek, if possible, to carry the war beyond her outposts and there vanquish her enemies, lest they set tarrying and plundering foot on Indian soil.

In this crisis, which may well prove to be a turning point in the history of this country, I appeal to my countrymen that we unhesitatingly take up the challenge which the War Lords of Europe have thrown at the peace-loving nations of the world and assist the Democracies in averting the threat to the liberty and freedom of mankind by throwing in our lot with them, even to the limit of our entire resources.

" SUICIDAL COURSE "

Those arm-chair politicians who assert that India should keep aloof are either hopelessly ignorant of the consequences of such a course or else are callously indifferent to the interests,

safety and honour of this country. As I have repeatedly declared, those who believe that, if England is involved in difficulties on account of a world war, it would be feasible for India to exploit them to her own advantage, have taken a very jaundiced and short-sighted view of the situation.

They forget that if England were to suffer a reverse in a world war, India would at once be left completely unprotected and would be at the mercy of any foreign aggressor either from the East or the West.

With its thousands of miles of coastline and extensive land frontiers, it would be an easy prey to any well-equipped armed foe. Those who advise this suicidal course should ponder and consider whether they would prefer the present regime (with the prospects of becoming complete master in their own house in the near future by a process of evolution) or subjection under a new foreign master—and what a master with its Gestapo and concentration camps !

It must be remembered that the freedom of a country is won by deeds and not by words. The political reforms hitherto secured are due to the sacrifices made by India during the last war and I am convinced that on the attitude which India adopts during the present crisis will depend the future political destiny of our Motherland. If war comes, India, in her own interest, must participate ; but in so participating she will serve also the interests of other Oriental nations closely bound to her by ties of friendship and culture.

Independence and freedom are equally precious to Turkey, Egypt, the Hedjaz and other Muslim countries, who are signatories of the Saadabad Pact.

Thus, Indians, and particularly Muslims, will have the twofold satisfaction of fighting not only for the safety and freedom of their own country but also for the preservation of the integrity of these great friendly people. Let it not be forgotten that the Government of India have more than once definitely declared that Indian troops will not be employed against the Arabs in Palestine. Indeed, by our valour here and now, we may hope to help to secure to our Arab friends the demands we consider just and right.

ASSURANCE ON BEHALF OF PUNJAB

So far as the Punjab is concerned, I need do no more than repeat the assurance which I gave on behalf of the province in September last, when I guaranteed that the manpower and resources of the Punjab will be unhesitatingly and ungrudgingly placed at the disposal of Great Britain and her allies, in the service of our Motherland and for the sacred cause of justice, righteousness and freedom.

I repeat the offer, made with no sinister bargaining intent, but on behalf of the self-respecting and brave people who proffer the hand of friendship and cooperation in a spirit of

mutual confidence and trust. If, unfortunately, war cannot be avoided then the Punjab will rise as one man to fight the enemies of peace and freedom.



INVASION OF LOW COUNTRIES

CONTEXT.

Associated Press report dated Lahore, May 10, 1940 of an interview with Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan on the Nazi invasion of Holland, Belgium and Luxemoourg.

THIS SERIOUS DEVELOPMENT IN THE EUROPEAN WAR cannot but bring home to those who have hitherto refused to believe that an extension of hostilities could seriously jeopardize the peace and liberty of India and that this fresh exhibition of Nazi brute force constitutes a serious threat to the peace and freedom of the whole world, including India.

In the face of this grave menace may I hope that my countrymen will set aside their political differences or, at any rate, call a truce until the danger is averted and join together in making a common effort to save the world from the Nazi threat and to earn that political status for our country for which we have been working for so long; because (God forbid) if the democratic countries are defeated and the Asiatic countries from the Bosphorus to the Khyber are subjugated, where would be India's freedom?

MUSLIM LEAGUE RESOLUTIONS

CONTEXT.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

THE VIDYA MANDIR SCHEME

Extract from a report on the proceedings of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee at Meerut on March 26, 1939.

THE SECRETARY MADE HIS REPORT REGARDING HIS VISIT to the Central Provinces in connection with the Vidya Mandir (educational) scheme, which was recorded.

The Working Committee resolved that as a result of the settlement between the C. P. Government and the Muslim League regarding the proposed Vidya Mandir scheme, " it notes with satisfaction that the C. P. Muslims are taking practical steps to advance Muslim education. It appeals to every Muslim to assist the association which is being formed for this purpose."

FEDERATION : MARCH 1939 RESOLUTION

Text of other resolutions adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League at Meerut on March 26, 1939.

WHEREAS THE MUSLIM LEAGUE IS OPPOSED TO THE SCHEME of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935.

Whereas the working of the provincial part of the constitution has created grave apprehension amongst Muslims and other minorities regarding their future, because the provincial scheme has utterly failed to safeguard even the elementary rights of the Muslim minorities in various provinces ;

And whereas by a resolution passed at the Patna session in December, 1938, the President of the All-India Muslim League was authorised to adopt such course as may be necessary with a view to exploring the possibility of a suitable alternative which would safeguard the interests of the Muslims and other minorities;

The President, with the concurrence of the Working Committee, hereby appoints a committee of the following to examine various schemes already propounded by those who are fully versed in the constitutional development of India and other countries, and those that may be submitted hereafter

to the President, and to report to the Working Committee their conclusions at an early date :—

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Syed Abdul Aziz, Sir Nazimuddin, Sir Abdulla Haroon, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan (Convenor).

MUSLIMS IN STATES

In view of the set policy of the Congress and other Hindu organizations to achieve Hindu supremacy and their persistance in resorting to coercive and subversive methods in the Indian States the Muslim League is gravely concerned with regard to the fate of Muslims in various States and, therefore, earnestly advises them effectively to organize themselves forthwith in order to protect their liberties, rights and interests and assures them of its fullest support and assistance in the struggle.

" The Committee is also believed to have considered the international situation in the light of the latest developments in Europe ", says the " Statesman ". " No public indication is given of the trend of the discussions on the latter subject, but it is believed that the meeting has reached certain tentative conclusions which will determine its attitude in case of war in Europe."

ALARMING INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Bombay Provincial Muslim League Conference at Sholapur on May 7, 1939, unanimously adopted a resolution, moved by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan*, who presided, calling upon the All-India Muslim League Executive to give a timely lead to Indian Muslims regarding the line of action in the event of the alarming international situation developing into an international war.

CONTEXT.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League met in Delhi on Aug. 27, 1939, Mr. Jinnah presiding.

THE LEAGUE AND WAR

Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim of Bombay moved a resolution recommending that the Muslims of India should not cooperate with Britain in the event of war as an injustice had been done to the Arabs by violation of the promises made to them at the time of the last war and to Indian Muslims by forcing on them a constitution which allowed the majority to trample on their religious, social and economic rights. The

*For Sir Sikander's speech please see page 215.

resolution also condemned " the utter neglect and indifference " shown by the Viceroy and Governors of provinces in regard to exercising their special powers in the interests of justice to the minorities.

Sir Abdulla Haroon of Karachi moved the following amendment which was unanimously adopted as a substantive resolution :

" This Council, while deploring the policy of the British Government towards the Muslims of India by attempting to force upon them against their will a constitution and, in particular, the Federal scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which allows a permanent hostile communal majority to trample upon their religious, political, social, and economic rights, and the utter neglect and indifference shown by the Viceroy and the Governors in the Congress-governed provinces in exercising their special powers to protect and secure justice to the minorities, and towards the Arabs in Palestine in refusing to meet their demands, holds the view that, in these circumstances, if the British Government desires to enlist the support and sympathy of the Muslims of the world and particularly of Indian Muslims in future contingencies it must meet the demands of the Muslims of India without delay.

" It is premature, at present, to determine the attitude of Muslims in the event of a world war breaking out. The Foreign Committee should, meanwhile, get into touch with Islamic countries and ascertain their views ; and, in case any sudden contingency arises, the Working Committee of the League shall have the power to decide this issue."

Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan of Chhattari endorsed Sir Abdulla Haroon's view.

Sir Raza Ali also supported the amendment, but made it clear that Indian Muslims would do nothing that would help British Imperialism. He was supporting the amendment because he did not approve of the reasons given in Sir Currimbhoy's resolution for refusal by Indian Muslims to co-operate with Britain in the event of war.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, M.L.A., thought that Indian Muslims should not co-operate with Britain in the event of war. He appealed to the British Government to grant full freedom to Palestine, Egypt and Baluchistan.

Choudhury Khaliquzzaman expressed the opinion that they should not commit themselves to any particular policy in a hurry. They did not yet know the Congress attitude on the question.

Mr. Jinnah, President of the League, spoke for over an hour *in camera.*

CONTEXT.

PUNJAB PREMIER'S STATEMENT OF AUG. 25, 1939

Summary based on an Associated Press report, dated New Delhi, Aug. 29, 1939.

THE COUNCIL OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE, MEETING in New Delhi on Aug. 29, 1939, discussed a resolution moved by Syed Ali Mohd. Rashidi regretting Sir Sikander Hyat Khan's statement pledging support to Britain in any future war. To this resolution Sir Raza Ali moved an amendment, which was carried, and the original resolution of Syed Ali Mohd. Rashidi was withdrawn. Sir Raza Ali's motion was:

" that the opinions and sentiments expressed by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, in his statement to the Press on Aug. 25, in no way represent the views of the Muslims of India".

Prof. Inayatullah (Lahore) supported Sir Sikander.

Sir Raza Ali said that Sir Sikander had blundered in issuing the statement of Aug. 25, 1939, but nothing should be done which would compel Sir Sikander and his party to break away from the League. Sir Sikander's statement represented his individual views.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan supported Sir Raza Ali's amendment.

Mr. Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier, observed that the resolution arose out of circumstances which were unfortunate. He did not know what made Sir Sikander to issue that statement. It would have been much better not to have issued it. He thought that since Sir Sikander was not present at the meeting, Sir Raza Ali's suggestion, as contained in his amendment, was sufficient for their purpose. The amendment, while meeting their object, was not unnecessarily provocative.

Mr. Jinnah said that Mr. Rashidi's resolution amounted to a vote of censure on the Punjab Premier without giving him an opportunity to explain his position.

There was another amendment to the original resolution by Mr. Abdul Waheed Khan. This amendment fell through. It sought to condemn the action of Sir Sikander in issuing the statement of Aug. 25, and added that it in no way represented the views of the Muslims of India.

LEAGUE RESOLUTION OF SEPT. 18, 1939

Full text of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League at New Delhi on Sept. 18, 1939.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM League appreciate the course adopted by H. E. the Viceroy in inviting Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, and apprising him of the position regarding the international situation resulting in war and his own views, to be conveyed to the Muslim League. The Working Committee

have given their most earnest consideration to H. E. the Viceroy's views conveyed to them by the President and also to the pronouncement made by the Viceroy since the declaration of war by Great Britain as also His Excellency's address† to the members of the Central Legislature on Sept. 11, 1939.

The Committee are of the opinion that the views expressed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League by its resolution No. 8 of August 27, 1939, in the following words: "While deploring the policy of the British Government towards the Muslims of India by attempting to force upon them against their will a constitution and, in particular, the Federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which allows a permanent hostile communal majority to trample upon their religious, political, social and economic rights, and the utter neglect and indifference shown by the Viceroy and the Governors in the Congress-governed provinces in exercising their special powers to protect and secure justice to the minorities and towards the Arabs in Palestine in refusing to meet their demands, holds the view that in these circumstances if the British Government desires to enlist the support and the sympathy of the Muslims of the world and particularly of the Indian Muslims in future contingencies it must meet the demands of the Muslims of India without delay", are the true sentiments and opinions of the Muslims of India.

FEDERAL SCHEME SHOULD BE ABANDONED

The Working Committee appreciate the declaration of H. E. the Viceroy, which is in the interest of India and particularly the Muslims, that the Federal Scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, had been suspended. They wish that, instead of its being suspended, it had been abandoned completely and desire to convey to His Majesty's Government that they should do so without further delay. The Committee desire to make it clear that they do not endorse the 'Federal objective' of His Majesty's Government, referred to by H. E. the Viceroy in his address to the members of the Central Legislature, and strongly urge upon the British Government to review and revise the entire problem of India's future constitution *de novo* in the light of the experience gained by the working of the present provincial constitution of India and developments that have taken place since 1935 or may take place hereafter.

"SPECIAL POSITION"

The Committee, in this connection, wish to point out that Muslim India occupies a special and peculiar position in the polity of India, and for several decades it had hoped

†Appendix, page 778.

to occupy an honourable place in the national life, government and administration of the country and worked for a free India with free and independent Islam in which they could play an equal part with the major community with a complete sense of security for their religious, political, cultural, social and economic rights and interests; but the developments that have taken place and especially since the inauguration of the provincial constitution based on the so-called democratic parliamentary system of government and the recent experiences of over two years have established beyond doubt that it has resulted wholly in a permanent communal majority and the domination of the Hindus over the Muslim minorities, whose life and liberty, property and honour, are in danger and even their religious rights and culture are being assailed and annihilated every day under the Congress Government in various provinces.

HINDU DOMINATION

While Muslim India stands against exploitation of the people of India and has repeatedly declared in favour of a free India, it is equally opposed to the domination of the Hindu majority over Muslims and other minorities and the vassalization of Muslim India and is irrevocably opposed to any ' Federal objectives ' which must necessarily result in a majority community rule under the guise of democracy and a parliamentary system of government. Such a constitution is totally unsuited to the genius of the peoples of the country, which is composed of various nationalities and does not constitute a national State.

UNPROVOKED AGGRESSION

The Muslim League condemns unprovoked aggression and the doctrine that ' might is right ' and upholds the principles of freedom of humanity and ' that the will of the strongest irrespective of right and justice cannot be allowed to prevail '. The Committee express their deep sympathy for Poland, England and France. The Committee, however, feel that real and solid Muslim co-operation and support to Great Britain in this hour of trial cannot be secured successfully if His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy are unable to secure to the Mussalmans justice and fairplay in the Congress-governed provinces where today their liberty, person, property and honour are in danger and even their elementary rights are most callously trampled upon.

The Committee strongly urge upon His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy and Governor-General to direct the Governors to exercise their special powers where any Provincial Ministry fails to secure justice and fairplay to the Mussalmans or where they resort to oppression or interference with their political, economic, social and cultural rights, in accordance

with the sacred promises, assurances and declarations repeatedly made by Great Britain, in consequence of which these special powers were expressly embodied in the Statute.

The Committee regret to say that, so far, these special powers have remained dormant and obsolete and the Governors have failed to protect the rights of the Mussalmans under the threat by the High Command of the Congress that the exercise of these special powers on the part of the Governors will lead to a crisis in all the Congress-governed provinces where they are in a solid majority.

MUSLIM CONSENT

While the Muslim League stands for the freedom of India, the Committee further urge upon His Majesty's Government and ask for an assurance that no declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted by His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval.

PALESTINE ARABS

The policy of the British Government towards the Arabs in Palestine has deeply wounded Muslim feeling and sentiment and all representations in that behalf have had no real effect so far. The Committee once more urge upon His Majesty's Government to satisfy the Arab national demands.

If full, effective and honourable co-operation of the Mussalmans is desired by the British Government in the grave crisis which is facing the world today and if it is desired to bring it to a successful termination, it must create a sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Mussalmans and take into its confidence the Muslim League which is the only organisation that can speak on behalf of Muslim India.

At this critical and difficult juncture, the Committee appeal to every Mussalman to stand solidly under the flag of the All-India Muslim League with a solemn and sacred determination to make every sacrifice, for on it depend the future destiny and honour of the 90 millions of Mussalmans in India.

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CONTEXT.

Resolution passed by the All-India Muslim League Working Committee at its meeting on Oct. 22, 1939 at New Delhi, on H. E. the Viceroy's announcement of Oct. 17, 1939.

RECOGNITION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE WELCOMED

AFTER CAREFUL EXAMINATION OF THE STATEMENT* of the Viceroy dated Oct. 17, 1939, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League appreciates that His Majesty's Government have emphatically repudiated the

* Appendix, page 779.

unfounded claim of the Congress that they alone represent all India and note with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government recognise the fact that the All-India Muslim League alone truly represents the Muslims of India and can speak on their behalf and also that the rights and interests of minorities and other important interests concerned have been duly recognised.

CLARIFICATION SOUGHT

The Committee, however, feel constrained to state that points of importance, raised by the Muslim League in their statement dated September 18, 1939, are not precisely and categorically met. The Committee, therefore, venture to suggest that, in order to secure co-operation on an equal footing, as desired by His Excellency, further clarification and discussion of those matters that are left in doubt and have not been met satisfactorily are necessary with a view to arriving at a complete understanding, which alone would enable the Muslim League to co-operate in the matter which concern not only the Muslims of India but the country at large.

The Committee cannot wholly accept the narration of facts culminating in the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1935, as given in the statement of His Excellency, but do not think it necessary to enter into a controversy regarding those inaccuracies, historic and otherwise. The opposition of the Muslim League is not merely in regard to details in the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 and reconsideration of them, but their demand is that the entire problem of India's future Constitution should be wholly examined and revised *de novo*. The Committee reiterate emphatically that no future plan of India's constitution would be acceptable to the Muslim League unless it meets with their full approval.

The Committee also considered the proposal of the Viceroy for the establishment of a consultative group but cannot at present express any opinion with regard to it until its status, constitution, powers, scope and function are fully known, but they welcome further consultation regarding this matter as proposed by His Excellency in his statement.

In view of the urgency of the matter, the Committee authorise the President to take such steps as he may consider proper to get doubts removed and secure complete clarification of His Excellency's statement and, if the President is fully satisfied, the Committee empower him to give an assurance of support and co-operation on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of the prosecution of the war.

CONTEXT.

CONGRESS RESIGNATIONS : LEAGUE COUNCIL RESOLUTION

Extract from an Associated Press report of the proceedings of the All India Muslim League at Delhi on Feb. 25, 1940.

MR. NAIMUL HAQ MOVED : " IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT the Muslims of India, as well as some other classes of people living in the country, have clearly demonstrated by their observance of the ' Day of Deliverance ' (when the Congress Ministries resigned office) that the scheme of provincial autonomy as worked in the Congress-governed provinces was a complete failure and detrimental to the interests of the Mussalmans and the country as a whole, the Council of the All-India Muslim League expresses its dissatisfaction with the speech of the Viceroy delivered on January 10 at the Orient Club, Bombay, wherein he speaks of the success of the scheme of provincial autonomy in the Bombay Presidency."

This resolution was supported by Mr. Yakub Ali Khan.

Mr. Barkat Ali moved the following amendment :—

" This meeting further places on record its sense of bitter resentment at the statement of the Under Secretary of State for India, Sir Hugh O'Neill, wherein he gave the reasons of His Majesty's Government for not accepting the proposal of a Royal Commission of Inquiry put forward by the President of the All-India Muslim League to investigate the complaints of oppression practised by Congress Governments in the Congress-governed provinces and deeply deplores the colossal ignorance of conditions prevailing in India on the part of the Secretary of State for India".

The resolution as amended was adopted unanimously.



PAKISTAN SCHEME

Extract from the main resolution adopted at the session of the All India Muslim League at Lahore on Sunday March 24, 1940.

WHILE APPROVING AND ENDORSING THE ACTION TAKEN by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated August 27, September 17 and 18 and October 22, 1939, and February 3, 1940, on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated October 18, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government, is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole

constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo* and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

" INDEPENDENT STATES "

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute ' independent States ' in which the consequent units shall be autonomous and sovereign; and

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the Constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the Constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme for a constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.



ITALIAN ATTACK : UNPROVOKED AND IMMORAL

CONTEXT.

Associated Press report from Bombay, dated June 16, 1940.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM League has passed the following two resolutions :

(1) The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, while being of the opinion that the further clarification contained in the letter of H. E. the Viceroy, dated the 19th* April, 1940, with regard to the assurances asked for by the All-India Muslim League is not satisfactory, endorses the statement issued by the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah,

*Appendix, page 816.

to the press on the 27th May, 1940.† (The resolution here quotes the statement in *extenso*).

NAZI AGGRESSION

The Working Committee looks with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regards the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government on the Allies, as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposal for the defence of India indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation.

INTENSIFYING WAR EFFORT

The Committee, therefore, authorises its President to enter into communication with H. E. the Viceroy with a view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying the war effort and the defence of India. The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon, on an All-India basis and not province-wise, between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved.

The Working Committee is of the opinion that in view of the immediate grave danger that are facing the country, the real purpose will not be served by Mussalmans and others merely joining the proposed Provincial and District War Committees with their present scope and functions.

ATTITUDE TO WAR COMMITTEES

(2) In view of the numerous enquiries that have been received from the various Provincial and District Leagues and individual members seeking guidance and instructions as to what course they should adopt towards the proposed War Committee, announced by H. E. the Viceroy and some Governors, the Working Committee is of the opinion that

†Page 539.

Muslims at present should not serve on these Committees and should await further instructions from the President pending the result of the communication with the Viceroy.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH CONGRESS

The Working Committee also passed the following resolution :—

In view of the misunderstanding created by the report in the Press about the so-called Muslim Premiers' Conference with the President of the Congress at Delhi on the 13th June, 1940, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, after the statement of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan before the Committee to the effect that it was purely an individual meeting at the invitation of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (Congress President) for an informal talk, resolves that, in order to avoid any misunderstanding or misconstructions in future, no member of the Working Committee should enter into any negotiations or discussions with the Congress leaders regarding the question of a Hindu-Muslim settlement or any other matters which require adjustment between the Muslim League and the Congress, without the permission of the President.



CONTEXT.

Resolutions adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay on Sept. 2, 1940.

BAN LIFTED ON ASSISTING WAR COMMITTEES

RESOLUTION No. 1 : THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE All-India Muslim League have given their most earnest and careful consideration to the statement issued by His Excellency the Viceroy on August 8, 1940, and the authoritative amplification and clarification of it by Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the course of the India debate in the House of Commons on August 14, 1940.

The Committee consider that these pronouncements constitute a considerable progressive advance towards the point of view and the position taken up by the All-India Muslim League on behalf of Muslim India regarding the problem of the future constitution of India, and the Committee also note with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government have, on the whole, practically met the demand of the Muslim League for a clear assurance to the effect that no future constitution, interim or final, should be adopted by the British Government without their approval and consent.

DIVISION OF INDIA

Resolution No. 2 : The Working Committee place on record that some of the observations made in the statement

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of His Excellency the Viceroy and also in the speech of the Secretary of State for India with regard to the theory of unity of national life which does not exist are historically inaccurate and self-contradictory. Such observations are calculated to raise apprehensions in the minds of the Muslims of India, and, therefore, the Committee deem it necessary to reaffirm and make the position clear once more that the Committee stand by the Lahore resolution and the basic principles underlying the terms thereof, proposing the division of India and the creation of independent States in the north-western and eastern zones of India, where the Muslims are in a majority, and the Committee declare their determination, firm resolve and faith that the partition of India is the only solution of the most difficult and complex problem of India's future constitution and are glad to state that the vital importance and the true aspect of this question are being fully realized by the British Parliament; and that His Majesty's Government are now fully apprised and seized of the realities of the situation.

The Muslim League again makes its position clear that the Muslims of India are a nation by themselves and will exercise their right to self-determination and that they alone are the final judges and arbiters of their own future destiny.

PARTNERS IN GOVERNMENT

Resolution No. 3: The Working Committee appreciate that His Majesty's Government have conceded the principle urged upon them by the Muslim League that in order to secure the genuine and full support of Muslim India and such other parties as are and have been ready and willing to undertake the responsibility and are prepared to make every contribution to the intensification of the war efforts and for the defence of India with a view to meet any external danger or aggression and to maintain internal security and peace, they should forthwith associate the representatives of the Muslim League with authority and power as partners in the Central and Provincial Governments and establish a War Council which will include the Indian princes and thus secure their co-operation also.

The Committee, therefore, are glad that His Majesty's Government provisionally and during the prosecution of the war, have decided upon the expansion of the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the establishment of a War Advisory Council on an all-India basis, although they regret that His Majesty's Government have declared that they, at this stage do not contemplate non-official Advisers in the provinces which are at present administered by the Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act. The Committee, however, find that the specific offer now made as embodied in the letter of the Viceroy dated August 14, 1940, purporting to give effect to and implement that principle

of co-operation with authority in Government as partners is most unsatisfactory and does not meet the requirements nor the spirit indicated in the resolution of this Committee of June 16, 1940, which was communicated by the President to the Viceroy by his letter of that date, nor does it meet the memorandum that was submitted to His Excellency by the President on July 1, 1940.

In these circumstances the Committee find it very difficult to deal with this offer for the following reasons :

(1) Neither the President nor the Committee were consulted as to the number of the proposed increase of additional members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

(2) The Committee are not yet aware of the manner in which the entire Executive Council will be reconstructed.

(3) The Committee have no information as to which are the other parties with whom the Muslim League will be called upon to work.

(4) The Committee understood that portfolios will be assigned to every one of these additional members. The Committee are merely asked, without any further knowledge or information, except that the total number of members of the expanded Executive Council will be in the neighbourhood of 11, to send a panel of four out of which two will be selected for appointment as members of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

(5) The Committee have considered the system of panel suggested and they are of the opinion that it is open to many objections, is not desirable and does not commend itself to them.

(6) As regards the proposed War Advisory Council, the Committee do not know its constitution, composition and functions beyond the information that it will probably consist of about 20 members, and the Committee are asked to submit a panel out of which four will be nominated by the Viceroy. In these circumstances the Committee consider the offer unsatisfactory and request the Viceroy to reconsider the matter and hereby authorize the President to seek further information and clarification.

WAR COMMITTEES

The resolution of the Working Committee passed at Bombay on June 16, 1940, requesting the Muslims generally and in particular the members of the Muslim League not to serve on the War Committees and to await further instructions from the President pending the result of the negotiations with the Viceroy, was not a decision that adopted the policy of non-co-operation with the Government as has wrongly been represented by the enemies of the Muslim League, but, on the contrary,

was intended to urge upon the Government a line of action and policy which they should adopt to secure more effective co-operation in the prosecution of the war. Two very vital points were raised for which the Committee have been pressing the Government, namely, (1) that no constitution either *interim* or final would be adopted by His Majesty's Government without the approval and consent of Muslim India ; and, (2) that in order to secure the genuine and wholehearted support of the Muslims, it was imperative that within the framework of the present constitution, Muslim India's leadership should be associated as a partner in the realm of the Central and Provincial Governments forthwith.

BAN LIFTED

As a result of the negotiations the Working Committee are glad to state that the first point has now been practically met by the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy of August 8, 1940, and the amplification and clarification of that statement by Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India in the course of his speech on August 14, 1940, in Parliament, and the Committee note with satisfaction that the Government have accepted the principle of the second point that was urged upon them, namely, " co-operation with authority and power " in the Governments in order to prosecute the war successfully.

In view of these circumstances the Working Committee leave those Muslims who think that they can serve any useful purpose by merely associating themselves with the War Committees free to do so.

The Committee are of opinion that the Government should in fact and not merely in principle, take without delay the Muslim leadership into their complete confidence and associate them as equal partners in charge of the reins of government in the Centre and in the provinces in order to secure genuine and wholehearted co-operation of Muslim India in the prosecution of the war successfully.

DISCIPLINARY ACTION

The Committee also passed a resolution appointing a Committee with Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan to examine the cases of those members of the Council of the All-India Muslim League who joined the War Committees in contravention of the League resolution and take such disciplinary action as is appropriate.



CONTEXT.

"UNABLE TO ACCEPT VICEROY'S OFFER"

Text of the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in Delhi on Sept. 28, 1940.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM League, at their meeting at Bombay on September 2, 1940, after considering the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated August 14, 1940, addressed to the President, containing the specific offer regarding the proposed expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the establishment of a War Advisory Council, had requested His Excellency the Viceroy to reconsider the matter and had authorised the President to seek further information and clarification, particularly on the points set out in the resolutions, before the Committee could deal with the offer.

As a result of the communication of these resolutions to His Excellency the Viceroy, he invited the President to meet him on September 24, and after a full and free discussion of the points arising out of those resolutions His Excellency was pleased to send a formal reply dated September 25. After giving their most earnest and careful consideration to the whole matter the Committee, notwithstanding their desire from the very beginning to help in the prosecution of the war and the defence of India, regret that they are unable to accept the present offer for the following reasons:

REASONS

(1) That the inclusion of only two representatives of the Muslim League in the proposed expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council, of which neither the total strength nor the number of additional members has so far been definitely determined does not give any real and substantial share in the authority of the Government at the Centre.

(2) That no indication has been given as to what would be the position of the Muslim League representation in the event of any other party deciding at a later stage to assist in the prosecution of the war, and the Government agreeing to associate it with the Executive Council which may involve substantial modification and reshuffling of the Executive.

(3) That, so far, the Government do not propose to appoint non-official advisers in those provinces which are being administered by the Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the Committee feel that without the association of the Muslim League representatives in the administration of those provinces it will not be possible to secure the real and effective co-operation of Muslims.

(4) That the proposed War Advisory Council is yet in embryo and no information is available as to its constitution, composition and functions except that it will probably consist of about 20 members and that the question of setting it up will be considered after the expansion of the Executive Council is complete.

(5) That out of the various points raised in the resolutions of the Committee of September 2 only one relating to the panel has been satisfactorily met.

DANGER TO MUSLIM COUNTRIES

THE COUNCIL OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE resolved on Sept. 29, 1940 (at Bombay) that, " in view of the repeated reports that have reached India recently that there is a probability of the war flames spreading and of aggression by foreign Powers against the independence and sovereignty of the Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Turkey," the President of the Muslim League should fix a day " for the purpose of expressing and demonstrating the deep sympathy and concern of Muslim India with the Muslim countries and also conveying to those who have any such design that in the event of any attack upon the Muslim countries Muslim India will be forced to stand by them and give all the support it can ".

HINDU LEAGUE, ALL-INDIA

Aney, M.L.A., Mr. M.S.

RESOLUTIONS

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an Associated Press report, dated Nagpur, Sept. 8, 1940, of an appeal made by Mr. M. S. Aney, M.L.A. (Central), to a meeting of 10,000 persons, presided over by Bhai Parmanand on the occasion of his 61st birthday.

MR. ANEY'S APPEAL TO INDIA

"THERE IS COMPLETE UNANIMITY IN THE COUNTRY TODAY as far as the condemnation of Nazism is concerned", said Mr. Aney. "The Congress refused to co-operate with Britain's effort—not without justification—unless certain conditions were fulfilled. If England thinks she needs India's help to win the war she must try to fulfil those conditions. But if she does not do so, the question before us is that if the war takes a serious turn—and nobody can predict what it will be—what is our duty to protect our own rights and culture in India ?

"I personally think we cannot avoid the responsibility of thinking what will happen to us if we do not help Britain and if Britain is defeated ".

Referring to a suggestion made earlier for a pact between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, in order to relegate to their proper position those who were impending India's progress to independence, and thus keep nationalism alive, Mr. Aney said that if the Congress did not take the initiative for such a pact, the Hindu Mahasabha should take it.

Extracts from an Associated Press report, of the proceedings of the All-India Hindu League on July 28, 1940, at Lucknow (United Provinces).

ORGANIZATION TO COMBAT PAKISTAN

MR. M. S. ANEY, IN HIS CONCLUDING REMARKS, MADE A moving appeal for unity among the various Hindu organizations in the country. There was no antagonism or conflict of interests between the Mahasabha and the Hindu League. The latter was designed to devote all its energies to the task of combating the Pakistan movement. As long as there was a single

Hindu alive in this country, he said, they would resist the introduction of the scheme.

RESOLUTIONS

The All-India Hindu League condemned the Pakistan scheme as entirely anti-Indian and suicidal. It called upon the Congress, the Forward Bloc, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation and other political bodies to face it by united counsel and action.

It authorised the President, Mr. Aney, to take all necessary steps in connection with the organization of the anti-Pakistan movement and the correct recording of facts in regard to the Hindu community in the ensuing census operations in India.

The League by another resolution urged the abolition of the Communal Award, as it hampered the healthy growth of nationalism.--

NAZISM CONDEMNED

A resolution sponsored by Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer recorded unqualified condemnation of the spirit of Nazism as being completely opposed to the Hindu traditions and a menace to civilization and the freedom of nations.

The League asked Britain immediately to declare India a Dominion, based on the Statute of Westminster, with a view to securing her maximum co-operation in the task of defeating Nazism.

Another resolution urged immediate steps to nationalise all arms of Indian Defence, namely, the Army, Navy and Air Force.

LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, NATIONAL

Gurtu, Pandit Iqbal Narain

Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath

Paranjpye, Dr. R. P.

Sapru, Hon. P. N.

Setalvad, Sir Chimanlal

GURTU, PANDIT IQBAL NARAIN

VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION

GALLANT POLES : UNHAPPY CHINESE

CONTEXT.

Welcoming the delegates to the 21st session of the National Liberal Federation of India on Dec. 27, 1939, at Allahabad, Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Chairman of the Reception committee, said :—

WE ARE MEETING THIS YEAR AT A TIME OF GREAT POLITICAL crisis, both national and international. Exactly after a quarter of a century the war clouds have again burst in their full fury and submerged Europe in a deluge of bloodshed, cruelty and hatred. All efforts to substitute arbitration for war ultimately failed and the gallant Polish nation has been ruthlessly trodden under foot.

Our hearts go out to the Poles in their terrible misfortune and in the wanton destruction of their fair country. Through their suffering they have undoubtedly risen in the estimation of the civilized world and the aggressors stand condemned before the bar of public opinion. The forces of aggression and cruelty are, however, active not only in Europe but in Asia. Our loving thoughts go to China, which is the unhappy victim of the greed of an ambitious neighbour.

KUNZRU, PANDIT HIRDAY NATH

ENTIRE WORLD WILL SUFFER IF NAZISM TRIUMPHS

Extracts from the Hon. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru's speech in support of a resolution on "International War" at the 21st session of the National Liberal Federation.

I AM SURE WE ARE ALL UNITED IN OUR CONDEMNATION OF totalitarian policies and in our sympathy with the victims of totalitarian aggression. From 1931 up to the present time there has been absolutely no doubt in anybody's mind on that point. Since Manchukuo was invaded by Japan, we have realized the danger of the doctrine that is being preached by

certain important countries, the doctrine that might is right. Every instance of aggression since 1931 has evoked resentment on our part against the aggressors and sympathy with those who were the victims of aggression. This was notably the case in respect of Czechoslovakia and Poland. It is no less so in respect of Finland, which has been wantonly attacked by Russia. In these circumstances, that is, when we find that the weaker states are at the mercy of the stronger states, that the principles of justice and toleration are being set at naught and that human values are being regarded as of no account, it is natural, I would repeat, that we should be on the side of those who are fighting against Nazi aggression. We feel that the larger interests of India and indeed of the whole world are bound up with the success of those who stand up for democracy and freedom.

We feel that if the Nazi policies were to gain ascendancy throughout the world, it is not merely Europe but the entire world, including India, would suffer. We would suffer in a special degree because of our intimate connection with Europe and with one of the greatest European powers, England. What can be more natural than that in this position we should naturally be willing to help Great Britain and France and appeal to our countrymen to help them ?

APPEAL TO BRITAIN

We recognize, however, that whatever our intellectual recognition of the principles at stake might be, our appeals will not have the desired effect, will fail of their purpose, unless the British Government too, on their part, adopt a policy which would warm the hearts of the people of India and enable them to extend their wholehearted support to Britain and France. Some people might be inclined to think that we were using England's difficulties in order to strike a bargain with her. Nothing, however, can be farther from the truth than such a charge. I am not afraid of the word bargain. But as a matter of fact I do not think that our attitude can be characterized as a bargain. We, all of us, can ask ourselves whether we feel for the Allies to the same extent as the Britishers or Frenchmen or Canadians or Australians. If we do so, we shall have to admit honestly that our sympathies for the Allied cause are not as warm as those of the people that I have just mentioned. Why is it so ? Why do we not feel complete identity of interests with them ? It is because of our present political condition.

Now, suppose at this juncture Britain were to come forward and say that she would help India to achieve her freedom rapidly, enable her to travel quickly towards Dominion Status, can you not imagine what a wave of enthusiasm would be created throughout the country by that announcement ?

CONTEXT.

Extracts from Dr. R. P. Paranjpye's Presidential Address to the 21st session of the National Liberal Federation of India.

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION : LESSON FOR INDIA

WHEN WE MET LAST YEAR IN BOMBAY, THE INTERNATIONAL horizon appeared dark. Abyssinia, though nominally conquered by Italy, was proving a hornet's nest both militarily and economically. The persecution of the Jews was going merrily on in Germany and Austria, and Italy had begun to take a leaf from her totalitarian sister in this abomination. Russia, though hated and reviled by the dictators, appeared anxious to be recognized as a respectable member in the comity of nations, especially democratic nations, and democracies looked with sympathy and hopeful interest on the great economic and political experiment that was being carried out there. She professed strict adherence to the principles of international morality and sneered at the backwardness of democracies in carrying out sanctions against aggressor nations.

Soon after the beginning of the year the clouds got darker still. Hitler not satisfied with his professed, and to a certain extent ostensibly reasonable objective of gathering up all Germans under the Reich, swooped down upon Prague, and, in one form or another, incorporated Czechoslovakia in Germany. At last the democracies of England and France were roused to action. They gave undertakings to Poland, Rumania, Turkey and Greece to go to their help in case of attack by Germany and redoubled their work on rearmament. Poland, with Danzig as the spear-point of attack, was the immediate object of Hitler's ambition. Everybody knew that effective help could not be given to Poland by England and France except with the co-operation of Russia. So what appeared to be belated and almost unwilling negotiations began with Russia. These were interminably protracted and at last came to nothing.

In the meanwhile, Russia, which had so far professed the most unexceptionally correct international principles had been secretly negotiating a pact with Germany, and as soon as it was signed Germany felt that it was no longer liable to attack on both fronts and therefore suddenly attacked Poland.

"POLISH LOOT".

England and France declared war on Germany in accordance with their undertaking, but without Russia they were unable to save Poland which was overrun within one month.

Russia, perhaps to stop Germany occupying the whole of Poland, also overran that hapless country which was partitioned between the Nazi and Communist dictators. The part of the Polish loot that Russia obtained almost without firing a shot has effectually prevented German access to Rumania and the Balkans.

Russia did not rest content with this bloodless accession of territory. She began to exert pressure on Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia which have for all practical purposes become Russian protectorates almost as the Indian States are of the Government of India. Not satisfied with this she began to try the same dodge with Finland, and this has led to serious military operations whose end cannot be in doubt but which has evoked the sympathy of the whole world towards her. Russia has thus practically become the most powerful power in the Baltic, and Germany appears to have lost more than she gained by her pact with Russia...

Even now if Russia and Germany decide to join forces and co-operate in active operations, a thing which is not out of the range of practical possibilities, India will immediately be in some danger on its north-west frontier. It would, however, be useless to speculate on a future which is so uncertain and which is constantly changing.

SECURITY IN BRITISH CONNECTION

Suffice it to say that India's comparative safety for the present and also its liability to danger in future are dependent on the British connection.

I have dilated at some length on the international situation as, over and above its intrinsic importance and its possible repercussions on India, it has several lessons for all of us. To the extremists on the left who, at least till recently, took their cue directly or indirectly from Russia and dreamt of a communist regime in our country as the very antithesis of all imperialism, the sudden emergence of Russia as an imperialist power, ready to trample on her weaker neighbours and to cast all ideas of international morality to the winds, must have come as a great disappointment. There are, of course, some among them who still swear by the name of Russia and can see nothing wrong in any of her actions; but to most people Bolshevik Russia is now unmasked as Czarist Russia under a different name with only a greater power of doing evil.

To the vast majority of Congressmen who have adopted independence as India's goal but who give only a lip service to the creed of non-violence it should be apparent that there is no place in these days for states that are not fully prepared to defend themselves in all eventualities. It should be obvious to them that comparative safety lies only in an intimate association with a large and powerful organization like the

British Commonwealth of Nations. Weakness and resulting non-violence will be no safeguard against nations that are out to grab as large portions of the world as they can.

An independent India standing entirely alone on its own resources will inevitably fall a victim to some other power, be it Japan, Russia, Italy or Germany. Finally the present international situation must serve as a warning to the British Government also. If India had been properly organised for defence it would have had tremendous weight on the international situation. May one hope that all sections of Indian and British opinion will, at least at this late hour, take a sane view of things and begin earnestly to prepare for a dangerous and uncertain future ?

" LEGALISTIC VIEW "

While there would probably have been very little opposition from the Indian public to range India on the side of the democracies in opposition to Nazi Germany if Indian leaders and perhaps the Central Legislature had been consulted beforehand, Indians feel that they continue to be tied to the coat-tails of Britain and that their self-respect counts for naught with the authorities. Indians recognize that defence measures have to be taken in secrecy long beforehand, but it should have been possible to secure the acquiescence of the leaders of Indian opinion in the Central and even Provincial legislatures before Indian troops were sent abroad to Egypt, Singapore and other places.

With a genuine desire to consult and respect Indian opinion there would have been no difficulty in convincing the Indian public about the necessity of this move. Further when war was actually declared a secret session of the Central Legislature should have been immediately called to acquaint India with all aspects of the question, and India would have become a belligerent voluntarily instead on the mere fiat of British Government. The various statements made later by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State could have been made then, though perhaps in a different tone and in more conciliatory phrases...

But Government appears to have taken merely a formal and 'legalistic view of its position and immediately declared India a belligerent. This reading of the situation appears justified from a consideration of the declarations made by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru immediately on the declaration of war:..

WAR AIMS INEVITABLY GENERAL

But, if Government did not show any imagination in dealing with the situation, I am afraid the Congress organization allowed itself to be rushed into a position from which

escape is difficult. While the first thoughts of the Mahatma and the Pandit were statesmanlike and generous, all this changed when the Working Committee of the Congress was called to discuss the situation. The effects of mob psychology were immediately apparent in such a meeting. Instead of confining itself to the war situation it made a demand for an immediate declaration of the war aims so far as they related to India.

Now it should have been obvious to everybody that such aims could only be laid down in general terms, and definite words or dates were impossible to announce while the war was in its initial stages. Nobody can prophesy the actual situation at the end of the war.

Government put forward, not only as a mere debating point but as a real difficulty, the existence of communal tension as the main obstacle in the way of giving a categorical undertaking. The Congress should not have laid itself open to such a retort or made such a fanciful or impracticable demand as the convocation of a constituent assembly...

It should have taken Government at its word when it said that the aim of the British policy was the establishment of Dominion Status in India...

In its insistence on words and formulæ the Congress missed the possibility of making a great advance which could have been made without a great change in the Government of India Act. In his original statement the Viceroy offered to form a consultative committee, on which public opinion would be fully represented, to help in the prosecution of the war. The offer was so vague and so dependent on the personal predilections of the authorities that it was rightly rejected by all parties. In the succeeding discussion with Mr. Gandhi, however, this offer was considerably modified, and the Viceroy agreed to nominate certain public leaders to his Executive Council. This offer was also contemptuously rejected by the Congress. To me it appears that this was a great mistake. This suggestion could probably have been hammered into the form of a cabinet responsible to the legislature and a convention might have been established whereby if one of these new ministers in charge of any departments lost the confidence of the legislature he would have had to resign...

This is not the first instance by any means when the Mahatma has by his absurd insistence on formal terms lost a golden opportunity of getting a valuable step forward in the path of India's progress.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The insistence on a constituent assembly seems to be equally impolitic. The scheme can be riddled with objections

and its discussion is likely to create further difficulties. It seems magnificent to call such an assembly elected on adult suffrage ; but does one seriously think that the illiterate villager, who would form the vast portion of the electorate, is capable of pronouncing an opinion upon complicated matters like the machinery of the Government of a vast country like India ? Is it too uncharitable to say that Mr. Gandhi expects to carry the uneducated voter off his feet by means of a whirlwind campaign in which high-sounding words like truth, Ahimsa, Charkha, Dharma, untouchability, reinforced, if need be, by the threat of a fast, would be used as slogans to give him a mandate to do what he likes ? Is it not likely that such a campaign will lead to inter-communal riots unless there is previous understanding with the leaders of other parties ?

Already there have been several modifications of the original idea of adult suffrage ; minorities are to be given the right of separate election for the purpose of electing this assembly ; the question of weightage has been left beautifully vague ; the question of the representation of Indian States has been untouched ; the way in which minorities that do not bow the knee at the Shegaon shrine are to be represented has been left unconsidered ; and a vast number of other questions have been held over possibly to give a chance to the Mahatma's " inner voice " to express itself.

Several of these questions are to be first settled, according to Mr. Gandhi, by a consultation among the leaders of the various parties, or even by the award of the Government which it is intended to replace. If such an agreement is possible on these vital preliminary points in regard to the formation of the constituent assembly by a friendly discussion between the leaders or even through the benevolent intervention of Government itself, what objection can there be to such discussion on the whole question of our constitution itself ? If the thing is possible in one connection it should be possible in another. . .

The history of all constituent assemblies, when ever they appear to have succeeded, shows that the ground was first of all fully prepared by informal discussion among all leaders and by securing an almost complete preliminary unanimity, and then, if at all it was considered necessary, a formal cachet of approval was given to it by means of a constituent assembly if it could be convoked. Many such ambitious projects have on the other hand led to heated disputes that ended in nothing as at the time of the French Revolution. I am inclined to think that a more appropriate course for our leaders would be to follow the path, which, though it actually failed in the end, seemed to be so promising, and get together a small informal and manageable conference like that which drafted the Nehru report. Even Pandit Jawaharlal may condescend to take a leaf out of his father's book.

LOST OPPORTUNITIES

To me it appears to have been a tactical mistake on the part of the Congress to insist at this juncture on a formal declaration by Government about the future system of government in India with a veiled threat of non-coperation. While I say this I am equally clear that Government of its own accord should have come out with an appeal and a declaration of policy which would have stirred the imagination of the Indian people and enlisted their heart, as I believe their head already was, on the side of the democracies which had taken up arms in defence of freedom and international order. . . . Everybody knows that at the end of the war everything will change and India cannot remain as it was. Even as a result of the last war there occurred developments, which, however disappointing and halting, did mean some improvement and could have led to much greater progress, if our leaders as well as Government had played the game in a spirit of mutual understanding. Now twenty years have revolutionised the whole outlook.

Awakened India cannot be disregarded any more, and if it cheerfully and whole-heartedly ranges itself on the side of the Allies, its future progress will have been assured. It is not too late even now. The Allies are faced with a problem far more difficult than they were twenty-five years ago, and Indian support will count a great deal both from the moral and material point of view. The outlook of the British has also materially altered, and there would have been very little opposition even from the diehards of Britain to a radical change in India's constitution. . .

MUSLIMS AND CONGRESS CABINETS

How to solve this question of strained Hindu-Muslim relations is the question of the hour. . . . .

The Muslims feel that in the eight provinces their true representatives are not in the cabinets, and that the admission of one or two Muslims who do not belong to the Muslim League is not only no answer to their complaint but is an added grievance, in that it is an obvious attempt to divide the Muslims by offers of place and position to non-representative Muslims. On the other hand, they contend that in the provinces in which the Muslims are in a majority the Hindu members of the cabinets are not men of straw but are people of weight in their community. I am inclined to think that there is a basis of truth in the Muslim complaint.

The Muslim members of cabinets must be generally acceptable to their own community in the same way as the Hindu members to theirs. The Congress majority rely upon the principle of joint responsibility and are keen on preserving strict party discipline. It, therefore, will not admit any Muslim member into its cabinet unless he is prepared to sign

the Congress pledge, put on the Congress uniform, and accept, at least in name, all Congress principles and practices all of of which are not political in character. It seems to me that the first step to ease the injured *amour propre* of the Muslims is to give up the insistence on the Congress pledge and other non-essential elements of the Congress creed and practices.

The majority should enunciate a definite programme of political and economic measures which it desires to carry out within the term of the legislature. If the Muslim League or any of its members is prepared generally to accept this programme, place should be found for such in the cabinet. It may happen that on one or two points there may be a difference of view, but on such questions free vote should be allowed and the decision should be left to the unrestricted judgment of the Assembly without the use of the party whips.

Such freedom of voting is not unknown even in British cabinets, and I know of at least one instance where even in the Morley-Minto Councils a member of the Executive Council was, for conscientious reasons, allowed to abstain from voting on the Government side, and it may be mentioned in passing that this abstention led to the defeat of Government by one vote. It may be generally expected that when a body of intelligent men, drawn together by a general consensus of views, work daily together in intimate association, such cases will not be frequent and there will be a good deal of give-and-take between them. It will be generally agreed that the Congress majority is inclined to treat all opposition with scant courtesy, to make every vote a party one, thus making its members mere automata, and, to carry out the behests of the High Command with a high hand. For the satisfactory working of democratic institutions there must be a desire to treat every opposition with respect and to yield on points on which the opposite party makes out a good case in debate, even though it is against the previous decision of the party in power...

SAPRU, HON. P. N.

CONTEXT.

Extracts from Mr. P. N. Sapru's Presidential address to the 20th session of the

AXIS IDEOLOGY: NO PLACE FOR MORALITY

WE ARE LIVING IN ONE OF THE MOST PERILOUS PERIODS he history of mankind.

National Liberal Federation of India, at Bombay, Dec. 29-30, 1938.

The fact is that these nations who have accepted the Nazi and Fascist ideology are thinking entirely in terms of an exclusive nationalism, indistinguishable from racialism in its worst form, new territories, and new markets for their goods. The selfish possessive instinct continues to dominate all their activities. Morality, as the Christian world has known it, has no place in their scheme of life, Christians as they are.

They glorify the nation-state, deify it, and subordinate the individual entirely to it. They go on piling up armaments, they increase the barriers to trade among nations, they covet the powers that have command over the larger part of the world's raw materials, they dream of reviving the glories of old Rome or the holy Roman Empire and they have discovered that foreign relations with peoples who possess the good things of life, who are the guarantors of the adjustments made by the Treaty of Versailles, can be conducted, in the picturesque language of Mr. Eden, on the basis of "stand and deliver ".

I cannot help feeling that a great part of the responsibility for the present world situation rests with Britain and France, who have followed policies which have weakened definitely the forces of Liberal and social democracy and strengthened those of Fascist reaction. The situation in which the British and the French Governments found themselves at Munich was largely of their own creation. They were reluctant to make to to a democratic Germany concessions of which we hear so much. They allowed Japan to defy the League and conquer a part of China in 1931. They were prepared to see Germany occupy the Rhineland by force without any effective action on their part.

They would not agree to parity of armaments with Germany at the Disarmament Conference and the Conference naturally failed. They were not prepared to take effective steps, including oil sanctions, to prevent Mussolini from swallowing up Abyssinia. They denied belligerent rights to the legitimate Government of Spain and would not even strictly enforce the so-called policy of non-intervention. They stood by and saw Germany intervene and annex Austria, by methods which could not be regarded as just.

And finally, when at the behest of the German dictator Henlein and Kundt had promoted civil strife in Czechoslovakia and the German dictator threatened a world conflagration, France and England were not prepared to stand for the principle of settlement of international disputes by peaceful methods and allowed Czechoslovakia whose territory France had undertaken to respect and preserve under the Franco-Soviet Pact and England under the Covenant of the League of Nations, to be dismembered at his command. They were, and continue to be, quiet spectators of Japanese aggression in China...

MUNICH PACT

The world was on the brink of war in September last and while we are thankful that, thanks to the spirit of sacrifice shown by a brave small country and its then respected head, that truly great man, Dr. Benes, war was averted, we cannot share the optimism of those eulogists of Mr. Neville Chamberlain who think that the Munich Pact is the harbinger of lasting or permanent peace.

We cannot overlook the fact that the Pact has dismembered the one country which had made a success of democracy in Europe, made Germany the virtual master of eastern Europe, enormously increased her prestige and military strength, broken up for all practical purposes the Popular Front in France and the system of alliances which France had built for herself, weakened the forces of Liberal and social democracy, all the world over, strengthened the Rome-Berlin-Tokio Axis and dealt a death blow to the League of Nations which was the one solid achievement of the statesmen responsible for the Peace of Versailles.

It is difficult for us to believe that the German and Italian dictators will be content with what they have achieved. Indeed there are ominous signs that they are not. It is permissible to hold that if Britain and France had been loyal to the League, had stood by the principle of collective security and gathered round them the smaller states of Europe who were prepared to follow their lead, and had collaborated with Russia, who, whatever her other faults might be, has been loyal to the League and the international ideals it stands for, the world would not have witnessed the disheartening spectacle of the betrayal of a small country whose only fault was that she was loyal to her obligations to them and was not prepared to accept in her internal arrangements, the totalitarian conception for which Nazism and Fascism stand...

Whatever subtle differences there may be between the Godesburg plan and the Munich Pact, there can be no denying the fact that democracy and the processes and the purposes for which democracy stands have received a blow from which it will take time for it to recover...

Consider the situation for a moment. In spite of the no-war pact, England and France find it necessary to rearm with even greater determination than they have been doing so far. The Anglo-Italian pact notwithstanding, Italian volunteers continue to fight for Franco's Spain and the Italian Government, connives at anti-British propaganda among the Arabs.

The German press, forgetting its obligations under the Munich Pact to Britain and France, blesses the manufactured propaganda for the return of Tunis and Corsica by France, propaganda which is not calculated to smooth relations between France and Italy.

The Jews in Germany and Italy continue to be persecuted with even greater ruthlessness than before and that persecution is creating difficult problems for the democratic states. With Japan fighting in China and Russia excluded, disarmament is not possible and Germany and Italy are not likely to agree to a reduction of armaments now or in the immediate future. The situation in Memel is becoming grave and it remains to be seen what the effect of Mr. Chamberlain's declaration of British policy in case of hostilities between Italy and France will be upon Franco-British relations.

Japan's victory in China and her nearness to the Indian border have created new problems for Britain and necessitated a re-orientation of the defence policy. Can anyone who impartially reviews the international situation deny that we find ourselves after the Munich Pact, faced with a situation in which the menace to peace and democratic civilization is greater and not less than before ? I have been driven to make these observations as I would like the country squarely to face the dangers which the new ideologies have created for us. For it is no longer possible for us to lead an isolated existence. India is realizing that she is part of a larger world...

DOMINION STATUS

Viewing the world situation in its proper setting, bearing in mind what these new imperialisms are and mean for the weaker races of mankind, I think we were wise in fixing as our objective Dominion Status as defined in the Statute of Westminster. No one disputes that a country has a right to aspire to be independent. It is equally true that the British Commonwealth is not an achievement of the Indian race and that the Indian people cannot take pride in it as Britishers and those who are of British stock can. But Dominion Status which is a dynamic conception is hardly distinguishable for any practical purpose from virtual independence. It is a free association of free peoples in no way subordinate to one another.

In a world full of menace to the democratic states, we have in the British Commonwealth of Nations, an organization which can provide the base for a system of collective security. And surely democratic states must pull together. In a world full of menace to the Asiatic and African races, it would give to India a sense of security which an entirely independent existence cannot.

But if, forgetting the dark chapters in our relationship, it is wise for us to accept it loyally and unreservedly as our objective, it is equally the duty of those who control British policy to endow India as speedily as possible with Dominion Status, for Indian thought is running in channels which threaten to make an Indo-British Commonwealth an unacceptable ideal.

The lesson drawn from the recent happenings in Europe by a prominent Congress leader was that India must seek her

salvation outside the Commonwealth as she is entirely opposed to the foreign policy of Britain which is pro-fascist. Emphatically I am no supporter of Mr. Chamberlain's foreign policy. I have subjected it to such rapid criticism as I could in this address and I dislike Fascism as intensely as any living man.

But the present British Government is not eternal. No government is eternal. Indeed important sections of British opinion are opposed to its foreign policy. To base on this ground one's objection to the objective that we have set before ourselves is to misread the nature of the British constitution and misunderstand the character of Dominion Status which gives to the Dominions the right to determine for themselves the extent, if any, to which they will participate in any war in which England might find itself involved. We have no reason to apologize for the objective that we have set before ourselves.

We are as determined as any other political party in the country that our country shall be free, but we feel that this full freedom which we seek is reconcilable with loyalty to the objection of an Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations to which we may have something distinctive of our own to contribute when we have reached our political maturity.

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CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report by the Bombay Correspondent of the "Leader" of a meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, in Bombay on April 29, 1939.

FASCISM ANALYSED

IN WINDING UP THE PROCEEDINGS THE HON. MR. P. N. Sapru, Chairman, said that the question of questions which overshadowed all others at the present moment was the international situation. Fascist aggression had reached a point when they could no longer ignore it.

Fascism did not believe in perpetual peace. It looked upon perpetual peace as a catastrophe for mankind. It stood for a cruel philosophy of life, for the domination of the weaker races by the stronger races of mankind, for racialism in its worst form.

The present situation in Europe was due largely to the weak-kneed policy of Britain and France. Mr. Chamberlain's policy had, however, changed and it had stiffened.

They in India had to choose today between democratic imperialism and Fascist imperialism. They were faced with a real danger and they could not sit on the fence.

THE CHOICE

It might be that democratic imperialism had, by its wrong policies in the past, been a main factor in contributing to the present international situation. But they were not concerned with the past.

Neutrality in the present world was not possible and, given the choice, he felt that there was no alternative for them but to choose to support democratic imperialism.

It was imperative, in the interests of India, Britain and the democratic world, that India should clearly understand that, her interests required that she should be definitely on the side of the democratic powers in the coming struggle between two conflicting social conceptions. He felt that, faced with the alternative between Fascist imperialism and democratic imperialism, even the extreme leftist in India would show a sense of reality and choose the latter. They did not want a mere change of masters and they did not want the integrity of India to be broken up.

SETALVAD, SIR CHIMANLAL

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a statement issued by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad on June 5, 1940.

WHOLE-HEARTED SUPPORT IN WAR

THE INSTINCT OF SELF-PRESERVSTION DICTATES THAT INDIA should whole heartedly support England in winning the war....

Mr. Rajagopalachariar says that ' at this juncture there ought to be responsible government in the Provinces ; only Ministries enjoying the confidence and support of the people would be in a position to allay any possible panic and maintain order '.

Why would not coalition Ministries formed out of Congress, Muslim League and Schedule class members of the provincial Assemblies constitute responsible government, enjoying the confidence and support of the people ? Similarly, why should not executive councillors at the centre, nominated by the various parties, be also a responsible government ?

What Mr. Rajagopalachariar and other Congress leaders want is not responsible government enjoying the confidence of the whole public but only a government responsible to and enjoying the confidence of only one section of the public and only one party, namely the Congress party.

LIBERAL FEDERATION RESOLUTIONS

CONTEXT.

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: DEMAND FOR A. R. P.

Extract from a resolution on "Defence" adopted at the annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India (Dec. 29 and 30, 1938).

IN VIEW OF THE TENSE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION suggesting possibilities of a European War, which may render Indian ports and coastal towns liable to air raids by hostile sea-borne aircraft, involving the use of explosive, incendiary and gas-bombs against the civil population of this country, this Federation urges upon the Government the need to undertake a more systematic organisation of Air Raid Precaution measures, including anti-gas training, protection against incendiary and gas bombs, organisation of fire-fighting squads and other allied Air Raid Precaution services.

COMPARATIVELY DEFENCELESS POSITION

Text of a resolution passed by the National Liberal Federation Council at Bombay on May 5, 1939.

IN VIEW OF THE MENACING INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, THE Council of the National Liberal Federation of India deplores the comparatively defenceless position of coastal towns which are exposed to aerial raids and urges upon the Government of India to take effective steps for providing the necessary protection to Indian life and property in the event of war.

It also urges upon the Government a bolder policy for enlisting public co-operation by associating Indians to a larger extent in the effectual carrying out of these measures.

UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT IN WAR

Extract from an Associated Press report of a resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the National Liberal Federation of India at Bombay on Sept. 10, 1939.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL Federation of India views with serious apprehension the international situation which has necessitated a declaration of war on the part of Britain and France to meet Nazi aggression against Poland. The Liberal Party has always stood for democracy and freedom and has repeatedly expressed its opposition to the Nazi and Fascist policies and methods of settling differences between nations by force instead of by peaceful nego-

tiation. Such methods and policies are entirely repugnant to Liberal principles.

The committee deems it its duty to express its considered view that in this crisis, India should unhesitatingly and unconditionally support the democratic Powers by every possible means so that they may come out victorious in the struggle. This is not the time for bargaining, though India's grievances are grave and many.

The Working Committee appeals to other political parties to take a broad view of the situation so that the country is left in no doubt as to its duty in the present crisis, which is definitely to range itself on the side of Britain.

CHANGES AT THE CENTRE

While the Working Committee is emphatically of the opinion that the support to be given to Britain at the present juncture must be ungrudging and unconditional, the committee appeals to His Majesty's Government and the Government of India to create such psychological conditions in the country as will lead to general political appeasement and ensure complete co-operation on the part of the people of India by cementing friendly relations.

In particular, the committee appeals to the Government to hasten the replacement of the present form of Central Government by a Government responsible to the public.

The committee also urges that steps be taken to remove all causes of distrust that the present military policy arouses and to create a modern and efficient Indian defence force so as to enable India effectively to defend itself against foreign aggression.



WHAT ALLIES ARE FIGHTING FOR

CONTEXT.

Resolution adopted at the 21st session of the National Liberal Federation of India at Allahabad, December 27—29, 1939.

THE FEDERATION STRONGLY CONDEMNS THE POLICY OF aggression followed by the totalitarian states against smaller or weaker states and sympathizes with the victims. The Federation considers that Great Britain and France are fighting Germany in the cause of democracy and freedom and feels that Indian sympathies are on the side of the democratic nations and that the whole of India wishes that their efforts will be crowned with success.

The Federation appeals to all Indians to give their support to the cause for which the democracies are fighting.

The Federation is convinced that the larger interests of India are bound up with the defeat of Nazism and the success

of the cause of democracy and freedom. At the same time, in order to enable India to put forth its whole-hearted support, the imagination of the people should be captured by a change in the attitude of the British Government regarding the future of India.

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CONTEXT.

VICEROY'S OFFER " UNSATISFACTORY "

Resolution adopted at the 21st session of the National Liberal Federation of India at Allahabad, December 27—29, 1939.

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, HAVING fully considered the statement issued by His Excellency the Viceroy and subsequent official statements, both in England and India, is strongly of opinion that they are quite unsatisfactory inasmuch as they

(*a*) do not go beyond the position taken up in 1917 and imply the postponement of the advent of Dominion Status to an indefinite and distant future and do not envisage its achievement within a definite period in the near future ;

(*b*) leave the centre irresponsible as it is at present ;

(*c*) give to the minority communities a virtual veto on future constitutional progress ;

(*d*) make the admission of a larger Indian element into the Viceroy's Executive Council conditional on the settlement of the communal problem in the provinces, although this was not a condition precedent to the establishment of Federation under the Government of India Act, 1935 ;

(*e*) ignore the urgent need for the rapid nationalization of the Defence forces in all their branches.

(2) The Consultative Committee as proposed by the Viceroy, the object of which was to win Indian support in the prosecution of war, could be no substitute for responsibility at the centre and therefore failed to appeal to the people.

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NATIONAL MINISTRIES WANTED

Summary based on a report dated Poona, June 23, 1940 in the " Hindustan Times ", of a resolution passed by the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India at Poona on June 23, 1940.

IN VIEW OF THE INTENSELY CRITICAL SITUATION CAUSED by Italy's entry into the war and France's collapse, the Council urges the Government and Indian political parties to sink their differences and appeals to the latter to unite so that central and provincial national governments can be formed to ensure India's full co-operation in the prosecution of the war.

The Government's new defence proposals are moves in the right direction but are "far too inadequate" and a "much bolder policy should be devised and immediately carried out".

The Council urges the Government to secure the unrestricted admission of Indian pilots to the Royal Air Force on the same basis as Dominion pilots. The Council feels that, in the interests of India's war efforts an Indian Defence Minister commanding the confidence of the people should be appointed.

ANGLO-INDIANS

M84DPI

CONTEXT.

Extract from a Lahore report in the "Statesman", dated April 20, 1939.

WILL RALLY TO THE LAST MAN

"WAR CLOUDS ARE GATHERING DAY BY DAY. GOD FORBID that England be engaged in conflict, but if she is, she will find Anglo-Indians rally to the last man for that freedom which England has always stood for", declared Mr. E. Few, President of the Provincial Branch of the All-India Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, at its annual general meeting at the Burt Institute, to-night. Sir Henry Gidney, President of the Association endorsed Mr. Few's observations.

SIR HENRY GIDNEY, M.L.A.

LOYALTY TO KING EMPEROR

Extract from a statement issued on September 3, 1939 by Sir Henry Gidney, M.L.A., President, All-India Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association.

THE LOYALTY OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY TO His Majesty the King Emperor and the British Empire and its Motherland, India, is inherent in us. This I have recently conveyed to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and it needs no further reiteration. We salute one and only one flag—the Union Jack. We know no other flag and so we ourselves cannot associate with anyone who recognizes another flag.

I would add that for months we have been working in closest cooperation with the European Association in collecting a defence register and that the office of the All-India A. I. and D. E. Association is at present registering the names of those men and women who desire to join in service for the country.

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an Ootacamund report in the "Mail" of June 18, 1940, of a speech by Mr. E. H. M. Bower, President, Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India, Madras.

APPEAL TO ANGLO-INDIANS

TURNING TO THE WAR SITUATION, MR. BOWER REAFFIRMED the steadfast loyalty of the community to H. I. M. the King Emperor. If there were not more Anglo-Indians fighting for the Empire today, it was not their fault, he said.

Since February 1939 the Madras office of the Association had been doing a great deal of work in connexion with recruitment for the R. A. O. C., and R. A. M. C.

He called on every Anglo-Indian to rally to the support of the Government. The wanton aggression by Hitler was now supported by Sgr. Mussolini.

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ANGLO-INDIAN ARMY UNITS

Text of a resolution, reported under the date Madras, Oct. 8, 1939 in the "Hindu".

THIS PUBLIC MEETING HELD TO COMMEMORATE THE Diamond Jubilee of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India reaffirms the loyalty of the community to His Majesty the King Emperor and offers its services in defence of the Empire. In pursuance of the above offer, this meeting respectfully presses the War Office to direct that Anglo-Indian Army Units may be formed at an early date.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS

CONTEXT.

JAPAN'S " UNHOLY " DESIGN

INDIAN CHRISTIANS SYMPATHISE WITH CHINESE

Extracts from an address delivered by Mr. S. C. Mukerjee, as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, held in Calcutta on December 27, 1937.

WE ARE PASSING NOW THROUGH A MOMENTOUS PERIOD. The year 1937 will be regarded as a landmark in the history of India. After half a century of national struggle and political effort, a great change has come over the constitutional history of India. The pendulum is moving slowly but steadily from a bureaucratic form of Government to Responsible Government. It must be conceded that, notwithstanding its many vital defects and shortcomings, the Government of India Act, 1935, marks the beginning of a new era in the constitutional history of the country.

We are dead against the provision of special electorates. We stand for joint electorates with reservation of seats. We are at one with the Congress in their fight against special electorates. We consider that Mr. Jinnah is rendering a lasting disservice to India in fighting for special electorates.

The Communal Award is the blackest spot in the Government of India Act, 1935.

The Congress programme, now being closely followed by the non-Congress Provinces as well, has not only our approval but also our admiration.

JAPANESE AGGRESSION

Before passing on to our own domestic problems as a community, I am constrained to refer to the great tragedy which is being enacted in the Far East. We, in this Conference, ought to express our deep sympathy not only with the Christians in China but with the entire Chinese population in their life-and-death and heroic struggle with Japan. We view not only with grave concern but with intense disapproval the brutal atrocities that are being perpetrated by the Japanese not only on their military opponents but also on the non-combatant civil population, including the wholesale slaughter of innocent women and children.

All this is the outcome of an unholy Imperialistic design on the part of Japan which, we consider, is casting a foul blot on the fair name of the civilisation of the East, and we

must raise our voice, along with others in India, against this oppression of the weak by the strong.

RESOLUTION

The Conference passed a resolution expressing sympathy with the suffering people of China and deploring the Japanese aggression.



CONTEXT.

GRAVITY OF INTERNATIONAL SITUATION SHOULD BRING INDIA CLOSER TO BRITAIN

Extracts from Dr. K. C. Mookherjee's Presidential Address at the 23rd session of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians at Madras on December 30, 1938:

ALL IMPARTIAL OBSERVERS ARE BOUND TO ACKNOWLEDGE that the Congress Ministers are making every effort to serve their countrymen and are honestly striving to do so within the limits of the constitution.. .. .. ..

Christianity cannot but condemn the exploitation of man by man and of class by class. Christians must fight to protect the exploited because, according to our faith, the most precious things in man are his personality and his soul and these must not be degraded for purposes of exploitation. The way of escape, however, does not lie in Communism. It is true there is no class war so far as labour is concerned in Soviet Russia, because Communism there has assumed the form of State Capitalism. Only those professional and trade associations are permitted to exist which find the approval of the State.

PERSONALITY SUBMERGED

The charge brought by many critics against the Communist State is that by perfecting a system of tyranny all its own it has gradually transformed free labour into servitude and has, therefore, become an agency for oppression and exploitation.

The proof lies in the fact that under Communism, little attention is paid to the interests of the workers as individuals, all the energy being spent for the glorification of the collective system. In other words, the value of the personality and soul of man is utterly lost sight of. Communism recognises no valid objections to the sacrifice of the soul and body of men for the attainment of economic prosperity. Christianity cannot agree to this.

Radically different though the ideologies of the capitalistic and Communistic schools of political and economic thought are, from the Christian point of view their ultimate effect

upon the individual seems to be the same. The personality of man and his soul tend to be submerged in both these systems.

To my mind we have to offer our loyal co-operation to that party which is consistently and continuously putting forth its best efforts for ameliorating the lot of the masses, a party the political programme of which is based on economic considerations. Let us thank God that to-day such a party has come into existence in India and that party, as we must all be aware, is the Congress Party. It is trying its best to hold the balance even between the claims of capital and labour, landlord and tenant. I honestly believe that it is the only All-India party which is in a position to implement such a programme and I commend our co-operation with it in all possible directions.

FEDERATION

Almost every thoughtful man feels that Federation is the only practical method for uniting the diverse and conflicting elements in the political world of India. So far as I can gather, the Congress is not opposed to the principle of Federation but only to the method proposed by the British Parliament.

Under the present scheme, the Lower House of the Federal Legislature would contain representatives nominated by the States to the extent of 33 per cent. while the Upper House would contain 40 per cent. There seems to be some justification for the view that there would thus come into existence a solid conservative *bloc,* which would probably stand in the way of democratic and progressive legislation.

The representatives of the states according to the Congress should not be nominated.... I can fully sympathise with the apprehensions of those who are opposing Federation on this ground.

We have already expressed our disapproval of the federal scheme as set forth in the Government of India Act of 1935 in the form of a resolution carried unanimously at our last Annual Conference held in Calcutta.

JAPANESE, FASCISTS AND NAZIS

Everyone will agree with me when I say that to-day we are living in an age of power politics—a fact referred to recently by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he drew the attention of his audience to " the fatal game that Japan is playing to-day and the hell which the Nazis and Fascists are trying to create in Europe." Whatever our opinion regarding the Japanese, the Fascists and the Nazis there is no doubt that they are working in close co-operation with one another for the attainment of common ends.

The psychology of all the three Powers is the same. They believe in war and the threat of war as the most successful means for realising their ambitions. Their past record clearly reveals the fact that the political and economic freedom of other nations and specially of weaker nations, finds no place in their code of national morality.

We have already made appreciable progress in our march to freedom. India's problem is how to preserve herself from dismemberment and slavery so that she might go on her way uninterruptedly. For this we have to remain inside the British Commonwealth.

CO-PARTNERSHIP WITH BRITAIN

The gravity of the international situation should in my opinion, have the effect of binding us closer to Britain. The imperialism of the old type against which political India had raised its voice is quite different from the imperialism embodied in the British Commonwealth of today.

Brute force is something to be reckoned with in these days of totalitarianism and we should throw all our weight on the side of maintaining Indian co-operation with Great Britain on an equal footing, the realisation of which may take some time.

Let us by all means secure as much freedom as we can, but let us not forget for one moment, the risks to which we shall be exposed from aggressive nations, the moment we cut off our connection with Great Britain. Our aim should be co-partnership with, and not complete severance from, Great Britain at this stage.

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WHY BRITAIN IS AT WAR

CONTEXT.

Extract from a report dated Lahore, Sept. 8, 1939, of a speech by Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha, M.L.A., presiding at an emergency meeting of the Punjab Indian Christian Association.

DIWAN BAHADUR S. P. SINGHA SAID THAT THEY WERE behind no one in their desire to obtain the freedom of their country, but they had always envisaged this freedom as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. They were willing to make any sacrifice to achieve this end, but they regarded the national struggle as a family fight.... But to their mind it would be a strange way of self-assertion to refuse to shoulder their responsibility when their King was facing an enemy....

This was a war for the preservation of ideals, for the succour of the weak, for the maintenance of justice and for

the victory of peaceful negotiation and arbitration over brute force.

CENTRAL INDIAN CHRISTIAN WAR BUREAU

The pledge of loyal support, given to the Government by their president in the name of the community, was ratified at the meeting at which over 300 representatives from different parts of the province were present.

The Association decided to open immediately a Central Indian Christian War Bureau for the purposes of registering names of persons who wish to volunteer their services for the war. The Association further resolved that war committees should be appointed in every district to carry out recruiting campaigns as soon as the requirements of the Government were definitely known.

The President of the Association was authorised to take the necessary steps to organise a women's auxiliary of the War Bureau.



HITLER "THOROUGHLY UNRELIABLE"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report in the "Hitavada" of Dec. 29, 1939, of Dr. H. C. Mukerji's Presidential Address at the twenty-fourth Session of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians at Nagpur.

WE ARE OF OPINION THAT HITLER IS A THOROUGHLY unreliable man and that lasting peace can be secured only when Hitlerism is overthrown for good. Every promise, every undertaking that he has given has been broken....

India has her grievances against British administration but she has no sympathy with Hitlerism which has used all its resources for crushing the smaller and weaker nations ruthlessly.

> Even the most ardent nationalist would agree with me when I say that if Britain is bad, Hitler's Germany is infinitely worse.

This is one of the reasons which has impelled the Indian Christian community to place its resources, humble and inadequate though they are, at the disposal of our King Emperor.

In this connection, I desire to make it clear that so far as I have been able to gauge the feelings of our community through correspondence and personal contact, the opinion seems to be that even though Great Britain has not met the Indian demand for political freedom in a generous spirit, we have to assist her as far as lies in our power, even out of purely selfish considerations, if none other has any weight with us.

The replacement of the British by any other foreign Government is not welcome to any of us for we would like to continue to enjoy those rights and privileges which have already been secured.

Along with this there is also present a feeling of grievance that our disarmament, and, in general, the systematic ingoring of the military aspirations of the so-called non-martial races have all along been dictated by Britain's policy of retaining a permanent hold on India, which accounts for our present helpless position in the military sense.

The time has come when the disabilities as regards recruitment to the defence services under which Indians labour in their own Motherland have to be removed....

That India is really desirous of abolishing for good the use of force as a means of settling international differences is evident from the unanimous support accorded to the British Government at the present juncture. At the same time, it is but natural for India to inquire whether she, in her turn, will be permitted the enjoyment of that freedom for ensuring which men and money are being poured out lavishly.....

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S ATTITUDE

While no fair-minded Indian will ignore the existence of the communal problem or minimise its importance, we feel the insistence on the communal difficulty as the reason for the slowness of political development is not the right attitude in the matter. I shall go further and say that I have often felt that the improper and unreasonable stand often taken by some of our Mussalman brethren and by the Muslim League is more due to the encouragement received systematically from the British administration than from any other circumstance....

I am constrained to add that the unusual consideration shown by the Congress Ministries has not had the effect anticipated, namely, of propitiating our Mussalman brethren and of removing their distrust. On the other hand, they have displayed what I am regretfully compelled to call an increasing truculence and every demand that has been met and every concession that has been made has seemed to whet their appetite for more. I most willingly admit that my observations do not apply to every Muslim organisation....

The next question which interests us is whether the Muslim League really does represent the views of the 40 to 50 per cent of the Mussalmans of India who are not members of or sympathisers with rival organisations.

The time has come when no community, large or small, should be penalised for the benefit of another and further

the present policy of yielding to the demands put forward by vociferous and aggressive communities only because they are troublesome must come to an end.

INDIAN STATES

There remains only the question of the Indian States. This problem and what I consider its best solution are so well put by Viscount Samuel that I shall content myself with merely quoting him here.

" There is in India the further complication of the States. The Princes have their treaty rights and it is obviously a sound principle of government that treaties must be respected. But if the Princes have treaty rights, their peoples have moral rights and we cannot say that 18th or early 19th century treaties are to be allowed to block for all time the development of modern institutions and I do not think that the Princes themselves would claim it. In relation to the Princes' rights and peoples' rights, majority rights and minority rights, we must reach a conclusion and both sets of rights must be respected."

At the worst, is it impossible for Britain to guarantee Dominion Status to India immediately after the war and, as a proof of her good intentions, to import a popular element into the Central Government by including in it a few representative leaders ?

The view of our community is that India should give whatever help she can during the present struggle but that she ought to make it absolutely clear that as soon as it has been fought to a finish and power politics abolished there should be immediate realisation of these her legitimate desires.

Granting, for the sake of argument, that here and there Indian Christians are being treated badly on account of their numerical weakness which makes oppression easy, I would still exhort my co-religionists not to pin their faith for safeguarding their interests on communal representation but on the goodwill of their more powerful brothers in blood.



OTHER POWERS ASKED TO SUPPORT BRITAIN

CONTEXT.

Resolution adopted by the Indian Christian Association, U. P., on Sept. 14, 1939.

THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED Provinces regrets to find that, in spite of all efforts made by other nations in the cause of peace, Germany has continued its aggressive policy against weaker nations and has invaded Poland without any justification.

It, therefore, feels that, in the interests of justice and peace, all the Powers of the world in general, and India in particular, should throw in their weight with the British Government, and asks the Indian Christians of the United Provinces to place all their resources without reserve at the disposal of the British Government in order to defend and vindicate the cause of right and justice.

DEMOCRATIC SWARAJ PARTY
LABOUR
LANDHOLDERS

DEMOCRATIC SWARAJ PARTY

CONTEXT.

BRITAIN'S FOREIGN POLICY

Extracts from a United Press report from Poona, dated May 15, 1939.

THE OPINION THAT THE FOREIGN AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY of Great Britain is bereft of honour and morality was expressed by the Democratic Swaraj Party in a resolution passed at a meeting held here during the week-end with Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, president, in the chair.

The resolution adds that the foreign and international policy of Great Britain has been dictated by the sole consideration of preserving her imperial power. It further says that any future war will be a war between two sets of imperialists endeavouring to maintain their interests in any such war, and asserts that the enforced use of India's man-power and resources in such a war will be an outrage on the Indian people. The only eventuality, says the resolution, in which the cooperation of India in any war can be secured by Britain is on a basis of India's complete freedom, including control by India of its armed forces.

LABOUR

TRADE UNION CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

Extract from a report of the proceedings of the 15th session of the All-India Trade Union Congress held in Bombay on May 18, 1936.

THE NINTH RESOLUTION DEFINED THE RELATIONS OF THE working classes and the Trade Union Congress with the Indian National Congress. It emphatically declared that the working classes must actively participate in the national movement and establish relations of close co-operation with the Indian National Congress, with the object of broadening and deepening the national struggle for independence.

Such co-operation was possible only if the Indian National Congress supported the working classes' immediate economic and political demands and made suitable provision for the participation of workers in the Congress through their class organizations. It urged affiliated unions to develop common action with the local Congress organizations in order to (1) reject the new constitution, (2) oppose imperialist wars, (3) defend the Soviet Union, (4) defend civil liberties, and (5) safeguard and advance the working class interests.



CONTEXT.

FASCIST MENACE TO WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

Extract from Mr. Hariharnath Sastri's Presidential Address to the 14th session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Calcutta on April 20, 1935.

TRADE UNION UNITY IS THE SLOGAN THAT WE ALL HAVE been talking about since that unity was broken in the year 1929 at the time of the Nagpur session of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Time and again unity conferences and committees have in the past taken place but the gulf has not yet been bridged. But now a stage has come when every group that is sincerely devoted to the cause of workers realises the supreme importance of solidarity in the Trade Union Movement.

Everyone feels that the struggle cannot proceed even a step forward unless and until mutual differences are removed and unity achieved in the movement. The recent changes in the international situation have also been considerably helpful in bringing different groups closer.

Consolidation of different parties in the working class movement is taking place all over Europe on account of the Fascist menace. Mutual differences in the past between Communists and Socialists in Europe helped the forces that were hostile to the interests of workers. Thus the dissensions between these two parties were instrumental in establishing the Fascist regime in Germany, where the working class movement is being ruthlessly crushed to-day. Now, Socialists and Communists all over Europe have begun to realise that to stand successfully against the Fascist danger they must all combine.

Hence the pacts between these two parties in France and Italy. Similar efforts are on foot in other countries too. This has its repercussions in our country also, inasmuch as those who were still quite recently opposed to the very idea of unity with those who were not in agreement with them politically, have now realised the necessity of such unity and are enthusiastic about it as we always have been.....

M84DPI

REVOLUTIONISE CONGRESS OUTLOOK

The p esent leadership in the Indian National Congress is reactionary. It has to be overthrown and the movement radicalised. It will be suicidal to denounce the Congress and allow it to drift into wrong channels. The Congress has to be made the central organisation through which a practical alliance of the exploited sections of the country can be made possible. Denunciation of the Congress will be a repetition of the blunder that some over-enthusiasts, swayed by ultra leftism, committed in 1930 by trying to throw down the Congress flag and vilifying the Congress at a time when it was engaged in an anti-imperialist fight.

Instead of wrecking the Congress. its ideology and outlook have to be revolutionised. It is gratifying to note that the process of radicalisation has already begun. The Indian working class should form an alliance with this radical group in the Congress. I am glad to note that such an alliance has already been in progress since the party came into existence and a pact was concluded between the A.-I.T.U.C. and the Congress Socialist Party last year. Members of this party have begun to take an active interest in the Trade Union Movement and I am sure the working class will find an ally in this party not only in its fight for national independence but also in developing its every-day economic struggle.

JAPANESE ATROCITIES

THE NATIONAL TRADE UNION FEDERATION CONDEMNED Japanese "atrocities" in China by a resolution passed at the annual session, at Calcutta on December 19, 1937.

BOYCOTT JAPANESE GOODS

CONTEXT.

Extract from a report of the proceedings of the All-India Trade Union Congress meeting in New Delh on January 1, 1938.*

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS PASSED A RESOLUTION sending greetings to and expressing its solidarity with the workers, peasants and citizens of China and Spain in their struggle against Fascist-Imperialist aggression; and exhorting the people of India to boycott Japanese goods and materially contribute to the funds started for sending medical supplies and other aid to the Chinese and the Spanish popular armies.

The A.-I.T.U.C. also passed a resolution exhorting the (Indian National) Congress Ministries, workers and peasants to take steps to conduct anti-war propaganda in view of the impending danger.

* In April 1938 the National Union Federation was affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress.

CONTEXT.

INDIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS AND WAR

Associated Press report from Bombay, dated September 29, 1940.

THE EIGHTEENTH SESSION OF THE INDIAN TRADE Union Congress concluded its two-day session this evening after passing a resolution on the attitude of the Trade Union Congress with regard to the war.

Mr. V. V. Giri (former Labour Minister, Madras) who moved the war resolution, which *inter alia* declared that "participation in a war which will not result in the establishment of freedom and democracy in India, will not benefit India, much less will it benefit the working classes of India," repudiated the claim of British statesmen that the war was being waged for democracy and freedom.

Mr. Aftab Ali (Seamen's Union, Bengal) moved an amendment that the differing groups within the Trade Union Congress should be given freedom to advocate their own special point of view.

Mr. N. M. Joshi appealed to Mr. Aftab Ali to withdraw his amendment, and assured him that the spirit of his amendment would be observed.

Several speakers participated in the debate, after which the resolution was declared passed *nem com.*

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INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY'S ATTITUDE

Extract from a Simla report in the "Hindustan Times" of Sept. 15, 1939.

THE VIEW THAT THE PRESENT WAR IS ONE WHICH THE Indian people, in their own interest, should support and help Great Britain to prosecute is expressed by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar formulating the policy of the Independent Labour Party with regard to war.

"The Independent Labour Party agrees", adds Dr. Ambedkar, "that this is no time for making conditions. At the same time the Independent Labour Party believes that Britons and Indians should know and understand what they are fighting for and what they expect of each other."

Dr. Ambedkar observes that among the duties of the British towards India are: to prepare Indians to defend their country, introduce compulsory military training and military service in India, and reassure India of the status she is to occupy in the British Empire.

CONTEXT.

Extracts from the Presidential Address delivered by the Maharaja of Darbhanga at the session of the All-India Landlords' Conference at Lucknow on April 8, 1939.

LANDLORDS' ASSURANCE OF SUPPORT

THE TIME HAS COME WHEN THE LANDHOLDERS THEMSELVES have to change their outlook and determine on a reorientation of their policy and programme of work in view of the changed condition of things, if they are to exist as a class.

The world itself is shaking to-day with the clashes between the 'haves' and 'have-nots'. Germany, Italy and Japan are making frantic efforts to find an outlet for their population and trade. Great Britain, France, and America, not to speak of other world powers, who are content with what they have, are struggling hard to consolidate their position and keep what they possess. The war clouds are rumbling, weaker States are trembling and nobody knows what the world situation will be tomorrow. A man of 'Peace', however, tries to adjust things and avert human suffering as far as possible.

Friends, the news of the complications created in the international situation by the invasion of Albania by Italy prompts one to digress for a moment to make it plain to the world that, in the event of the dictators forcing a war on Britain and imperilling the Empire within which there is such a vast scope for self-assertion and self-determination and such great potentiality for collective security, the Indian landlords, notwithstanding their differences with His Majesty's Government on various constitutional matters, will unreservedly place their entire resources, however feeble and inadequate they may be, at the disposal of their Sovereign for the defence of their country and the preservation of the honour of their Empire. We are anxiously awaiting future developments.

SIKHS (KHALSA NATIONAL PARTY)

CONTEXT.

Extract from an Associated Press report, dated Lahore, Aug. 28, 1939.

TRUE VOICE OF THE PUNJAB

"IT IS A MATTER FOR REGRET THAT SOME COMMUNITIES and organisations in India are trying to take advantage of the difficulties of Great Britain at this hour. In this matter, I believe the true voice of the Muslims of India as also of all Punjabis is that of the Punjab Premier, and not of the Muslim League," says Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh, Parliamentary Secretary and Honorary Secretary, Khalsa National Party, one of the parties coalesced in the Punjab Ministry, in the course of a statement.

CONTEXT.

Extracts from the Presidential Address delivered by Dr. G. S. Arundale to the 63rd Annual Convention of the Theosophical Society at Benares on December 26. 1938.

DR. ARUNDALE ON NAZI CRUELTY

ONE OF THE MOST TERRIBLE CRIMES IN HISTORY HAS BEEN committed by the members of the German Government in the savage persecution of the Jews, especially in Germany, but hardly less in Austria. The crime becomes all the more heinous in that certain members of that Government justify and glory in the fashioning of the hell into which they gloatingly thrust their victims...

True indeed, no country is without its wrongdoing. But only very exceptionally has any country in any part of the world exulted in its cruelty, justified its injustice, gloated over its immorality, vaunted its indifference to the decencies of life, as do certain members of the German Government at the present time in respect of their deliberate devilry towards the Jews, thousands of whom have fought for Germany, thousands of whom are just simple citizens—honest, thrifty, seeking but to live and let live in peace.

I wonder if Mr. Chamberlain now sees with whom and with what he has been dealing? I wonder if he now sees that it would have been better for his country to be true even at the cost of war, to her traditional reverence for justice and honour, rather than to barter this for a sordid commercial compromise in which her true nobility has, as I hold, been exchanged for a peace which is not only dishonourable but is, in fact, no peace at all, only a blinding of the eyes of the world to its increasing danger and to the near approach of a disaster which, coming so closely upon the war of 1914-18, will stay the whole world's progress for centuries.

THEOSOPHICAL CONVENTION'S RESOLUTION

The Convention passed a Resolution on December 30, 1938, recording " their deep distress at the recent happenings in various parts of the world which are tearing as under the great principle of universal brotherhood for which the Theosophical Society stands ".

They also appealed to the rulers in all countries and to other persons in positions of power " to see that racial, national, and credal differences are not emphasised and discord and violence are replaced by right and justice ".

WOMEN'S CONFERENCES

CONTEXT:

ITALIAN AGGRESSION

Resolution unanimously adopted at the 10th session of the Conference of the Madras constituency of the All-India Women's Conference at Madras on Oct. 19, 1935.

THIS CONFERENCE STRONGLY CONDEMNS THE AGGRESSIVE attack by Italy on the Abyssinian people and appeals to all nations to support and strengthen the League in its efforts to abolish war.

WOMEN IN GERMANY AND ITALY

Extract from a report of Dr. Miss K. Atchamamba's Presidential Address to the Andhra Women's Conference at Guntur on Nov. 30, 1935.

DR. ATCHAMAMBA CONCLUDED HER SPEECH WITN A SURVEY of the women's movement in the West and how they obtained suffrage in England and Germany during the Great War of 1914. It was only in Russia, she said, that women enjoyed perfect equality with men and occupied positions of high honour. They possessed full rights with men in their country.

She referred to the position of women in modern Germany and Italy, after the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, who advocated that woman's place was only in the home, and said that she could not prophesy the future of women in these lands.

HISTORY OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Extracts from Maharani Sethu Parvathi Bai's Presidential Address at the 10th session of the All-India Women's Conference at Trivandrum on Dec. 28, 1935.

IT IS A MATTER OF PROFOUND GRATIFICATION THAT THE history of the woman's movement in India, at least in its political aspect, has been one of unhindered progress and has not been marked by those violent struggles which were the precursors of reform elsewhere. The Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1917 felt very nervous of interfering with what was conceived to be the invincible prejudice against the political enfranchisement of women and they left the question to the elected Legislatures of each Province to be settled by their own resolution according to the wishes of the people concerned.

Practically every Province removed all political restrictions on account of sex; and even before England took the step in 1918 and 1919 of equalising the sexes in politics and in various professions, the battle had been won in India.

Further, the admission of women into the legal and other professions was never attended with any difficulty here. To say this is, however, not to underestimate the magnitude and complexity of the work ahead of us.

Fortunately, in Malabar, we did not suffer from the medieval heresy that the woman was the source of all evil nor did we succumb to the doctrine lately resuscitated in Germany and Italy that her main or sole function was to be a mother.

With regard to marriage amongst most of the communities in this part of India, equality, freedom of choice and adult marriage have been taken for granted, although quite recently there has arisen a curious tendency to adopt disabilities that are prevalent elsewhere...

MUSSOLINI CONDEMNED

"Religious leaders must have the courage to protest against Mussolini who wants large families as cannon fodder and not as a method of saving mothers," said Mrs. Kuttan Nair, supporting resolution urging the introduction of birth control.

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CONTEXT.

"SAVAGERY THREATENS CIVILIZATION"

Extract from an Associated Press report dated Hyderabad (Deccan), Oct. 18, 1939.

THE CLASH OF ARMS IN THE WORLD TODAY SIGNIFIES A struggle for supremacy between two conflicting ideologies—Nazism and democracy. Savagery threatens civilization, brute force challenges reason and the highest concepts of human morality are desecrated by powers of aggression that deny to the individuals and small nations the right of freedom and self-development.

"As women, we express the deepest sympathy for the citizens of countries which are at war and pray that from the darkness, so much slaughter, suffering and sacrifices, there may arise the dawn of a greater peace and freedom for mankind than the world has ever seen."

This resolution put from the chair, was unanimously passed by the 13th session of the Hyderabad State Women's Conference last week.

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CONTEXT.

A WORLD "UNITED FRONT" FOR LIBERTY

Extract from the proceedings of the All-India Women's Conference in Delhi on Dec. 29, 1938.

THE HON. MRS. VIJAYA LAXMI PANDIT (MINISTER, UNITED PROVINCES), moving the resolution on "War", said that some among the audience might be wondering why the Conference was attempting to define the attitude of Indian women to a future war. It was true, she said, that they in India were not in immediate danger of war but modern science had annihilated distance and had brought about world unity. Whatever happened, say in China, had repercussions all over the world, including India. Moreover, they in India had another sort of war, which had been in progress for many years, a war to win their freedom, a war to free India from a dwarfing of the soul of the people. The latest weapon which they had successfully used in this war had been the weapon of non-violence. In this regard, therefore, India had a definite message for the whole world.

Proceeding, Mrs. Pandit said that the world to-day was a battleground of two sets of forces—the forces of reaction and oppression and the forces of freedom, justice and fairplay—and they in India had to decide which side to take in this war of ideas and ideals. The question concerned womanhood as a whole. For it was very likely that those forces of oppression which were so prominent in the Far East, the Near East and in Europe might bring further misery and oppression for them in India too.

Mrs. Pandit referred to her recent visit to Europe and said that she had witnessed real panic in London which was due to the fear of war. And she had seen British people genuinely relieved when they were told that Mr. Chamberlain had succeeded in averting war. The moral for them was that a Great Power did not honour its obligations towards a weaker state when there was a real threat of war.

"GREED FOR POWER"

Mrs. Pandit, analysing the present malady in the West said that it was the greed for power and possession that had brought the world to its present state of unrest. They alone in India, with their past traditions and background, were in a position to re-establish faith in justice and equity.

The women of India could make a stand and create a world "united front" for liberty.

They, in India, had set their faith on non-violence and the latest example of success achieved by this creed was Rajkot. Non-violence was not pacifism and she had no doubt that the women of India would to-day send out a message to the oppressed nations of the world, which would bring them hope and faith in justice and equity.

The resolution, which was supported by **Mrs. Ferozuddin**, was passed unanimously.

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CONTEXT.

MESSAGE TO WOMEN IN WARRING COUNTRIES

Summary of a report in the "Hindustan Times" of Jan. 31, 1940, from the paper's Allahabad correspondent.

THE ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE HELD ON JANUARY 30, 1940, at Allahabad, passed a resolution conveying a special message to women in all "warring countries," expressing the belief that women could not be "in tune with the doctrine of *might is right*", appealing to them to do all in their power to persuade their Governments to end the war in the East as well as in the West, and making a special appeal to the women of Russia, Germany and Japan.

Another resolution conveyed greetings to the women of China, expressing deep appreciation of their heroic part in the Chinese struggle for unity and freedom. The resolution recorded "the solidarity of the Conference with the cause of China".

The Standing Committee was authorised to take steps for the visit of an Indian Women's Goodwill Delegation to China when circumstances permitted, and extended an invitation to women's organisations in China to send a delegation to India in furtherance of the "many ideals and objectives they hold in common".

CONVOCATION ADDRESSES
EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCES
STUDENTS' CONFERENCES

CONTEXT.

DEMOCRACY AT STAKE

Extract from the address delivered by Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, to the Convocation of Annamalai University on Oct. 31, 1935.

IN THIS AGE OF HIGH PRESSURE, WE NEED MEN OF STRONG character, rugged honesty and determination, men with insight and foresight, men with lofty ideas and ideals, in both the Provincial and Federal Legislatures. The demand is becoming more and more insistent for an era of character as well as of brains in politics. The country must be led by men of outstanding character.

We need men who truly represent our citizens, and safeguard their interests and welfare, whose every effort is bent towards the enactment of sensible, enforceable laws, appropriate to the advanced age in which we live. It is the duty of the Universities to produce such men, and no duty can be more important, none more useful to the country, at a time like the present when " the modern world is confronted " (I am quoting from " The Next Five Years") " by a new wave of violence in political thought and action. Democracy is again at stake. The struggle for liberty is once more a vital issue."

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JAPAN'S RAPACITY: ITALY'S DEFIANCE OF MORALITY

Extracts from Sahabji Maharaj Anand Sarup's address to the Convocation of Agra University on Nov. 23, 1935.

AND WHAT IS TRUE OF SOCIETIES, IS *mutatis mutandis* TRUE of nations also. Just ponder over the happenings of the last two decades. Would any one deny that the Great War brought misery and ruin to all the belligerent nations, and that not one of them feels the happier for it ? For a long, long time, both during the War and after the conclusion of peace, it was solemnly declared that the Great War was fought to end war permanently and assurances were given that the Great Powers would on no account allow a repetition of its orgies. But, alas, like individuals, nations too have short memories.

Two years ago, ambitious Japan broke away from the League of Nations, violated all principles of international peace and snatched province after province from China by force of arms, entailing indescribable misery on its poor populations. And hardly had the civilised world reconciled itself to the rapaciousness of Japan, when Italy appeared on

the scene, brandishing its sword in defiance of all the canons of morality.

Now, would you not agree that it is bad statesmanship that prompts these wars of aggrandisement by nations, and it is a false philosophy and a narrow outlook of life that breed bad statesmanship and encourage the acquisitive impulse to dominate the people of any country?

AVARICE AND GREED

If we just look dispassionately at the large-scale arrangements of Nature, we find that, in her bounty, Mother Nature has made ample provision for the sustenance of every form of life and if men were but to apportion her gifts among themselves without permitting greed and avarice to come in, all men, women and children living on earth would have enough of food to satisfy their hunger, enough of wearing material to cover and protect their bodies and enough of fresh air and sunshine to enjoy sound health. But the cursed vice of avarice and greed, the vile desire to grab and hoard, have made these gifts too few for us. Inquire what made Japan wage war against China and snatch its provinces. Well, it was the desire of grabbing the soya beans of those provinces. And why is Italy spending its millions on the invasion of innocent Abyssinia? Well, it is the desire of grabbing Abyssinia's rich mines and fertile fields and hoarding more gold in Italian vaults.

And why is there so much unemployment in every country in these days? Well, once again it is the desire of grabbing and hoarding. The appetite for more gold, quickened by the experience of the prosperous days of the last Great War, has urged every nation to increase its output of manufactures and foodstuffs and, helped by improved scientific methods and devices, every country is now producing much more than it can absorb or sell, and the consequence is that the whole world finds itself in the grip of an unprecedented economic depression and millions of men are starving in the midst of plenty.

Expedients like tariff walls and other artificial barriers, instead of improving matters, have only accentuated the difficulties, and the unemployment problem stares every nation in the face.

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EUROPE'S NEGLECT OF SPIRITUAL VALUES

CONTEXT.

Extract from the Convocation Address delivered at Patna University on Nov. 26, 1936, by Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University.

THE EUROPEAN SITUATION TODAY IS EVIDENTLY AN introduction to the most calamitous international tragedy in all history. The Communisms on the one hand and the Fascisms on the other, the Dictatorships, the totalitarian States, the crushing of the individual under the heel of

Government and denying him all value as an end in himself, the Civil Wars, actual and simmering, the underground movements, the racial hatreds, class antagonisms—do not all these show that the fierce career of Europe, actuated by unbridled greed and lust for power, has led her to the precipice, and the catastrophic smash may occur any day?

> It is the glorification of the physical man and his physical energy to the utter neglect of all basic spiritual values that has produced a condition of things in Europe, which fills every lover of humanity, no matter to what race or creed he belongs, with dread and horror of the impending crash.

Are God and His Saints asleep in Europe? It is my sincere prayer that Europe may yet learn the lesson of self-control and learn of the East the saving grace of moderation, and the urgent need to limit and regulate worldly passions and effect a proper balance and harmony between all the four Purusharatas, or objectives of life, namely wealth and its production by just means and its proper distribution; love and social enjoyment; devotion to righteousness; and freedom from bondage to worldliness, as having found worldliness unsatisfactory when weighed in the internal scales of spiritual values. There can be no greater senselessness than unbridled sense-life, and the Budhhas and Janakas may not be extinguished without plunging the world in darkness.

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TAGORE'S CRITICISM OF WESTERN POWERS

CONTEXT.

Extract from a report on the Convocation Address (in Bengali) delivered by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore at Calcutta University on Feb. 17, 1937.

THE GREED, RAPACITY AND POLITICAL TRICKERY THAT emanate from the Western Powers ruthlessly to trample under foot the rights of weaker countries, have never before in the history of man, been seen in such fearsome shape. Man has never been able in the past to give his unbridled passions such monstrous proportions, such skilful undefeatable efficiency. That has become possible for the West today because of its command of science.

When in the beginning or middle of the nineteenth century we made our first acquaintance with European civilisation, our joy and admiration freely went out to it in the belief that it had come into the world animated with a genuine respect for man as man: we felt certain that truth, devotion, justice and goodwill towards men were its essential characteristics; we thought that it had taken on itself the duty of freeing mankind from every kind of external and internal bondage.

But, as the years went by, within the short span of our own lifetime, we have seen this love of humanity, this sense

of justice, growing feebler and feebler, till at last there is left no civilised court of Appeal where the plaint of the persecuted against the powerful oppressor has any chance of being heard on the ground of righteousness.



CONTEXT.

"GOVERNMENTS BY EXCITEMENT"

Extracts from Sir Kailash Narain Haksar's Convocation Address to the University of Agra on Nov. 20, 1937.

I HAVE NO HORROR OF DEMOCRACY, AS I HAVE OF THE Totalitarian or the Communistic State despite the claim of the Totalitarian State to reconcile personal liberty with corporate happiness and despite the claim of the Communistic State to bring about paradise on earth, without the need of dying first to attain it.

But if democracy is to survive long enough for India to become a democratic nation, democracy must organise itself in each country nearly as thoroughly as the rival systems of government, those political terminaries and bee-hives, have already organised themselves.

> **Fascism, Nazism, and Communism I regard as governments by excitement. The promised good time to be had by all is coming presently, but it always remains round the corner, out of grasp. Such systems impose crushing duties on the individual and are contemptuous of his rights.**

If you would be democratic, then let your democracy be efficient, for in modern times the reaction against inefficient Democracy is Fascism or Nazism, as Communism is the reaction against inefficient Autocracy. Fascism and Nazism are governments by fidgets, as I have already said, and Communism I regard as an adaptation of Pavlov's Behaviourism.



IS DEMOCRACY PLAYED OUT?

Extract from the Convocation Address delivered by the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Vice-Chancellor, at the Annual Convocation of the Annamalai University on Dec. 4, 1937.

WE LIVE UNDER DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS OF THE BRITISH type, which are now discredited in various parts of the civilized world. Even among us, who belong to the British Commonwealth, large sections of the people, perhaps growing steadily in number, are of the opinion that democracy is played out, and that in clinging to it we run the risk of being left behind in the international race. This may or may not be true.

I am inclined to think that the day of democracy is not yet done, and that, if its champions would only take pains

to remove its weaknesses and reinforce its strong points, it might still maintain its ground as the most beneficent form of human government yet evolved.

Unfortunately, democracy's friends do not stop to discriminate ; they take always the easy path to success and forget that, in certain high aspects of political action, the means are as important as the ends.

It thus happens that in this country, with every widening of the franchise and of the sphere of popular control, the corruptions of western democracy obtain a foothold sooner than its virtues. Criticism of the methods adopted by our leaders is not necessarily to be suspected as proceeding from a believer in autocracy, but ought rather to be welcomed as the attempt of a patriot who cherishes with affection the political institutions of his country and would fain see them cleansed of imperfections and brought to a higher pitch of purity and public serviceableness.

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GERMAN METHODS OF EDUCATION : A WARNING TO CONGRESS

CONTEXT.

Extracts from the Convocation Address delivered by Mr. (later the Rt. Hon.) M. R. Jayakar, at the Lucknow University on Dec. 11, 1937.

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY, a political party, manned by men of immense popularity, achieved by the vigorous methods of disciplined sacrifice, has come into power. What was once an " opposition " delighting in all the ways and means of an opposition, has now become the Government of the land. This transition from an " opposition " to a " government " has been somewhat easy and unaccompanied by the use of the familiar forces of violence, usually attendant on such changes.

Signs are not wanting that the change in ideals and methods which should accompany this change of status from a warring and captious opposition to a peacefully tolerant Government of the day will take some time to come over those who are in charge of affairs....

There is no doubt that in course of time—long or short, according to circumstances—a true sense of their position as the Government of the land will come. But until that day is reached, both the Government of the day and also the people they govern have to be on their guard that, in the first flush of their well-merited victory and in their desire to erase all opposition and establish themselves permanently in the seat of power, this new Government does not become what one may briefly call an authoritarian State, using, as so many other Governments have done in similar circumstances, every instrument at its command for the inculcation

of its own political views and the suppression of those which are regarded as unfavourable to its strength and permanence.

AN ILLUSTRATION

History teaches us that when such ardour overtakes a powerful party, for the moment the *de facto* Government of a country, schools and colleges and other seminaries of the young are the first to be invaded. In this connection, and as a warning to all of us, the following description of the German methods of education, given by an Englishman who taught for three years in a German school, is worth quoting, as an illustration of the attitude of an authoritarian State towards schools and colleges :—

" Officials are sent into schools, walk into the classes and cross-examine the teacher before his pupils and, if they think necessary, arrest him at once. Attempts are made to find out from children what their parents' politics are. Religious lessons consist for the most part of talks about Herr Hitler and the glories of Germany..... .. Hitler is the second Jesus, but greater than the first, because he had not only Power but the whole world against him. The State is everything, the individual nothing, and to this end every subject of instruction must be turned..... The teacher asks leading questions such as, ' Who at the present day, reminds us most strongly of Jesus by his love of the people and his self-sacrifice ?' to which the answer is ' Herr Hitler,' and ' Who remind us by their devotion and loyalty of the Disciples ?' ' General Goering, Dr. Goebbels, Hauptmann and Roehm '. The school morning prayer runs ' Lord,.....And do Thou protect with Thy strong hands the great and bold Chancellor and the President of the Reich. Bless our leaders. Amen.' "

INTELLECTUAL DEMOCRACY

I have quoted the passage pretty fully as constituting a grave warning that, in the patriotic desire to popularize and reform their schemes of education, there should be no interference by the new Government with the intellectual democracy of our colleges and universities.

It is wise to remember that the freest use of the human reason is the true test of a democratic Government, as contrasted with an authoritarian State.

Their ideals of education are as poles apart. The one aims at ungrudging subservience, the other at freedom. An authoritarian Government, putting a premium on obedience, aims at producing citizens who will be serviceable in the propagation of its political views—mere " cogs in the wheel ". The democratic State, on the other hand, demands that citizens should be " dynamic forces to mould a new order ".

Rebellious enterprise in thought and action will be its watchword. Research after truth, through the avenues of questioning doubt and restless inquiry, will be the ideal it will set before its youth. " A thinking man is the worst enemy of the Prince of Darkness," said Carlyle, and this is ever true of all autocracies, religious or political, and oftentimes they are masked under the guise of democracies.



TWO ASPECTS OF " IMPERIALISM "

CONTEXT.

Extract from the Convocation Address delivered by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan at the Punjab University on Dec. 23, 1937.

SIMILARLY, THE WORD ' IMPERIALISM ', LIKE CERTAIN figures of old mythology, has two distinct expressions. If it means the exploitation of one country by another or of India by England. no patriotic Indian worth the name would be found wanting to resist it to the utmost of his capacity. But this should not be confused with that other type of imperialism—by whatever name you may call it —which means a comity of nations who, actuated by common ideals and interests, stand together on the basis of free and equal partnership, for upholding the best traditions of democracy and self-determination, against that spirit of unwarranted aggression which is unfortunately being exhibited by certain nations of the world today.

It is obvious that means of communication and transit, as well as the community of economic and other interests, have brought the peoples of the world nearer than ever before. No nation can now afford to stand isolated as if in a vacuum. The pathetic experience of China shows that those who advocate an isolated international position for our country, in the present circumstances of India and the world do so either with mental reservations or by deliberately shutting their eyes to the stern realities of the situation.

Their attitude betrays a criminal ignorance of the destructive forces and undercurrents at work, as also of the devastating potentialities of modern armaments. The destiny which I visualise for my country is an India free to rise to her highest political, social, economic and cultural stature, lending her moral and material prestige to a commonwealth of nations which stands for the unhampered progress of its component parts and the peace of the world.



INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY

Extracts from the Address delivered by Pandit Amaranatha Jha (Vice-Chancellor,

EVERY GENERATION BELIEVES ITSELF TO BE ON THE ROAD to progress. But who that watches what is happening today in Europe and Asia can retain an attitude of helpfulness and

Allahabad University) to the Convocation of the University of Patna on Nov. 29, 1938.

complacency? Honoured leaders advocate in public and international affairs the laws of barbarism. They preach naked selfishness in world affairs.....

Czechoslovakia does not know, even after Germany and Hungary have had their share, whether it is to continue to exist as an independent state or share the fate of Austria. Spain is left the happy hunting ground of ruthless ambition...

Since the War it is clear that most countries believe that it is their sacred mission, their divinely appointed task, to encourage and assist the triumph of that particular political theory on which their own internal organization is based. The old world is divided into two groups, constantly ready to pounce upon each other.

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CONTEXT.

WEAKER NATIONS BEING CRUSHED

Extracts from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's Convocation Address to the Andhra University on Dec. 1, 1938.

WE HAVE READ EVERY DAY ABOUT THE BREAKING UP OF civilisation. The nations to which we looked for inspiration have not only lost inspiration but humanity. We see in the Twentieth Century that terrible example of power being used for brutish purposes and for crushing weaker peoples. We see how the lust for power is immune to the cry of those who say 'we depend upon your honour and friendship and culture, but you have betrayed us.'

■ ■ ■

WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF INDIAN NATIONALISM?

Extracts from the Convocation Address delivered at the Nagpur University on Dec. 10, 1938 by Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University.

IN INDIA THERE ARE AT PRESENT THREE OR FOUR IDEOlogies, all of which deserve your attention. You must determine for yourselves which you will adopt and by which you will be guided. Firstly. the capitalistic idea. But capitalists have never opposed regulation of the rights of property within limits..... Secondly, there are the socialists of varying degrees of radicalism. The Communists are for re-constituting society on an entirely different model. But none of these are democrats. The Communists certainly believe in the totalitarian principle, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. And the present autocrat of all the Russias, Joseph Stalin, seems to be a greater believer in chopping off heads than in counting them quietly. He too has now introduced Capitalistic elements into Russian economy—and national elements also. Capital and Sex cannot be abolished, but only regulated.

There is a third voice in India, the Gandhian, noble, idealistic, sublime in many respects. Mahatma Gandhi tries to inculcate a new moral and evolve a new type of society, based on the two cardinal doctrines of non-violence and truth. As a deduction from non-violence, we have the following policies : abolition of the police, abolition of the military and a State with no coercive power.

RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY

What is the object of our nationalism ? Is it to strengthen India as a nation or is it to create a new type of society in India, which would lead the way to world renovation? Have not these two ideas got mixed up in our country at the present time ? And have not persons who voted as nationalists been wrongly regarded as adherents of this philosophy of life and its deductions ? (Cheers). Patriotism and nationalism are the very life and atmosphere of Germany, of England, Japan, and other countries. But these particular reconstructions of society and State are not thought of anywhere except in India.

We recommended these particular ways of social and racial salvation to Abyssinia, to China, to Czechoslovakia, to the Spaniards and to the Arabs in Palestine. But it does not appear as though any of them listened to us in the least or ever would. Shall we then say that these are the special requirements of India only ? And will India, thus rendered unique, be able to hold her own ?

" THINKING INTERNATIONALLY "

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has been advising us to think internationally. This is a variety of the historical method known as the comparative. We compare the political situation and the economic condition of the States now existing and see how best we can cope with the task that these developments impose on us,..... .....And thinking internationally suggests that we should be modern in our thought, outlook and organisation. We sent a hospital ship to China which contained modern surgeons and modern implements and not Mantra and Tantra experts. You cannot be thinking internationally and at the same time acting anciently. It is a fallacy, I think, to hold that there is a battle of 'ocracies ' going on in the world now. Are all the democracies on one side and are all totalitarian states on the opposite ?

Is Russia a democracy ? Was it not till the other day in open alliance with France ? Are not international alliances based more on interest than on any other consideration ? Poland has been under a dictatorship all these years. And yet till the Czecho-Slovakian incident, it was an ally of France.

There may be some truth in this battle of ' ocracies ', but is it the whole truth ? Is it not to the interest of France,

capitalistic and nationalistic, to be in alliance with Russia, communistic and nationalistic, in order to meet the German menace ? Is there not further the fallacy of thinking that all the suffering nations are democracies and the aggressive ones non-democratic ?

Is China a democracy ? Has it not been under the government of a party, the Kuomintang ? Are all the underdogs democrats ?

Some people appear to be inclined to think that every oppressed nation is a democracy and every oppressor, a non-democracy, as though democracies do not know how to oppress, though we in India do not know that the British democracy can be oppressive.

> *When we are told that our frontiers are not now at the Khyber Pass but in China, on the Ebro, in Czecho-Slovakia, and on the Jordan and all sorts of outlandish places, I sometimes wonder whether, unknown to ourselves, our Capital has already been shifted to Moscow.* (*Loud laughter.*)

But thinking internationally is a method of politics which is indispensable. It will save us from ancientry, the archaic and the obsolete and unhistorical approaches to problems. It will keep us modern, a task which is by no means easy in India.

INDIA'S GREAT TASK

As I have said, the great task of India is the bringing about of a synthesis between the ideal and the historical, between the essentials of our racial cultures and the requirements of a modern or a futurist Indian India.

We are often told that we must preserve our culture. What then is the relation between power and culture ? It seems to me that culture without power is like a lamp without oil. (Cheers). It will flare up for a moment and die out.

This is the reason, namely, attainment of power, why I have been imploring the Congress to enter the Federation and guide the destinies of our country. The Congress is in power in the majority of Indian Provinces. No Governor-General dare ignore the Congressmen in the Central Legislature. I am perfectly certain that no Federal Ministry worth the name could be formed without a predominant representation or an adequate representation of Congressmen.

I do not know why my Congress friends feel difficult or do not accept the odds, such as they are, with sufficient self-confidence and determination. Their influence will be far greater than what may be represented by their numbers, because they are a power in the country, and a power in the Provinces. And they cannot be relegated to a position of insignificance in the Central Government.

CONTEXT.

In his inaugural address at the "Internationalism and Peace Section" of the 12th All-India Education Conference at Gwalior on Dec. 29, 1936, Col. Sir Kailash Narain Haksar, Chairman of the Section, said:

"LAW OF NATIONS": AN EMPTY PHRASE

JAPAN, A MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE, HAS APPROPRIATED Manchukuo in utter disregard of its Covenant and of all protest. Similarly, Italy has fought Abyssinia and annexed it in a short six months while the other members of the League were making up their minds as to the sanctions they should apply.

There are thus today, apart from the old steam-roller, Russia, grim and strong as never before, three storm centres: Germany, Italy and Japan, all under autocratic rule—Germany intent on regaining her lost territories and her prominent position in Europe before the war, Italy bent on supremacy in the Mediterranean, Japan in the process of carving out an Empire by nibbling at China and aspiring to mould the destiny of 'East Asia'.....

One cause of the flagrant breach of faith to which I have referred, has been the honest attempt of some nations—Britain in particular—to bring about a diminution of the means of ravaging havoc; I mean an attempt to reduce armaments.....

In the absence of a law of nations—an empty phrase, because all treaties have been riddled with violations—'the buffalo must belong to the bludgeon'..... Therefore, is it not idle talk of peace and international co-operation? There is no peace—there is not likely to be. The olive has become too sapless to shoot a branch: the dove is winged and lies prostrate. The triangle I drew is a chimera. The structure had its foundations laid in sand. The model has toppled down like a house of cards. But, again, let me say in the name of truth that Britain still tries to restore the wreck.

CAUSE OF BRITAIN'S "CLIMB-DOWN"

Extracts from a report of a lecture ("The Next World War"), delivered by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan on Oct. 21, 1938.

THE CONQUEST OF ABYSSINIA BY ITALY AND THE OCCUPATION of the Rhineland by Germany, which automatically tore up the whole of the Locarno Treaty, greatly weakened England and France, said Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

Russia wished to consolidate her internal power and the powerful combination of the dictators of Germany and Italy had completely weakened the position of both France and England, the only two powerful democracies of the west, who are also faced by the organized opposition of Japan in the east.

Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan considered that the cause of the climb-down of England in the recent past was to be found in the negligence of the Baldwin Government. He said that the democracies of England and France were no match for the Fascist states and they could not depend on " muddling through " as they had done before.

STUDENTS' CONFERENCES

BARBAROUS TYPE OF CHAUVINISM

CONTEXT.

Extract from a report of Mr. Soumyendra Nath Tagore's presidential address to the Bombay Presidency Students' Conference at Bombay on Jan. 2, 1937.

IN THE COURSE OF HIS ADDRESS, MR. TAGORE CHARACTERised Fascism and Nazism as a most barbarous and abominable type of national chauvinism. He expressed the opinion that there was no contradiction between the struggle for socialism and the struggle for independence.....

" At this critical turning point in the history of the world and of India when an unprecedented social, political and cultural reaction in the form of Fascist obscurantism threatens to submerge human society under the deluge of bloody destruction, the students of India, in fraternal solidarity with the International Student Movement, must plunge into the vortex of the fight for stemming and defeating the Fascist imperialist reaction."

Mr. Tagore condemned Fascism, Imperialism and Capitalism as dangers to humanity and made a plea for a united front against these evils and sought students' participation in it. Mr. Tagore opined that the real solution of the unemployment problem would be possible only when production and distribution of the necessaries of life were organised and a planned economy was effected and means of production were owned by the society and not by individuals. The new

Constitution and the Sapru Report (on unemployment among educated young men) were condemned in turn by Mr. Tagore, who asserted that the students should not be non-political.

BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS

Mr. Zaheer was warmly cheered when he spoke on the miseries of the country under imperialism. He said mental bondage was the result of the present system of education. Mr. Zaheer spoke at length on the world situation, on Nazi Germany, Spain and the Sino-Japanese war, and said imperialism was the root of all evil.

The Conference concluded after adopting thirty resolutions.

One condemned Japanese aggression, congratulated Chinese students who were fighting the Japanese and urged the boycott of Japanese goods.

■ ■ ■

"INFAMOUS BRIGANDS"

CONTEXT.

Extract from the Presidential Address delivered by Mr. N. Dutta Majumdar, M.L.A., to the All-Bengal Students' Federation at Calcutta on December 26, 1937.

AND IT IS WITH THE PEOPLE — THE WIDE MASSES OF the people—that the students must participate in their great struggle for freedom and for socialism against the infamous brigands who have shown their dirty paws in Abyssinia, in Spain and in China, and are trying to strangle resurgent movements in different parts of the world.

The students must recognise that the working class have now become the guardians of culture for, fundamentally, those who will support the drastic changes necessary for the good life are precisely those who think they will gain by it, that is to say, the working class and those people who have come to the conclusion that only socialism can satisfy the demands which civilised man ought to and can make of life.

The force which alone can bring about the change must be, in the last resort, the organised working class. Students must not look on, especially at present, and must unite with the masses, from whichever quarter the attacks on working class organisation and solidarity may come.

■ ■ ■

SPAIN AND CHINA: BARBARIC DESTRUCTION

Resolution adopted at the 4th session of the All-India Students' Conference at Calcutta on January 2, 1939.

HISTORY HAS NEVER WITNESSED SUCH BARBARIC AND wholesale destruction of human life and property, art and culture as is being carried out by the Fascist and Imperialist aggressors in Spain and China to day. This Conference looks

up with pride and respect at the wonderful achievements of the students in these countries, united under a peoples' government. While appreciating the efforts made in the past by our students to help these co-fighters abroad, this Conference calls upon them to make greater efforts to ensure the victory of the peoples' government.

It suggests active co-operation in the despatch of the food ships to Spain, as suggested by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and the vigorous boycott of Japanese goods.

Events in Spain and China have revealed the barbaric character of modern wars which are forced on the peace-loving peoples of the world by the empire-lust of a handful. Wars of the future will be many times more barbaric in their destruction of all that progressive humanity stands for—freedom, peace, culture, sanctity of human life, etc. Students standing for their ideals have, in other countries, shown the anti-war role they can play under effective organisation.

This Conference, therefore, urges upon the student workers and unions in this country immediately to organise, with the active co-operation of all progressive forces, anti-war committees, with a diverse programme to educate the people actively to resist Britain's plans (Army Recruitment) to drag our country into her wars. Not a man, not a rupee for imperialist wars.

MISCELLANEOUS

CONTEXT.

TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN ITALIAN EMPIRE

Extracts from an Associated Press report from Calcutta, dated July 27, 1939.

THE NECESSITY OF TAKING 'RETALIATORY MEASURES' against Italian residents in India if no redress of the grievances of Indians in the Italian Empire is obtained, is stressed by the Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in a representation to the Government of India.

The representation refers to the recent reports regarding discriminatory restrictions to which Indian residents in Abyssinia, Italian Somaliland and Eritrea are subjected.

CALCUTTA CITIZENS' APPEAL

Extract from an Associated Press report from Bombay, dated September 10, 1939.

AT A REPRESENTATIVE MEETING OF THE CITIZENS OF CALCUTTA held this evening under the presidentship of the Mayor of Calcutta (Mr. N. C. Sen) in the Council Chamber of the Corporation of Calcutta, leaders of different shades of thought urged upon the Government of India to accord immediate sanction to the formation of at least two regiments, composed entirely of Bengalis, and an additional mechanized unit.

The meeting resolved to co-operate with the Government in the defence of this country and in resisting " the menace of Hitlerism which threatens the civilization of the human race."

A committee, with Lord Sinha as Chairman, was formed to further the objects of the resolutions passed at the meeting and to suggest other services to be rendered by the people of the province during the present war.

APPEAL TO JAIN COMMUNITY

Extract from a Simla report dated Sept.13, 1939.

MR. BHAGCHAND SONI, A MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL LEGISlative Assembly, has issued the following statement :—

" I have no doubt that the Jain community will stand by the Empire at this crisis. They will be prepared to make

any sacrifices which may be demanded of them. For my own part, I am ready to make every sacrifice."

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

INTERNATIONAL ARYAN LEAGUE

Extracts from a Delhi report dated June 5, 1940.

The Working Committee of the Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha (International Aryan League) on June 2 and 3, 1940, under the presidentship of Mr. G. S. Gupta, Speaker of the Central Provinces Legislative Assembly, expressed concern at the threatening situation in Europe resulting from the German aggression, wished success to the Allies, and, in view of the increasing possibility of danger to the peace in India from undesirable elements, called upon its Sabhas to exert their full influence on the side of law and order and to organise Civic Guards.

Without taking sides in political controversy, the Sabha hoped that popular Governments might resume functioning in the Provinces at this critical juncture and appealed to Government and the Congress to adjust their differences so as to be able to take effective measures for the defence of India.

Another resolution protested against the misuse of mosques by the Khaksars.

■ ■ ■

"JEHAD" AGAINST ITALY

Extract from a Peshawar report dated Sept. 22, 1940.

THE DECLARATION THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE Muslims of the world to launch a "jehad" (holy war) against Italy was made by Ulema (Muslim divines) at a mammoth meeting in the famous Mahabat Khan Mosque in Peshawar.

The speakers delivered powerful tirades against Italy and Germany, both of whom, they alleged, had foul designs on the Arab States and other Muslim countries.

◆◆◆

ANGLO-INDIANS

CONTEXT.

ANGLO-INDIAN GRIEVANCES AGAINST CONGRESS BARGAINING SPIRIT CONDEMNED

Extracts from an Associated Press report, dated Calcutta, Dec. 2, 1939.

SIR HENRY GIDNEY, PRESIDING OVER THE ANNUAL general meeting of the All-India Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association last evening emphasised the justice of the cause for which Great Britain had entered the war. He said that in this war not only would the interests of the Allies and Great Britain but also the welfare, peace and prosperity of their Motherland, India, be at stake and, therefore, as true citizens of India and loyal subjects of His Majesty it was their duty to place every ounce of their energy at the disposal of the Empire.

Sir Henry regretted the absence of any realisation of the vital part the Anglo-Indian community played in the life of this great country on the part of Congress leaders, who did not admit of their existence even as a minority.

" It was recently stated by Mr. Gandhi, the spokesman of the Congress, that no community in India needed help except the Depressed Classes, who were the only minority. I wonder if any well-informed person in India could honestly say that he is not aware of the apprehension of the Anglo-Indian community in an independent India and without the safeguards adumbrated in the Government of India Act, 1935.

" In order that there may not be any excuse on this score, let me at once state here and now that the Anglo-Indian does not fear the loss of the right to practise his religion, nor his social customs and culture. They are inherent in his very being. What he fears is the deprivation of his right to live and thrive in the country of his origin and develope into an Indian community with British traditions and traits, by the impositions of new conditions not in consonance with his needs and requirements. The other day, the Education Minister of the Government of Madras declared that on the principle of equity and justice to all, in the not distant future a readjustment between the g ants of Anglo-Indian schools and Indian schools may be effected..... "

" ULSTER OF INDIA "

Under no circumstances, said Sir Henry, would Anglo-Indians agree to the proposition that they must surrender their birthright, their loyalty to Great Britain, their family

traditions, their standard of living and their mode of life, the maintenance of which in turn depended on their protected existence in the economic sphere. If the new order of things should demand the surrender of these, they might yet become ' the Ulster of India.'.....

Referring to the resignation of the Congress Ministries under the Congress mandate, Sir Henry said if it was not taking unfair and unsporting advantage of the present difficult position of Great Britain, it must be taken as evidence of utter irresponsibility.

" Co-operation with a party which has adopted a bargaining attitude in the matter of according support to the King Emperor when His Majesty is at war is entirely out of the question."

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CONTEXT.

CRITICISM OF MUSLIM LEAGUE RESOLUTION "A REACTIONARY JUNTA"

Associated Press report dated New Delhi, Sept. 21, 1939.

MR. ASAF ALI, CONGRESS M.L.A. (CENTRAL) AND A member of the Congress Working Committee, has sent the following telegram to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President :—

" The widest repudiation of the reactionary, retrograde betrayal by the Muslim League Working Committee* is necessary. The honour of Indian Muslims and their whole future are at stake.

"Please call an urgent conference of Jamiat, Ahrar, Nationalist Muslim Ministers, members of legislatures, youth and labour organizations to save Muslims from the reactionary Junta of bankrupt leadership."

" SPELLS MAXIMUM DANGER TO MUSLIMS THEMSELVES "

Mr. Asaf Ali, in a statement issued on March 28, 1940, said that the scheme of Muslim " segregation " announced by the Muslim League in its resolution of March 24, " spells the maximum danger to Indian Muslims themselves."

POONA RESOLUTION DEFENDED

Mr. Asaf Ali's statement (Delhi, August 1, 1940) on the All-India Congress Committee's resolutions of July 28, 1940.

IN 1931, THE CONGRESS, AT ITS KARACHI SESSION, PASSED the resolution on Fundamental Rights, wherein it demanded the right for every citizen to carry arms and the reduction of expenditure on the military by half. In fact, this resolution was proposed by Mahatma Gandhi himself. The Congress could not go back on this resolution and declare that it would not use force even for repelling external attack and meeting internal disorder.

It would have been thoroughly inconsistent to adopt any attitude other than the one adopted by the All-India

* Resolution on September 18, 1939.

Congress Committee at Poona on this question. The Congress is a political organization and has to examine every question from the point of view of practical politics. It is, however, clear beyond doubt that a free India would not use violence in pursuit of any aggressive designs.

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

INDIA " DRAGOONED " INTO WAR
AZAD-NEHRU STATEMENT

CONTEXT.

On Oct. 18, 1939, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (Congress President) and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru issued this statement to the Press.

WE HAVE READ THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT (OCTOBER 17, 1939) with deep regret. If this is the final answer of the British Government to the people of India, then there is no common ground between the two and our paths diverge completely.

The whole statement is a complete repudiation of all that India stands for, nationally and internationally. It is a statement which would have been out of date twenty years ago ; today it has absolutely no relation to reality.

There is no mention in it of independence, freedom, democracy or self-determination ; no attempt even to justify the dragooning of India into the war without reference to her people and her being forced to join an adventure for objectives which are not hers. These objectives appear clearly from the Viceroy's statement to be the preservation and maintenance of the British imperial and financial structure in India and abroad.

The " better international system ", to which the British Premier has referred, is evidently meant to preserve and strengthen this structure. Apart from this, it relates, according to him, to the peoples of Europe and not of Asia or Africa. India continues where she is, the colonies remain where they are ; imperialism is still meant to flourish.

All this seems to follow from the Viceroy's statement and if this is the aim of the war it is difficult to imagine that even the British Government, living as it does in an age that is past and done with, can expect any self-respecting Indian to co-operate with it.

"HAND OF FRIENDSHIP SPURNED"

The hand of friendship that the Congress had extended to the British people in this hour of world crisis has been spurned by their Government. How far that Government represents them, it is for them to say, but we have to consider the Viceroy's statement as England's reply to India.

What our next step should be it would be premature and improper for us to say at this stage. That is for the Congress Working Committee to decide and the Committee is meeting for that purpose soon. The hour is a grave one and requires all our united wisdom and courage and discipline and mutual forbearance. Let us bear ourselves with dignity and restraint and hold together in the cause of India's freedom.

PAKISTAN SCHEME "ABSURD AND MEANINGLESS"

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in an interview to the United Press on April, 2, 1940, at Allahabad, said that the two-nation theory (propounded in the All-India Muslim League resolution of March 24, 1940) was "so absurd and meaningless that he felt no inclination even to say anything on it."

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

WAR SITUATION: QUESTION OF LAUNCHING SATYAGRAHA

Extract from a report dated Delhi, June 25, 1940, of a press interview with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President.

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD SAID THAT AT THE LAST meeting of the Working Committee, they purposely avoided taking a decisive step, as the international situation was very fluid at the time and nobody could foresee, with any degree of precision, what turn the war would take. The Maulana Sahib emphasized the revolutionary nature of events that were taking place every day in Europe and were altogether changing the character of the problems facing India. He expressed the hope that the war situation would take a decisive turn in two weeks' time and they would be able to know where they stood.

The Maulana Sahib, however, wished to remove the misunderstanding that the question of launching a struggle for freedom had receded into the background and that struggle would not be launched during the war.

Proceeding, he said that they would not launch a campaign of direct action merely to embarrass Britain in her present difficulty. Yet he wanted to make it clear that the Congress would not hesitate to launch a struggle merely because the

British Government was in difficulty, provided, of course, the other conditions necessary for launching a struggle were favourable.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

CONGRESS PREPARED TO ACCEPT COALITION CABINETS

Extract from a report of a speech delivered by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at a public meeting in Delhi on July 8, 1940.

REFERRING TO THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S meeting in Delhi, Maulana Azad said that he wanted to remove the misconception that they had been discussing the Viceroy-Gandhi conversations all these days. The most important question that engaged their attention was, however, the question of non-violence. The issue was forced by Gandhiji.

They must be able to meet the foreign invader with moral influence alone. At first Mahatmaji raised this issue at Ramgarh, but it was postponed. He again took it up at Wardha and the Working Committee could no longer evade it, as the international situation was very uncertain.

It should, however, be clearly understood that all of them accepted it as an ideal. In view of the imperfections of the present social order, no country could take an isolated stand.

They did not have the courage enough to declare that they would do without an army. They could not do so till there were radical changes in the outlook of nations.

PROVISIONAL NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

They were convinced that if they budged even an inch from the path of non-violence in their struggle it would spell ruin for the country and the Congress. That should remove all misunderstanding.

Explaining the Working Committee's resolution demanding the formation of a provisional National Government at the Centre, Maulana Azad said that they were prepared to form Coalition Cabinets with the co-operation of other parties. The reason was obvious. Unfortunately, they had to admit that without a radical change in the outlook of the people, it would be difficult to form political parties on an economic basis which could tackle the fundamental problems of the people.

In fact, there was no non-communal political organization except the Congress..... In this provisional arrangement they were willing to work with the other parties, provided there was agreement on fundamentals and they agreed upon a common programme. In fact, he had sought the co-operation of the other parties about two years ago. It was the

policy of the Parliamentary Committee of which he was a member, to seek the co-operation of parties willing to work with them.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

CONGRESS OFFER TO MR. JINNAH

The "Hindustan Times" interviewed Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in Delhi on July 10, 1940.

REFERRING TO THE CRITICISM THAT A PROVISIONAL Government formed by the parties represented in the Central Assembly would not be fully representative of the people, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that a fresh election was overdue, but in the present conditions a general election might not be desirable. He did not think that there would be any insuperable difficulty in bringing parties together on a common policy and programme. Such a step would not necessitate the sacrifice of fundamental principles or the dilution of its programme by the Congress.

Referring to the question of the formation of composite ministries in the provinces the Maulana Sahib reiterated that, so far as the Congress was concerned it was not a fundamental question.

1938 OFFER

He revealed that he had made an offer to Mr. M. A. Jinnah in August, 1938, to include one more Muslim Minister from the Muslim League Party in the Bombay Cabinet. Mr. Jinnah wanted a month's time to consider this question, but he gave no reply to it. The Maulana Sahib again renewed the offer on January 8, 1939, at Bombay, and Mr. Jinnah rejected the proposal. He was not in a position to go into details regarding the formation of composite ministries, but, given an agreement on fundamentals he had no doubt that such ministries could work, as did the North-West Frontier Ministry, which was composed of the Congress and the Democratic Party.

Asked whether he recognized that they committed a mistake in not forming a coalition ministry in the United Provinces with the aid of the Muslim League Party at the time of the formation of the Congress Ministry, Maulana Azad said they were not sure whether their Ministers would be able to carry on well with the Governors. The formation of composite Ministries, under the circumstances, including members who owed allegiance to another party would have been a leap in the dark. It was open to objection in a strictly constitutional sense, as it would have introduced dual allegiance. There was also the fear of their differences being exploited.

Continuing, the Maulana Sahib said their Ministries always cut short the communal divisions by keeping the political questions in the forefront. He recalled that in August, 1938 he had told Choudhri Khaliq-uz-Zaman, the leader of the Muslim League Party in the U. P. Assembly, that he was prepared to take Muslim League representatives in the U. P. Cabinet. The Choudhri, however, did not clinch the issue.



MR. JINNAH REBUFFS MAULANA AZAD

CONTEXT.

Associated Press report, dated Bombay, July, 12, 1940.

MR. M. A. JINNAH, PRESIDENT OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM League, has released to the Press the following telegrams exchanged between him and the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad :—

From Maulana Azad to Mr. Jinnah :

" Confidential. Your July 9 statement. Congress Delhi resolution definitely means by National Government a composite Cabinet not limited to any single party. But is it the position of the League that it cannot agree to any provisional arrangement not based on two-nation scheme ? If so please clarify by wire."

Mr. Jinnah replied :

" Your telegram. Cannot reciprocate confidence. I refuse to discuss with you by correspondence or otherwise as you have completely forfeited the confidence of Muslim India. Can't you realize you are made a Muslim showboy Congress President to give it colour that it is national and deceive foreign countries. You represent neither Muslims nor Hindus. The Congress is a Hindu body. If you have self-respect, resign at once. You have done your worst against the League so far. You know you have hopelessly failed. Give it up."



DELHI RESOLUTION ON NON-VIOLENCE CONGRESS AND MR. GANDHI DISAGREE

Extract from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's speech at the All-India Congress Committee meeting on July 27, 1940, reviewing the position leading up to the Wardha statement and the Delhi resolution of the Congress Working Committee.

THERE IS NOT A SOUL IN THE CONGRESS WHO IS NOT ANXious to go the whole hog with Mahatma Gandhi, if he can ; but we cannot shut our eyes to hard facts. We had not the courage to declare that we shall organize a state in this country without an armed force ; if we did that, it would be wrong on our part.

Honestly, we cannot go as far as Mahatma Gandhi wants us to go. We admit that it is weakness on our part but it is a weakness which we share with entire humanity.

Realising the loss that the Congress would suffer on being deprived of Mahatma Gandhi's guidance, I was tempted to approach him once again to defer his decision on the issue. I had thrice succeeded in my attempts but this time I failed because Mahatma Gandhi pointed out that it was of no use postponing his decision on this vital issue for a while, for the moment was fast approaching when the Congress would have to take a final decision and, therefore, it was better they decided to follow their respective paths.

The next morning I placed the matter before the Working Committee and invited the opinion of each member separately. We all felt that we were not able to take up the grave responsibility of declaring that we would completely eschew violence, even when we had to deal with internal disorders in this country or external aggression



CONTEXT.

VICEROY'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 8, 1940
"NO MEETING GROUND," SAYS MAULANA AZAD

Extracts from a report dated Calcutta, Aug. 11, 1940.

"I AM NOT GOING TO MEET THE VICEROY JUST AT present," said Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in an interview to the United Press.

Maulana Azad added: "I do not find any meeting ground for the Congress in the terms of the Viceroy's declaration of August 8. Under the circumstances, it is obvious that there is no scope for further discussion."



"QUESTION OF REFUSAL DID NOT ARISE"

Associated Press report dated Calcutta, Aug. 15, 1940.

"I AM SURPRISED THAT MY STATEMENT HAS BEEN CONstrued to mean that I refused the invitation," said Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in an interview.

"The question of refusal did not arise at all. I believe His Excellency, who has already received my telegram in this connection, could have no misunderstanding about it. I am always prepared to have the pleasure of meeting him whenever an occasion arises."



CONTEXT.

" CONGRESS NOT A PACIFIST SOCIETY "

Extracts from a United Press report dated Calcutta, Oct. 1, 1940, of a statement by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President.

I AM SIMPLY ASTONISHED TO FIND REFERENCE TO THE LAW applied to the pacifists in England in the letter* of the Viceroy to Gandhiji..... What a strange analogy to the present Indian situation! The Indian National Congress is not a pacifist society; it is a political organization struggling for a definite political objective. When we claim the right of expressing our free will about the war, it is not because we have conscientious objection to the war, it is because we have been forced into it against our will.

" NAZISM A DANGER TO WORLD "

Extracts from an Associated Press report, dated Calcutta, Oct. 3, 1940, of a speech by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, at a meeting of workers held to celebrate Gandhi Jayanti (Mr. Gandhi's birthday.)

THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY were, however, in no way in favour of Nazi terrorism. Nazism was a danger to the world.

Speaking about the pacifist mentality of some English men, as referred to by the Viceroy, and the Congress mentality, Maulana Azad observed that the Congress mentality differed from the pacifist mentality in as much as the Congress attitude was based on political grounds, while the pacifist objectors took their stand on moral grounds.

MR. K. M. MUNSHI

PERMANENT INDO-BRITISH ALLIANCE

Extract from an Associated Press report dated Sept. 6, 1940, of a speech by Mr. K. M. Munshi, ex-Minister, Bombay (Congress) Government, at the Young Men's Hindu Association, Bombay.

I AM ONE OF THOSE WHO BELIEVED AND BELIEVE STILL in a permanent alliance of the Indian and British people.....

We are told that Dominion Status is assured to Indians. But where is this Dominion Status? Who offered it? Where and when? Where is the earnest of that much-heralded dignity for India? Indians asked for some share of power, so that they could galvanize the country into active and

* Appendix page 826.

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spontaneous war work. We see the reply in the communal veto to political progress given by the Viceregal declaration. We see it in the acceptance of Mr. Jinnah's unabashedly communal terms for alliance. We see it in widespread arrests all over the country.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

CONTEXT.

Extract from a statement issued (in response to enquiries) by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the work of the National Planning Committee.

CONGRESS "NATIONAL PLANNING" COMMITTEE
NEHRU PREDICTS BIG INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

I SUGGEST, THEREFORE, TO ALL MY COLLEAGUES IN THE Committee to carry on their work in the usual way and, indeed, to expedite it as far as possible. National planning is of vital importance to a nation at any time. In war time, this subject becomes even more important. Our Committee thus has an even more important task before it now than it had when it was formed.

Our national attitude towards the war has not finally been determined yet, and much will no doubt depend on this. But, in any event, India is on the eve of industrial development on a big scale and we must be prepared for this.



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Chairman of the Congress War Sub-Committee, issued this statement on Sept. 29, 1939.

I HAVE READ THE REPORT OF LORD ZETLAND'S SPEECH in the House of Lords (on September 27, 1939) with deep regret. I do not wish to enter into any controversy with him on this subject.

The Congress in its statement of September 15, had tried to consider the problem of India in the larger context of war aims and peace aims.....

It was made perfectly clear by the Working Committee, as well as by the Congress leaders, that we were not out to bargain or to take advantage of England's difficulty. But it was essential, in our opinion, both from the point of view of India and the world, that these war aims should be clarified,

and people made to believe in their reality and their *bona fides*. It is astonishing that a request of this kind should be called inopportune and ill-timed..... Must vast numbers of human beings suffer unto death without even knowing definitely what they die for ?

Every war in the past has begun with fervent declarations invoking justice and honour and right as against unjust, aggression and might. And, yet, when the war has ended, there has been little difference, and the fervent declarations have been forgotten..... Are we to continue to suffer under systems which are essentially based on violence and aggression ?.....

It is because we feel that large numbers of British people have the same world ideals as many of us possess in India that we have offered them our co-operation in the realization of these ideals. But if the ideals are not these, what do we fight for ?

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

" LORD ZETLAND'S STATEMENT IS NOT THE LAST WORD "

Extract from a report in the " National Herald " of Oct. 3, 1939, from the paper's Allahabad Correspondent.

INTERVIEWED ON LORD ZETLAND'S STATEMENT, PANDIT Nehru said :—

" I know from personal experience that the people and statesmen of Britain have changed with the revolutionary changes in the world during the past few years. I am not prepared to say that what Lord Zetland said is the last word which the British Government will utter. However, the ways of the world are complicated ; and it is difficult to understand them."

■ ■ ■

" VAGUE CHARGES " AGAINST CONGRESS MINISTRIES

Statement made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an interview to the Press on Oct. 25, 1939.

EVERYBODY RECOGNISES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE COMMUnal issue in India. But the way it is being pushed forward, is, as said by the Working Committee, a screen to avoid difficult questions.....

So far as the Muslims are concerned, it is a little misleading to talk in terms of majorities and minorities. A religious group of 70 million strong cannot be considered a minority.....

It is quite inconceivable to me in these circumstances that either the Hindus can tyrannise over the Muslims or the Muslims can tyrannise over the Hindus—I would add, or both the Hindus and Muslims can together tyrannise over anybody else as religious groups.

Nothing has astonished and pained me so much during the last year or two as the amazing charges brought against the Congress and the Congress Governments of suppressing the Muslims and committing atrocities against them.....

We have so often asked for an impartial inquiry into the vague charges brought forward and our offer remains unaccepted and, yet, totally unfounded statements continue to be made.....



CONTEXT.[1]

In a statement Mr. Fazlul Huq (Premier of Bengal) made allegations against the Congress Ministries and challenged Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to disprove them. In reply Pandit Nehru issued this statement.

CHARGES AGAINST CONGRESS MINISTRIES

MR. FAZLUL HUQ MENTIONS SIX INSTANCES OF COMMUNAL oppression :—

(1) A circular about the hanging up of Gandhiji's picture,

(2) The firing at Tanda,

(3) The Cawnpore firing,

(4) The " Bhagalpur outrages ", whatever they might be,

(5) The firing on Khaksars even in jails, and

(6) The action taken against newspapers calling for securities.

I suggest to Mr. Fazlul Huq to state his case in regard to these instances, beginning with those relating to the United Provinces, so that he and I can immediately start our inquiries in regard to them.

The Congress Ministries have resigned or are resigning, for more vital national reasons which do not affect Mr. Fazlul Huq, and I am not particularly interested in what Mr. Huq does in the matter of their resignation. But I am interested in finding the truth, and I invite Mr. Fazlul Huq's co-operation in this.

MR. FAZLUL HUQ'S REPLY

Replying to Pandit Nehru's acceptance of the challenge, Mr. Fazlul Huq in a statement from Ajmer, dated Nov. 1, 1939, said that he would make arrangements for a fairly long tour for Pandit Nehru.

CONTEXT.

CONGRESS—MUSLIM LEAGUE DIFFERENCES "IRREMOVABLE"

Extract from an Associated Press report dated New Delhi, Nov. 4, 1939.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, ADDRESSING A LARGELY attended public meeting on Saturday evening, explained the objectives and results of the last three days' talks in Delhi and touched on the future.....

His talks with Mr. Jinnah, he said, had hitherto been concerned with constitutional and political issues, but the Congress and the Muslim League had found their differences irremovable and therefore they had to send two replies, instead of one, to the Viceroy.

As for the communal talks, he said they would be continued shortly and he hoped that they would bring happy results. But, he declared, the communal issue was a domestic issue of their own ; it had nothing to do with their demand for a constituent assembly.

"MISAPPREHENSION OF SITUATION"

Extract from a statement issued to the Press by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on November 6, 1939.

THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT,* ISSUED LAST NIGHT (NOV. 5, 1939) has surprised me, as it conveys an entirely different impression of what transpired in Delhi from what I had gathered from contact with some of the principal parties concerned.

From his statement it would appear that the question to be considered was a communal one and he adds that there remains today entire disagreement between representatives of the major political parties on fundamental issues. This seems to me an entire misapprehension of the situation and I am not aware of any such disagreement on fundamental issues. But there is a fundamental disagreement between the Congress and the British Government and it was because of this that the Viceroy's proposals could not be considered by us.

The question before us was a political one and as such it was considered by all of us. It was agreed between Mr. Jinnah and me that the communal question should be discussed fully by us at an early convenient date. This did not affect the Viceroy's proposals so long as the political difficulty was not got over. Hence it was not discussed in this connection.

*Appendix page 788.

CONTEXT.

CONGRESS NOT IN A HURRY—BUT DEADLY SERIOUS

Extracts from a United Press report dated Allahabad, November 24, 1939.

INTERVIEWED BY THE 'HINDUSTHAN STANDARD' REPRESENTATIVE with regard to the present position* of the Congress *vis-a-vis* the war, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said: "The fact is clear that the attitude of the British Government has cut the ropes which bound us in some measure in an uneasy alliance with them in the Provincial Governments. There can be no going back to them on the old conditions. We have launched on a new adventure and we shall see it through.

As is often the case with them, they tried to belittle India's demand and to divert the issue. It is not our custom to bargain or to seek jobs, howsoever high. We do not claim anything for ourselves or even the Congress. What we claim is for the Indian people.

Lord Zetland has said that this is an impossible demand. We have nothing further to say to Lord Zetland and in future we shall address ourselves to our own people. And we are prepared for all eventualities and consequences. We are not in a hurry but we are deadly serious and there should be no mistake about that.

So far as the war is concerned it becomes more and more evident that our fears were justified and that it is being carried on in the old imperialist traditions. We can be no party to this.



NEHRU'S VIEWS ON MUSLIM LEAGUE RESOLUTION

SEPARATE ELECTORATES, COMPOSITE CABINETS AND COMMUNAL representation in the Services "pale into insignificance" before the League's Lahore stand.

Summary of a speech delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a public meeting at Allahabad on April 12, 1940, in celebration of National Week.

"The whole problem has taken a new complexion and there is no question of settlement or negotiation now. The knot needs cutting; it needs a major operation."



*The Congress Working Committee on Nov. 23, 1939, "discussed the political situation in India created by the war and the resignation of the Congress Ministries" and passed a resolution which will be found on page 144.

Summary of a letter sent by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (May 1940) to Dr. Sudhir Sen of the "Sriniketan Vishwabharti" in reply to a request from Mr. L. K. Elmhirst (London) conveyed through Dr. Sen.

PANDIT NEHRU AGREES WITH MR. ELMHIRST THAT THE Princes "have no alternative but to set up democratic machinery in their States if the British Government tell them to do so". In regard to the Princes the Congress conflict is ultimately with the British Government, because the Government have supported every species of reaction in the States.

"Indian independence need not necessarily mean a final break with Britain. But it does mean complete recognition of India as a separate entity deciding for herself. It will be for the Constituent Assembly to determine finally our relations with Britain. If Britain has ceased to be imperialistic, then there is no reason why we should not co-operate with her in the closest manner."

MINORITIES

The Congress is prepared to give the minorities the amplest guarantees, both in regard to mutually agreed fundamental laws of the Constitution and in regard to the framing of the Constitution itself. Any minority may get its representatives elected by a separate electorate. In all matters strictly pertaining to minority rights, decisions should be by consent of the parties and not merely by a majority of votes. In the event of an agreement not being arrived at on any particular point, the matters may be referred for impartial international arbitration to the League of Nations or the Hague Court, or any other such body.

The only basis for the consideration of the Indian problem is the recognition of Indian independence and a Constituent Assembly. The objection to adult franchise "can be got over by having indirect election, the primary electors electing electoral colleges which may then choose members of the Constituent Assembly.

"In order not to confuse the issue, the States question need not necessarily be tackled at this stage. It should be laid down that any State can participate in the Constituent Assembly provided it does so on the same democratic basis as the rest of India".

The pressure of events and of the people will very probably result in a great majority of the States immediately joining the Constituent Assembly. The problems of a dozen or so major States which may possibly hold out, can be tackled later.

All this, of course, depends on the British Government co-operating fully in this policy.

"The development of the war has made us feel more and more that it is being waged for imperialistic ends.

"I have not discussed the question of the immediate transition stage regarding the Federal Centre. It is important, of course, that this should function under popular guidance, even during the transition stage."

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CONTEXT.

"CONGRESS ATTITUDE NOT DETERMINED BY WAR SITUATION"

Extracts from a report dated May 21, 1940, of an interview given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Allahabad.

PANDIT NEHRU SAID THIS WAR SITUATION DISTRESSED him in many ways as he did not wish to see Nazi domination of Europe.

He added: "But our attitude towards the British Government was not determined by the war situation, but by Britain's attitude towards India and her refusal to recognize Indian independence". . . Mahatma Gandhi had stated that events were forcing the pace and this suspense could not continue for long. Satyagraha in some form or other had to come to defend India's honour and dignity.

"To talk of Satyagraha immediately, chiefly because England stands in great peril, is wrong. We did not time our actions to take advantage of England's peril. That would not fit in with our policy or with Satyagraha. I opposed, therefore, the amendment* to that effect. But I made it clear that this did not mean a postponement of Satyagraha or making it dependent on war conditions.....Nor could Satyagraha be postponed when we thought the time was ripe for it in India. This depends on internal factors, not on external".

■ ■ ■

ONE DOES NOT BARGAIN ABOUT ONE'S FREEDOM"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's comment on Mr. L. S. Amery's statement† in the House of Commons on May 23, 1940.

THE NEW SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA SPEAKS IN A tone which is no doubt meant to be conciliatory, but the content of his utterance has no relation to facts in India or in Europe.....We do not underrate the complexity of this problem, no problem in the world today is free of difficulty and complexity. But, in spite of this, it is completely out of place for Mr. Amery to talk of a revision of the present Act and of what may be done after the war is over, or of provincial solutions and the like.

*At the Congress session at Ramgarh, May 19 and 20, 1940.

†Appendix page 865.

There can be no provincial solution of the problem, nor can there be any solution within the orbit of British Imperialism.....The British Government must give up completely its conception of being the patronizing overlord of India, generously allowing us to have a say now and then .....We shall strain every nerve to come to a settlement which is agreeable to various groups in India and to the vast majority of the people. If we fail, that will be our look-out and we shall face the consequences of the failure. But on no account and under no circumstances can we accept any interference with our future from the British Government or any other foreign authority.....

We are not out to bargain because one does not bargain about one's freedom. We are not out to embarrass at a moment of peculiar difficulty, because that has not been India's way. But we are out to assert and gain our freedom and we cannot give that up because the war situation has developed to England's disadvantage.

It must be remembered also, in spite of everything that is happening abroad, that there has been no change in British policy in India. Many of our comrades are in prison and they continue to be sent to prison. We are treated as a hostile people and then it is expected that because of the fear of consequences we should help in the maintenance of the British Empire. Whatever the consequences, we cannot help an Empire to maintain its hold over us.

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CONGRESS RESOLUTION EXPLAINED

CONTEXT.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement to the "Hindustan Times" (July 10, 1940) on the Congress Working Committee resolution of July 7.

IT IS A REALIST RESOLUTION AND NOT MERELY AN ESSAY and a theory. It must be remembered, however, that behind the resolution lie the previous decisions of the Committee as well as of the Congress. It is these decisions which give a full picture of the Congress attitude. We have not repeated all this in view of the critical situation in world affairs which demands instant action, this way or that. We cannot easily tolerate the methods of compulsion that are being increasingly used by Government officials in regard to the war effort or the thousands of arrests that have taken place of Congressmen and others. We do not forget them because we have not mentioned them in our resolution.

We have made it perfectly clear in the past that we cannot help the war effort of British imperialism or become its recruiting sergeants. That position continues completely unchanged, but to maintain our own independence for our defence and the defence of freedom, we are prepared under our own direction to do our best.

In spite of the terrible violence that is going on in the world, we adhere to our old policy of non-violence in our struggle for freedom in all its implications. We are anxious and eager to extend this principle to other fields also and, so far as we can, we shall do so. But it is difficult in this changing world to commit ourselves in the future to an extension of this principle to foreign invasion and the like. This is largely a theoretical question at present. In practice, there is no difference of opinion.



CONTEXT.

BRITISH OFFER TO FRANCE

"TRANSITION TO A NEW AGE"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's interpretation of the Congress Working Committee statement of June 21, 1940.

IT IS ABSURD TO THINK THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY developments of recent weeks in Europe are due to purely military reasons or to Germany's superiority in armament or numbers. They are essentially due to the fact that the British and French ruling classes have lost grip and do not understand the world we live in. They seek to hold on to something which belongs to a past age, and everything slips from their hands.

We in India must beware of these mental ruts. Let us remember that an age is over and we are witnessing this bloody transition to a new age. I do not know whether this new age will necessarily be better, but I do know that it will be very different.

The old Empires end, even the old national boundaries fade away. Could a more astonishing proposition have been made than the British Government's suggestion that France and England should become one State ?

VAST ELEMENTAL FORCES

Greater than any individual or any army, vast elemental forces are at work changing the face of things. Much is happening which grieves us and moves us deeply. But one must seek to understand it, for only then can we fashion our course truly.....

The Congress has been and is in deadly earnest and it will follow its consistent policy. This is no time for tall talk. But the full independence of India and our functioning as a free nation is no tall talk for us and this cannot afford to wait till the end of an uncertain war. We have to deal with it here and now.....

The Congress Working Committee are now concerned, above all, with what is going to happen in India and want the people to prepare for it. They have little interest in declarations made by foreign authority.....

CONGRESS AND GANDHI

The Congress of the past twenty years is his (Mr. Gandhi's) creation and child, and nothing can break this bond. I am sure that his guidance and wise counsel will always be available to the Congress. Even as regards non-violence the Congress has not gone back on any of its previous professions and it holds to them strictly. But new problems raised new issues.

The Working Committee realised the imperfections in this respect of the human material they had to work with and could not lay down that in all circumstances, and whatever world conditions might be, a free India must necessarily discard the use of arms in repelling external aggression or in dealing with internal disorder. Indeed, Congress Governments have used the police.

But if a people are not ready to fight non-violently I would sooner that they fought violently than succumb timidly to evil and violence and a slave's fate.

I do not think there is the slightest likelihood of a major invasion of India....

Recent developments in regard to China have been distressing. France, defeated by Germany, has been bullied by Japan into closing the door from Indo-China to China. And now Japan is trying to repeat these tactics in regard to the Burma-China route.

If Britain agrees to this, it will be a betrayal of China, which will be deeply resented in India. Britain's policy for some months past has shown a desire to placate Japan, even at the cost of India as well as China. The recent Indo-Japanese trade talks have been ominous and the interests of India are threatened.

It must be clearly understood that this anti-Indian and anti-Chinese policy will produce strong reactions in India.

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COMMENT ON GANDHI'S ADVICE TO BRITONS

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report on the speech delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in moving the confirmation of the Wardha statement of

COULD THEY THINK OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE IN THE present world conditions depending on non-violence to meet any form of force? They did not know what the world would be like after the war.

CONTEXT.

June 21, 1940, at the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Poona on July 27, 1940.

In the new conditions that would emerge out of the present chaos it would not be possible for them to say that they need not have an army and the Working Committee had only made their position on this question clear.

REPLY TO DEBATE

Extracts from the report on Pandit Nehru's reply to the debate.

Mahatma Gandhi now felt the need to raise this question and, therefore, the Working Committee had to take a decision on the matter. *Mahatma Gandhi wanted to give his message of non-violence to the world. The Congress was a political organization working for the political independence of the country.* Therefore it had to take its decision bearing this in mind.....

It was not possible to create a free State and yet protect it without an army. Even though the present army was not a national army, it was composed of Indians. If we said today that we should have no army in a free India, we would antagonize the martial elements in the country and make them hostile.....

Referring to Mahatma Gandhi's appeal to every Briton, Pandit Nehru said that if he were an Englishman he would not accept that advice, knowing that his people were not ready to adopt complete non-violence and the alternative would be slavery which was certainly worse than violence.

DOMINION STATUS IDEA "AS DEAD AS A DOOR NAIL

Extracts from a report from Cawnpore in the "Hindustan Times" of Aug. 12, 1940.

THE VIEW THAT THERE IS A BIG GULF BETWEEN THE Viceroy's statement and the present position of the Congress was expressed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a member of the Congress Working Committee, in an interview to Press representatives this afternoon (August 11).

Nationalism and imperialism, said Pandit Nehru, were fundamentally different and could never come to terms because the basis of a national struggle was the removal of imperialism and the establishment of independence.

The whole conception of Dominion Status was 'as dead as a door nail' and it could not survive because the whole background of the world had changed and there would be further changes after the war.....

"I do not want Indianization of the army. It is absurd. I want a national army. The basis is different. I may engage British officers but that is a different matter".

Extracts from statement issued by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (on Oct. 17, 1940) with reference to "some newspaper reports from Wardha of the Working Committee's discussions, some of which were fantastic".

MAHATMA GANDHI'S APPROACH TO MANY PROBLEMS IS often a non-political approach. Some of us, including me, view these questions from a political angle only, though all of us, I hope, keep in mind the moral aspect of every question. I have sometimes found it difficult to understand Gandhiji's approach because my mind functions differently. While fully appreciating the political aspects of non-violence in our struggle, I have been unable to appreciate many of its implications. Gandhiji, though he lays emphasis on certain ethical and other aspects, does not ignore political aspects, as everyone knows. It is perhaps a question of emphasis for him. He has developed a certain technique of action which has yielded great results to our movement for freedom.

It is clear that the Congress and the country want that technique to be continued and it is obvious that Gandhiji is best fitted to lead a movement with that technique. In many matters I have ventured to disagree with him and probably I may continue to disagree with him. But at the present moment I have no doubt that we must give full and loyal co-operation to him, so that he may have full opportunities of developing this great movement. Any other course would be a foolish one, leading nowhere. Events are likely to develop fast. Let us be prepared for them and not waste our time in theoretical arguments.

This does not mean my accepting all the implications of everything that Gandhiji may put forward, but I do propose to function as a disciplined soldier so long as I can.

INDEPENDENCE

I should like to clear up a misunderstanding which seems to have spread among many people about the present objective of our movement. Our objective can only be independence and no kind of settlement with any power or authority is possible except on that basis. The immediate issue has been raised by the war and by the necessity of our declaring our position in regard to this war.

It is not an issue of civil liberty or freedom of speech except in so far as these are related to the war issue. The issue is: India and the war. And this is intimately related to our right to independence.

The objective today and till we achieve it is unadulterated independence. There should be no mistake about this.

PANDIT G. B. PANT

CONTEXT.

"SINS OF CONGRESS MINISTRIES"

U. P. EX-PREMIER'S REPLY TO MR. FAZLUL HUQ

Extracts from a report of a speech by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, former (Congress) Premier of the United Provnnces, at a public meeting held in Haldwani on January 28, 1940, to celebrate "Independence Day".

THE SUGGESTION THAT THE CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS IN eight provinces with eight Governors and the Governor-General had formed a conspiracy to injure the Muslims was ridiculous and utterly incredible, said Pandit Pant. Despite repeated requests, not a single Mussalman of this province had come forward with specific charges against the U. P. Congress Ministry. It was left to Mr. Fazlul Huq, who had little knowledge of this province, to publish a list of sins of the Congress Ministry here.

Yet even he had not been able to discover or mention a single legislative or administrative measure or Act, or order of the U. P. Government as being prejudicial to the Mussalmans. He had referred only to certain stories about the riots, which were either fictitious or distorted. Local Muslims were on the whole satisfied with the behaviour of local officers, who alone were directly concerned. How the Government, as such, could be blamed for these occurrences was not intelligible. Mr. Huq had taken the Government to task on the ground that the local police had failed to prosecute the Hindus in a case in which four Hindus, but no Muslims, had been killed, although the police had not proceeded against any Muslim.

Pandit Pant urged that it would be difficult to win freedom, and still more to enjoy it, if the Hindus and the Muslims remained divided.

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

CONGRESS AND MINORITY INTERESTS

GOVERNORS WERE INVITED TO INTERVENE IF THEY THOUGHT FIT, SAYS SARDAR PATEL

Extracts from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's com-

WHEN THE MUSLIM LEAGUE, THROUGH THE PIRPUR Committee first made definite charges against the Congress

ment (Bombay, Dec. 10, 1939) on Mr. M.A. Jinnah's appeal to Muslims to observe "Deliverance Day", on the resignation of the Congress Ministries.

Ministries, I instructed them to inquire into each allegation and submit a report. These reports, which in all cases were published by the respective Provincial Governments, showed that the charges were entirely unfounded.....

When the Congress Ministries took office, as Chairman of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee I instructed the Ministries scrupulously to respect the rights of the minorities. Grievances of a communal nature were carefully examined by the Ministries, and in several cases re-examined by the members of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee.

Furthermore, every Premier, at my instance, had invited his Governor unhesitatingly to intervene in matters affecting the rights and interests of the minorities, whenever the Governor felt that the action of the Ministry was not correct.

GOVERNOR'S VIEWS

When Mr. Jinnah recently made the charges, I again instructed every Premier to invite his Governor's attention to them as they also affected him, and I was informed that the Governors considered the charges as unwarranted. The Governors, though invited to contradict the charges could not possibly do so at the time for reasons of constitutional propriety. But I have no doubt that they must have submitted reports to the Viceroy.

It is unfortunate that even now the Viceroy and the Governors, for reasons of their own, do not reply to these charges with which they are as much concerned as the Ministers.

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in a press statement issued at Bombay on December 15, 1939, said :—

" I can only say that I am amazed at the conspiracy of silence on the part of the Viceroy and the Governors. Mr. Jinnah's attack is as much against them as against the Congress."

He attributed their silence to " narrow ideas " of constitutional propriety, " doing grave injury to themselves and to their professions of impartiality between the Indian communities ".

CONTEXT.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY : " PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE WOULD DO "

Extract from an Associated Press report (Bombay, February, 8, 1940) of a speech delivered by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at a public meeting in Surat.

IF A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTED BY AN ELECTORATE based on adult franchise was considered impracticable, a substitute such as a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of the present provincial franchise would do, provided that the Assembly was given the sole right of framing India's constitution without outside interference and provided that in case of any difference arising out of any communal issue, there was a proviso that such differences should be settled by arbitration.

" NON-VIOLENCE IN ALL CIRCUMSTANCES " GANDHI'S THEORY HAS NO SUPPORT IN CONGRESS

Extract from a report of the speech delivered by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (at the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Poona on July 28, 1940) in defending the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee on July 7, 1940.

I WAS NOT PREPARED TO DECLARE THAT IN A FREE INDIA we would have no army. During our short experience of administration of two and a half years in the provinces on several occasions we felt the need and had to requisition the military. Mahatma Gandhi did not like this and said so plainly.

Our not being able to follow Mahatma Gandhi to the full extent in this respect does not imply that we are second to anyone in regard to our respect and loyalty to him, and if this House passed a resolution pledging its support to the principle of unadulterated non-violence in all circumstances, I would be the happiest person. But if we cannot go to that extent it is better for us to be frank and honest and to say so.

Personally I do not think that there is any one in the Congress who will be prepared to shoulder such a great responsibility.

" ANOTHER GREAT BLUNDER "

Extract from statement issued by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on H. E. the Viceroy's declaration of Aug. 8, 1940.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE MOST SINCERE OFFER OF co-operation made by the All-India Congress Committee at Poona has not been appreciated, and history will record that another great blunder was committed by those who, after all that has happened in recent months, should have known better.

CONTEXT.

"DELIVERANCE DAY" : JINNAH'S "HYMN OF HATE"

Extract from Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's comment (New Delhi, Dec. 10, 1939) on Mr. M.A. Jinnah's appeal to Muslims to observe "Deliverance Day".

NOT ONLY IS THE DUTY CAST UPON THEM (GOVERNORS) to interfere, but the rules of business have been made so as to prevent any inadvertence and to ensure the constant vigilance of the Governors.

On the contrary, there may have been occasions when, it may be stated, there was indulgence in favour of minorities....

It is a different thing altogether to say that, apart from any actual grievance, a community is entitled to feel dissatisfied in regard to participation in administrative power. Mr. Jinnah is entitled to suggest remedies for a position created by communal electorates.....

A hymn of hate cannot assist the progress or the welfare of any community.

"WHAT MR. JINNAH REALLY DESIRES"

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, former Congress Premier of Madras, was interviewed (in Delhi on March 26, 1940) by the "Hindustan Times", on the All-India Muslim League resolution demanding "the partition of India on a religious basis".

EVEN IF THE CONGRESS AND THE LEAGUE LEADERS SHOULD for the sake of peace agree to partition India according to religious labels, none of them, not even the biggest, could possibly deliver the goods, said Mr. Rajagopalachariar.

Indeed, not even Tippu Sultan or Hyder Ali or Aurangzeb or Akbar, all of whom lived during days when differences should have seemed more deep-rooted than now, imagined that India was anything but one and indivisible....

It is not this conception of one Indian nation but the mischievous concept of two Indian nations that threatens to lead India to destruction if those who are responsible for it fail to revise their notions in time....

We cannot expect the Muslims of seven or eight provinces of India to submit to transplantation for the sake of giving the Muslim leaders of the Punjab and Bengal the satisfaction of separatist autonomy.....

As I think I understand Mr. Jinnah's mind, I make bold to say that what he desires is a fuller amplitude for

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the so-called Muslim provinces to work out their progress without being hampered by a Central Government working under conditions necessitated by the composition of India's population and the play of political forces at such a Centre.

Surely he can ask for many things other than the cutting up of India into two parts based on a medieval conception in order to attain this laudable desire.



CONTEXT.

THE " CONDITION PRECEDENT "

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR'S REPLY TO " MANCHESTER GUARDIAN "

Mr.C.Rajagopalachariar's reply (April 26, 1940) to the " Manchester Guardian ", which suggested that Indian leaders should sit round a table and arrive at an agreed decision before asking Great Britain to commit herself to the principle of self-determination for India.

WE ARE ASKED TO PRODUCE AN AGREEMENT AS TO THE constitution as a condition precedent to Britain making any declaration or promise as to the acceptance of it, and this agreement we are asked to bring about without any assistance by way of setting up an elected body through which it could be secured. We are asked to sit round an unofficial table and reach an agreement with protagonists of extreme tribalism who have gone so far as categorically to demand a partition of the country, before Britain can even conditionally agree to the principle of self-determination.

If Mr. Gandhi says that the unofficial friendly decision to be previously reached is impossible, it is not because he dislikes it, but because something has happened or is happening that makes it really impossible, and a persistent demand for an impossible condition only amounts to a refusal.

MR. GANDHI'S ALTERNATIVE

His contribution in this difficulty is that he has given an alternative, namely, the convening of a duly elected representative body for deciding the principles on which the constitution should be framed....

It has been proved to the hilt that his alternative cannot harm British interests or the interests of any others, including the minority communities in India.....

Suppose the Provincial Government of the Punjab or of Bengal were now to be scrapped for some reason, and the British Government asked, without setting up any elective assembly, that the ' wisest heads ' of the various communities in the province should unofficially meet and present an agreed friendly decision as to the future Government of the province, we could prove the impossibility of ever reaching it and estab-

lishing provincial autonomy in the Punjab or Bengal. Yet we have such autonomy actually functioning today in these provinces, without riots or disturbances, with a nearly fifty-fifty strength of opposing communities.

■ ■ ■

THE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM

CONTEXT.

Summary based on an Associated Press report, dated Madras, April 4, 1940, of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's comment on Lord Zetland's broadcast of April 3, 1940.

"IT IS MISLEADING TO TALK OF RECONCILIATION BETWEEN Muslims and Hindus." The British analysis of the situation is calculated to transform political differences into enmity and hatred.

" A difference as to what political and constitutional arrangement will benefit a particular community in India is not to be treated as amounting to enmity or civil war, demanding efforts at reconciliation on the part of the British." India feels that British vested interests are preventing a wholehearted effort for a settlement of the Indian question.

■ ■ ■

" WE ASK A BIG PRICE "

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's comment on the Congress Working Committee's resolution of July 7, 1940.

IT WAS NOT EASY TO DECIDE TO TAKE A PATH, WHICH WAS different from the innermost yearnings of one, who had been the guide, philosopher and friend of the Congress all these twenty years. It was a great decision, but it has been taken..

We ask a big price. The price will add to Britain's glory and not subtract from her prestige. Those who read the Congress resolution in anger will not see its essence. The spirit of friendship and voluntary alliance that is contained in it can be seen only if a disinterested mind is brought to bear on it.

The war has lost its aggressive character. The defence of India is now an integral part of the defence of Britain. This is the key to an understanding of the resolution of the Working Committee.

■ ■ ■

BRITAIN AND INDIA CLOSELY KNIT

Extract from a Madras report in " The Mail " of July 22, 1940.

AN IMMEDIATE DECLARATION OF COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE alone would rouse the country to an intense war effort. Mere expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council could not be

an adequate substitute for the formation of a National Government at the centre during the period of war, it would only lead to constant friction between the Councillors and the people's representatives, and would hinder smooth and efficient working, remarked Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, addressing a meeting on the Congress House Maidan yesterday evening.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar said that the war as it had progressed had taken a new and different turn and the ' war aim ' of Britain and of every other country, for the moment, was how to defend itself from invasion. England, concentrating on her own defence, was not in a position to afford protection to each and every unit of her far-flung possessions. Each place had to take steps to defend itself, and the whole world would then be protected. India today was in a very unsatisfactory position in that respect.

Britain and India were so closely knit together that danger to one, threatened the other also.....



CONTEXT.

ARMY, A NECESSITY

Extract from a report of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's speech in moving the Congress Working Committee (July 7, 1940) resolution in the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Poona on July 28, 1940.

PROCEEDING TO EXAMINE THE ATTITUDE OF ' OUT-AND-OUT ' non-violence, Mr. Rajagopalachariar asked, could the State they proposed to organize be governed if they adhere to this attitude. Frankly, he regarded this as an impossible attitude and he would say they would be erring grievously if they took the attitude that they could run a State without an army....



"FREEDOM MEANS A FREE ALLIANCE"

Extract from a report in the "Hindustan Times" of July 24, 1940.

" THE DECLARATION OF FREEDOM THAT WE DEMAND DOES not mean a withdrawal from the British plan of defence. It means a free alliance and a partnership in a free atmosphere. Such a declaration will result in a better tie than the coercive partnership imposed in spite of our repeated demand for a voluntary alliance in place of it " says Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, in a statement to the Associated Press.



CONTEXT.

COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE : " MISLEADING PROPAGANDA "

Extract from an Associated Press report of a speech by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar at Madras on Aug. 4, 1940.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR SAID THE PEOPLE MUST WITH one voice endorse the demand for the immediate formation of a National Government for India and a clear declaration of Britain's acknowledgement of India's right to independence. The propaganda that, he gathered, the British authorities in India were carrying on was that Mahatma Gandhi would not look at anything less than complete independence and, therefore, no negotiation was possible. He would ask people not to be misled by such propaganda.

He pointed out that so long as the Viceroy opposed even the formation of a National Government it was misleading to refer to the dispute as to Dominion Status....

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" ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE "

Extract from an Associated Press report of a speech made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar at Rajahmundry (Madras Province) on Aug. 19, 1940, in which he commented on the Viceroy's announcement of Aug. 8.

THE CONGRESS, SAID MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, HAD BEEN pleading for independence for the last ten years. It had now become a practical proposition. In view of the world situation it was the duty of England to define the status of the countries under her control. India was not asking for the immediate conferment of independence, but was only demanding that the right to independence be acknowledged....

An expanded Executive Council could not inspire confidence in the people or arouse their enthusiasm.

■ ■ ■

" DEVELOPING A PERMANENT ATMOSPHERE FOR CIVIL WAR "

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's comment on Mr. L. S. Amery's speech of Aug. 14, 1940 during the debate in the House of Commons on the Viceroy's statement of Aug. 8, 1940. This report appeared in the " Hindustan Times " of Aug. 16, 1940.

BRITISH POLICY IN THE MATTER OF CONSTITUTION-MAKING, as it is now developing, threatens to be even more disastrous in its results than the defence policy. It has definitely taken a line that is rapidly developing a permanent atmosphere for civil war.

Now it seems to me that if even a catastrophe could stop the progress of this disastrous rot, we should welcome it....

A great phrase used by Christ to assure his disciples of the spaciousness of Heaven and the all-embracing grace of God has been requisitioned by the Secretary of State for

India to justify Ulsterism. India cannot be finally destined to such unfortunate status, and we may rest assured that we shall overcome all this.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR'S " SPORTING OFFER "

Report dated Wardha, Aug. 23, 1940, in the " Hindustan Times " of Aug. 24, 1940.

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, *ex*-PREMIER OF MADRAS, has made the following statement to the ' Daily Herald ', London :—

" In answer to Mr. Amery's difficulty as to minorities, I may make a sporting offer. If His Majesty's Government will agree to a provisional National Government being formed at once I undertake to persuade my colleagues in the Congress to agree to the Muslim League being invited to nominate the Prime Minister and to let him form a National Government as he would consider best. If there is sincerity in the difficulty felt by His Majesty's Government, it should be met by what I offer."

■ ■ ■

" SPORTING OFFER " : REPLY TO RAJA OF MAHMUDABAD

Extracts from Associated Press report dated Madras, Aug. 26, 1940 of the reply sent by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar to the Raja of Mahmudabad, who criticised the " Sporting offer ".*

YOU STATE AS YOUR MAIN OBJECTION TO MY PROPOSAL that the Muslim League Premier and his Cabinet will have to be responsible to the legislature in which there is a permanent Hindu majority. This objection is tantamount to an objection to the Hindu majority in the population of India....

It is unfortunate that you and your friends imagine that the will of the various minorities does not enter into the texture of the will of the people. I beg of you to revise this notion. Are questions likely to go before the Central Government for decision such as will be decided only on the basis of Hindu and Muslim ?....

" PAKISTAN IS NO ANSWER "

In regard to the Pakistan scheme, assuming that the 15 million Muslims of the Punjab demand or agree to this vivisection, do the 14 million Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab agree to it or would you ignore their wishes ? If the 28 million Muslims of Bengal support the partition of India, do the 22½

**For the Raja's criticism, please see page 545.*

million Hindus of Bengal, who do not want it and oppose it, count for nothing ? And can their opposition be ignored ?

If we assume that the minorities in the Punjab and Bengal (amounting to nearly half the population) may be ignored in this matter, would it not be contradictory to demand the fulfilment of the supposed wishes of the Muslims of India, who are only 22 per cent of the total population ?

My ' sporting offer ' is for the transitional stage and it is not that you should surrender any of your claims in the ultimate solution of the constitutional problems of India. Do you expect that you will have Pakistan even during the war ? It is hardly possible that you can believe this. Pakistan is, therefore, not an answer to my suggestion for a provisional National Government to be formed by a Muslim League Premier.



CONTEXT.

" SPORTING OFFER " : WOULD LEAGUE PREMIER BE POWERLESS ?

Extracts from Associated Press report, dated Madras, Aug. 29, 1940 of a speech delivered by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar at the Madras Law College.

TO THE OBJECTION RAISED BY CERTAIN PEOPLE THAT THE Muslim League Premier would be powerless before a legislature with a Hindu majority, Mr. Rajagopalachariar replied : If the Muslim League Premier had ability, patriotism and initiative he could easily carry the legislature with him and could serve his own people without hurting the nation.

> **It was extreme ignorance of how a democratic government worked to say that it was nothing, or valueless, to have the Premiership of a country. To be at the head of the executive and to have all the initiative of government were not small things.**

A Coalition National Government formed by consent out of all the elective groups need not be in terror of any particular majority in the legislature....



INDIANS " DRAGGED INTO WAR "

Extract from Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's letter dated Sept. 23, 1940, to Mr. Gandhi, appearing in the " Harijan " of Sept 29, 1940, summing up his reasons in support of the All-India Congress Committee resolution of Sept. 15, 1940.

I DO NOT SUPPORT THE BOMBAY RESOLUTION BECAUSE the Poona resolution was wrong. My support is based on the following grounds :

It is wrong for the British to declare that the Indian people were in a state of war against any other nation without asking them about it. War does not mean only the payment of some money and manufacturing munitions. It can easily

lead up to all that is happening in London, and should be dealt with on that footing.

Four hundred millions of human beings cannot be thrown into such a condition against their own will or without asking them. It is possible for us to recognise the justice of Britain's case against Germany without having to join in it and extend the tragedy beyond the necessary limits.

America refuses to enter the war, though it may give judgment in favour of Britain. We have not entered the Sino-Japanese war in spite of the justice of China's cause.

THE POONA PROPOSAL

The Poona proposal sought to make participation consistent with self-respect and fruitful. But the proposal was rejected by the British Government. India is, therefore, entitled to refuse to participate in the war. But she is forced to contribute and participate, on the basis that India is an imperial possession without any independent status or the right to choose between war and neutrality. The case for Britain is that the help taken from India is voluntary. This claim can be justified, or at least the objection can be reduced to the minimum, if those who preach non-participation are not suppressed by imprisonment.

It could then be claimed that such Indian co-operation that comes in spite of such appeals against participation is truly voluntary. This much should be conceded to mitigate the offence of dragging the Indian people into the horrors of a modern war without their consent.



CONTEXT.

DEFENCELESSNESS PRODUCED BY DELIBERATE MISMANAGEMENT

Extracts from Associated Press report of a statement by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar at Madras on November 21, 1940.

OUR CO-OPERATION IS NOT WANTED. ONLY OUR GOODS and our money are sought with eagerness. The very defencelessness that has been produced by deliberate mismanagement is made an excuse for continuing the wrong.

We do not object to the survival of Britain and her national life in the fullest measure. We would love to be able to help in a struggle for British liberty. But we desire life for India also and, therefore, liberty. There is between the maintenance of British power and Indian liberty a contradiction which ought to be removed and replaced by a better relationship.

CONTEXT.

SYMPATHY ALLOWED TO DISSIPATE ITSELF

Extract from a statement issued on October 19, 1939, by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian, National Congress.

THE VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT (OF OCTOBER 17, 1939) is disappointing in the extreme but not at all surprising. It is a tragedy that the wave of sympathy and good will in favour of Great Britain should have been allowed to dissipate itself, leaving behind once again the flotsam and jetsam of suspicion and distrust and ill-feeling....

RAJENDRA PRASAD ON INDIA'S DEMAND "REAL DIFFICULTY IS POLITICAL NOT COMMUNAL"

Dr. Rajendra Prasad issued this statement to the Associated Press on November 8, 1939.

I HAVE READ THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT (NOVEMBER 5, 1939) published along with the correspondence that passed between him and Mr. Jinnah and myself. He seems to give the impression that the British Government is unable to comply with our request for a clear declaration of India's status as a free country on account of our differences.

The fact is that the British Government is not prepared to promise that it will accept and give legal effect to any constitution which Indians, including all real minorities, would prepare and in which safeguards for the protection of minorities will be included.

> If we are unable to produce a constitution satisfactory to all, the British Government will be free from all blame, and the responsibility will be entirely ours....

The real difficulty is not communal but political. The British Government is not yet prepared to concede the right of self-determination to India in practice, however much it may proclaim it in theory to the world. We will put its professions to the acid test. Let us have the right to frame out our own constitution and we shall do it.

The British Government has befogged the main and moral issue by asking us to settle our differences without telling us at the same time, that the result of such a settlement will be a free constitution for the country.

It was for this reason that we felt compelled to concentrate on the political issue and to refuse to consider the proposal for expansion of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, before the question of India's status as a free country, with full right to self-determination, is settled to our satisfaction.

So far as I know, there is no party or group in India, which will not want full powers for India to manage her own affairs by whatever name or expression that freedom may be called or described. There is thus fundamental unity among all parties in India.

All points of principle and detail for safeguarding the rights of minorities have to be left over to be settled by the Indians themselves, which they will do to the satisfaction of all if once the British Government proves its own *bona fides* by ceasing to meddle with our domestic affairs.



INDEPENDENCE, PURE AND SIMPLE

CONTEXT.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's comments (January 11, 1940) on H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the Orient Club luncheon at Bombay on Jan. 10.

I ADMIT THAT THE VICEROY'S DECLARATION IS THE CLEAREST of all the declarations hitherto made... But it should be clearly understood that the Congress goal is independence pure and simple.

The second thing that I would like to draw attention to is about the many parties and the Viceroy's appeal to them to arrive at some kind of compromise. I wish to point out that the party leaders are not full representatives of their communities ....

It will now be seen that the Congress has not put forth the Constituent Assembly as the only solution without careful consideration. All Congressmen realize that short cuts are not cuts, and, so far as the rights of minorities are concerned, it is common cause that they should be clearly defined and scrupulously respected.



FOUNDATIONS OF CIVILISATION THREATENED
CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S APPEAL TO INDIA

Extracts from an appeal issued by the President of the Congress (Dr. Rajendra Prasad) in connection with the celebration of Indepen-

INDEPENDENCE DAY IS DRAWING NEAR....TODAY WE are passing through critical times. Nations are at war with each other. Every nation that is weak and divided has to share the responsibility for the death and ruin that threaten

dence Day. The appeal was circulated among all the Provincial Congress Committees by the Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee on January 21, 1940.

the world. The slave must share with the slave-owner the responsibility and odium of slavery. It is the weak that create imperialism. Let this day, therefore, be a day of stock-taking. Let us search our hearts if we have not by our individual and national conduct prolonged our agony.

The world is in the throes of a destructive war that threatens the very foundation of civilisation. If the war is carried on by all parties with tainted motives we may despair of any humane and equitable world order. What we do in this crisis is, therefore, not only of importance to ourselves but to the world. If by our non-violent means we can put an end to our internal strife and attain freedom, we will have proved to a doubting world that it can yet be saved without the aid of death-dealing instruments of war.....

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

DISPUTE ON NON-VIOLENCE

DR. PRASAD ON RESIGNATION OF "FRONTIER GANDHI"

Extracts from an Associated Press report in the "Hindustan Times" of July 10, 1940, of an interview with Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

THOUGH A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE HAS ARISEN between the members of the Congress Working Committee over the issue of non-violence, there is no likelihood of further resignations till further developments take place, said Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

As a matter of fact, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan ("the Frontier Gandhi") had taken this decision to resign from the Working Committee on the non-violence issue before the Delhi meeting of the Working Committee.

Question : Does not complete independence mean the withdrawal of the British Army as well as the Viceroy and the Governors ?

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

Dr. Prasad : We do not contemplate evacuation immediately. Let there be a Viceroy and the British Army for the transitional period. So long as the right is recognized an adjustment can be made for the transitional period, but the declaration must be made in so many words now.

If, however, the British Government acceded to the demand of the Congress, a Constituent Assembly would frame a Constitution for the country. A National Government would be only for the transitional period and in this Government all parties would be represented. The first thing, therefore, is a settlement between the British Govern-

ment on the one side and the people of India on the other. When that question has been settled adjustments of internal differences can be made..

MR. SATYAMURTI

CONTEXT.

IF COMMUNAL AWARD GOES

CONGRESS CAN RULE OTHER PROVINCES

Extracts from a report of a speech made by Mr. S. Satyamurti, Congress, M.L.A., on July 16, 1939, at a Madras public meeting held to celebrate Congress week, under the auspices of the District Congress Committee.

MR. SATYAMURTI RECOGNISED THAT THERE WERE GRAVE limitations on the powers of the Ministries....

But he publicly recognized, along with Mahatma Gandhi, that the Governors had on the whole played the game in the provinces which had Congress Ministries.

" If to-day Congress Ministries have difficulties," said Mr Satyamurti, " it is not because of Governors or the opposition to the Congress (that is a microscopic minority in our province) but because of ultra-radical Congressmen who feel that they are better than others and who want to create difficulties for us, not in order to improve us but to make difficulties for us.

" To-day in eight Provinces the Congress Ministries are ruling. We must rule the other Provinces also. We can rule them if the Communal Award goes especially separate electorates.

" I am all in favour of minorities being represented by their own men and women justly and generously but I have always believed that separate electorates are wholly inconsistent with the decent functioning of any democracy ". Mr. Satyamurti believed that they must make the abolition of separate electorates a major issue. He would go so far as to claim that if to-morrow all separate electorates were abolished for the Indian legislatures, nothing could stand between them and Purna Swaraj (complete independence).

Instead of tackling the problem on an all-India basis he would plead for its being tackled on a provincial basis

FEDERATION

Speaking about Federation Mr. Satyamurti referred to the meeting of the Indian Princes at Bombay. Some of the Princes spoke bitterly against Federation. He believed that their Highnesses were sincere and earnest in their protestations....

It looked as if, the Indian Princes might be driven into Federation, whether they liked it or not...

Mr. Satyamurti, however, had no doubt that when the time came, *the All-India Muslim League would go back upon its position*, insist possibly on special guarantees for Muslims and then agree to accept Federation.... he profoundly believed that if, in spite of them elections to the Federal Legislature were to be held, Congressmen must contest and capture every seat in the Federal Legislature (open to election), refuse to accept any Ministry there and refuse to allow any other Ministry to function.

The parliamentary mentality had come to stay and he believed that they would be committing suicide if they did not capture every seat in any Legislature open to election.

INDIA'S PARTICIPATION IN WAR

COMMITTEE SUGGESTED TO SECURE CONSENT

The Simla Correspondent of the " Tribune " in a message dated Aug. 17, 1939, says that members of the Central Legislature warmly approved the *Tribune's* suggestion that India's participation in any war should be dependent on the consent of a Committee of nominees of Provincial Governments and chosen representatives of the Central Legislature.

One or two members, particularly of the Upper House (Council of State), says the correspondent, are inclined to the view that the association of nominees of Provincial Governments will make the Committee unwieldy.

The correspondent further says

Mr. Satyamurti, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, in a special interview said :

" This is the least that the Government of India can do if they expect any support from the people of India as such, except what they can commandeer by sheer brute force. There can be no objection to this, either, in conservative circles in India, for they are the statutory representatives of the

enfranchised people of India under the Government of India Act."



CONTEXT.

FEDERATION

SIKANDAR HYAT SCHEME

Extracts from a signed article, appearing in the "Tribune" of Aug. 19, 1939, by Mr. S Satyamurti, M.L.A

SIR SIKANDAR HYAT KHAN (PREMIER OF THE PUNJAB) has recently published, for the delectation of the Indian political world, a new federal scheme which is so fantastic that it should have been rejected out of hand by any student of politics. But evidently there are forces behind the scheme, perhaps some among the Political Department of the Government of India, and perhaps some among the civil servants here or among the Conservative Party in England. The scheme, therefore, deserves to be considered, for fear it may get acceptance at unthinking hands....

Now nobody wants a unitary, as against a federal, system of government, understanding those phrases to mean exactly what they say. But the whole history of all federations in the world is in favour of creating a very strong federal Centre. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan evidently does not agree....

> Moreover, as regards the division of subjects into central, federal and provincial, I think the Government of India lists, unsatisfactory as they are, cannot be easily improved upon at the present stage in our development....

As Sir Shafàat Ahmad Khan has remarked :

"On general grounds, however, I am definitely of the opinion that once the question of redistribution of provinces starts, one never knows where it will end. Whatever sentimental regard one may have for the so-called Pakistan scheme, all experienced men must dismiss it as impracticable. I do hope that the Muslim League will not be caught in the meshes of wildcat schemes, and will unhesitatingly reject such half-baked and crude projects".

The difficulties, therefore, of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's scheme are : first, that it seems to be based on communal electorates and on fear on the part of communal minorities as against communal majorities, which is thoroughly unsound ; second, that it contemplates a weak centre as against strong provinces which may develop further into internecine quarrels which will destroy all chances of India being united ; third, that the zoning system will not be accepted by the Princes or by the people generally and that it too closely resembles in some matters the Pakistan scheme....



CONTEXT.

WAR PREPARATIONS

CONFERENCE OF PREMIERS SUGGESTED

Extract from an Associated Press report dated Simla, Aug. 19, 1939.

THE SUGGESTION THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA should take the Provincial Ministries into confidence regarding war measures, particularly the disposal of Indian troops, is made by Mr. Satyamurti, who urges that for this purpose the Viceroy should convene a conference of Provincial Premiers to whom details of the arrangements made to meet the war emergency should be explained.



VICEROY'S SPEECH OF JAN. 10, 1940

"ADVANCE ON EXISTING SITUATION"

Extracts from a signed special article in the "Hindustan Times" of Jan. 21, 1940 (on H. E. the Viceroy's Bombay speech of Jan. 10) by Mr. S. Satyamurti.

ANALYSING THE STATEMENT CAREFULLY, THERE CAN BE no doubt whatever that Dominion Status of the variety of the Statute of Westminster is practical independence. The right to secede from the Empire or the Commonwealth, as it may be called, and the right to neutrality in a war to which Britain is a party are now well recognised. Therefore, it is now clear that this statement means that India, when it attains Dominion Status, will have the right to secede, will have complete control of foreign affairs. That is good enough, as far as it goes. And the statement that it is the desire of His Majesty's Government to reduce the intermediate period between now and the attainment of this status to the shortest practicable limit is also an advance on the existing situation....

JUMP TO DOMINION STATUS

No one is blind to the practical difficulties involved in moving at one step from the existing constitutional position to full Dominion Status. Nothing is, however, gained by being quite alive to these difficulties, but not to the dangers of continuing in the present intolerable position.

The responsibility that falls on the great political parties and their leaders is a heavy one. But the responsibility which falls on the British Government is, perhaps, a heavier one. They have got to show the world that they are fighting for democracy and freedom. Their acid test consists in how they react to the demand for India's freedom. They have gone some way. They should go the full way. To depend on self-styled leaders of minorities is to depend on a broken reed.



CONTEXT.

"NO INDIAN WANTS DICTATORS OR JAPAN TO WIN WAR"

Extracts from a Madras report in the "Indian Express" of April 24, 1940.

INTERVIEWED ON THE INDIA DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF Commons and the House of Lords and the extension of rule under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, in the provinces for one year, Mr. S. Satyamurti, M. L. A. (Central) observed.

"If Britain means business, Mahatma Gandhi will respond.

"I would earnestly suggest a preliminary conference of the Premiers of the Provinces, including ex-Congress Premiers, whose recommendations should be accepted by the British Government, subject to agreement on certain important questions. The Anglo-Egyptian treaty affords a close parallel.

> **"Let there be no mistake about it. No Indian wants, certainly no Congressman wants, that Hitler, Stalin or Mussolini should win, or even Japan, but no Indian wants India to be a subject nation any longer. India must be free ".**

HITLER HEADING FOR A FALL

BRITISH TRIUMPH: ARDENT WISH OF CONGRESS

Extract from Associated Press report from Ootacamund, dated May 16, 1940, in the "Statesman", Delhi.

"HITLER IS FAST HEADING TOWARDS A FALL, AND WITH the disappearance of Hitlerism and Fascism at the end of the war, Imperialism also is bound to disappear," declared Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A. (Central) addressing a public meeting this evening when addresses of welcome on behalf of several associations were presented to him.

It was the ardent wish of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress and every right-thinking Indian, said Mr. Satyamurti, that Britain should triumph in the war. He added that Britain, who stood for justice and fairplay in Europe, ought not to have a different policy with regard to India.

Mr. Satyamurti welcomed the change in the British Cabinet and hoped that Mr. Winston Churchill, who would spare nothing for the Allies' success in the war, would not fail to bring about a settlement of the Indian question and secure the full moral and material support of the vast continent of India.

He urged the authorities immediately to convene a conference of Premiers of the Congress and "non-Congress" provinces in order to draft an agreed formula for ending the present stalemate....

CONTEXT.

"MR. AMERY SHOULD VISIT INDIA"

Extracts from an Associated Press report dated Madras, May 24, 1940, of a statement by Mr. S. Satyamurti with reference to the Secretary of State's (Mr. Amery's) speech of May 23, 1940.

"MR. AMERY MUST GO FURTHER THAN HE HAS DONE", declares Mr. Satyamurti, M.L.A. (Central), in a statement on Mr. Amery's speech in the House of Commons yesterday in which he urges Mr. Amery to fly to India and meet Mahatma Gandhi to settle the Indian question "on the basis of India's independence and self determination".

He adds: "The acid test of Mr. Amery's ability and earnestness will be his saying to the Muslim Leaguers, 'No Pakistan, no Coalition Ministries, no impossible safeguards. You must settle with the majorities'. Once he says that the rest will be easy".

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EX-MINISTERS URGED TO RETURN TO OFFICE

Extract from an Associated Press report dated Dharampuram, July 18, 1940.

IT WAS TO BE DEPLORED THAT WHILE MAHATMA GANDHI was willing to render all help, Britain did not care to avail herself of it, observed Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A. (Central) and Mayor of Madras, opening the Dharampuram Taluk Political Conference here.

Mr. Satyamurti urged immediate return to office by Congressmen in the eight Provinces. Internal harmony and security were essential at the present time and popular Ministries alone could successfully bring about peaceful relations among the different communities.

The speaker suggested that a National Government should be set up at the Centre and that the members of the Executive Council should be selected from the Congress, Muslim League and Independent Parties and all of them should work towards the Congress objective, namely, India's freedom.

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SUB-FEDERATION OF SMALL STATES OR AMALGAMATION WITH PROVINCES

Extracts from an Associated Press report from Simla, dated Aug. 20, 1939.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE AMALGAMATION OF THE SMALLER Indian States into a Sub Federation, as a first step to their entry into the All-India Federation, was advocated by Mr. S. Satyamurti, in his presidential address to the Conference of Himalayan States' Peoples this evening (Aug. 20, 1939).

Applying the test for functioning as a separate unit laid down in the resolution of the Indian States' Peoples Conference held at Ludhiana in February, namely, a population of 2,000,000 or revenue exceeding Rs. 5,000,000 Mr. Satyamurti declared that no Punjab Hill State could possibly satisfy these conditions...

"Another test may also be applied. The number of States of over 50,000 square miles is only three....The number of States under 100 square miles in area is about 350, and the number of States under 10 square miles in area is about 180.

"Therefore, judged from any test, these States cannot survive by themselves. They must be amalgamated and the first step in that amalgamation is that, for example, all smaller States, including the Punjab Hill States, must amalgamate themselves into one or more Sub-Federation, having a common general administration, a common police, a common judiciary and a common revenue system. After that, if all of them so joining together can satisfy the minimum test of population, area and annual revenue, they may enter a genuine Indian Federation as federating units.

"Or, even if after this amalgamation they do not come up to the minimum standards which must be attained before they can survive, an alternative solution will have to be explored such as amalgamation with neighbouring provinces for the purpose of administration".



"TAKE BACK POWER IN THE PROVINCES"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a statement issued by Mr. S. Satyamurti on Sept. 4, 1940.

WITH JAPAN TO THE EAST, ITALY TO THE WEST AND Russia to the North, India's defence must be organized. It can be organised only by a National Government at the Centre. There is no mere question of co-operating with Britain in this war, if Britain does not want that co-operation.....

On our side, I earnestly and strongly recommend that we should take back power in all the provinces by means of Congress Governments. The British Government dare not say 'No' to us, even on the ground of our well-known views on India's co-operation in this war being conditioned by the acceptance of our demand.

If the British Government can allow Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and Mr. Fazlul Huq to function as Muslim League Premiers in their provinces, in spite of the Muslim League's non-cooperation with war, they will have to make a new law for Congress Governments, not applying to Muslim League Governments. Let them do so, if they dare.

If we take back power in the seven or eight provinces soon we shall have nine Congress or pro-Congress Governments including Sind, if we manage Sind affairs properly and patriotically. Then the Punjab and Bengal will also have to fall in line with us, and then we can maximize the pressure for a National Government and for India's independence at the end of the war.....



INDIA DOES NOT WANT DICTATORS TO WIN

CONTEXT.

Mr. Satyamurti's comment on the Secretary of State's speech of Nov. 20, 1940.

TRUE TO TYPE, COL. AMERY ALSO SEEKS TO PLAY ON THE fear complex. India does not want the victory of dictatorships, nor does she want the defeat of Great Britain, but India certainly wants, along with the disappearance of dictatorships, the disappearance of Imperialism.

I respectfully suggest to Col. Amery and others not to lose themselves in this dilemma of their own creation. The alternative is not between the victory of dictatorships and the defeat of British Imperialism. If Great Britain and India can reconcile themselves to each other, I am confident that a free India in friendly alliance with Great Britain—and during the war, with a real National Government at the Centre—will defeat dictatorships not only now but for all time. Let Britain choose. India has chosen...."

DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

GANDHI'S "VOLUNTARY FEDERATION" SCHEME

Extract from a statement issued on Sept. 6, 1939, by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, a member of the Congress Working Committee, on the "proposed voluntary Federation".

VOLUNTARY FEDERATION MAY COME INTO EXISTENCE primarily with the provinces and with a few States. When it is voluntary, the States will come in much quicker than when it is imposed. The very word 'voluntary' will bring in easily all the States as well as the provinces. The only impediment then will be the various proportions in the Central Legislature and communal representation.

This will be an opportunity for the various communities to revise the Communal Award and it is hoped that the nation will rise to the occasion.

In asking for voluntary Federation, Mahatma Gandhi is understood to be asking for self-determination, including revision of the Communal Award through a Constituent Assembly, which represents the essence of the National Demand

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

AMALGAMATION OF STATES

DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA'S SUGGESTION

Extract from a United Press report, dated Gwalior Nov. 15, 1939.

"WE HAVE STUDIED THE PROBLEM OF THE STATES exclusively from the standpoint of the Princes. We have to take the standpoint of the people. After all, there are only 40 States whose relations with the Paramount Power are regulated by Treaties. There are again only 110 salute States altogether.

"The vast bulk of these States must be merged either with the neighbouring British Indian territory or amalgamated with the adjoining Indian States. Even the Viceroy has approved of this principle.

"In the ultimate analysis, we shall not have more than 50 States to reckon with, 50 constitutional units comprising the territory of the 262 States."

This scheme for rearrangement of the Indian States, in order to evolve a genuine federation was proposed by Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, a member of the Congress Working Committee and the Standing Committee of the States' Peoples Conference, when he opened the 22nd annual session of the Gwalior Rajya Sarvajanik Sabha held here today.

MR. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

MR. SUBHAS BOSE'S VIEWS

Extracts from Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's Presidential Address to the 51st session of the Indian National Congress held at Haripura on February 19, 1938.

IT IS A WELL-KNOWN TRUISM THAT EVERY EMPIRE IS based on the policy of divide and rule. But I doubt if any empire in the world has practised this policy so skilfully, systematically and ruthlessly as Great Britain. In accordance with this policy, before power was handed over to the Irish

people, Ulster was separated from the rest of Ireland. Similarly, before any power is handed over to the Palestinians, the Jews will be separated from the Arabs. An internal partition is necessary in order to neutralise the transference of power.

THE FEDERAL SCHEME

The same principle of partition appears in a different form in the new Indian Constitution. Here we find an attempt to separate the different communities and put them into water-tight compartments.

And in the Federal scheme there is the juxtaposition of autocratic Princes and democratically elected representatives from British India. If the new constitution is finally rejected, whether owing to the opposition of British India or owing to the refusal of the Princes to join in it, I have no doubt that British ingenuity will seek some other constitutional device for partitioning India and thereby neutralising the transference of power to the Indian people....

The same dualism is visible outside the Empire. In the case of Spain, British politicians are torn between such alternatives as Franco and the lawful Government, and, in the wider field of European politics, between France and Germany. The contradictions and inconsistencies in Britain's foreign policy are the direct outcome of the heterogenous composition of her Empire. The British Cabinet has to please the Jews because she cannot ignore Jewish high finance. On the other hand, the India Office and Foreign Office have to placate the Arabs because of Imperial interests in the Near East and in India....The British Empire at the present moment is suffering from strain at a number of points.... How long can the British Empire withstand the cumulative effect of this pressure and strain ?..

Amid this interplay of world forces India emerges much stronger than she has ever been before. Ours is a vast country with a population of 350 millions. Our vastness in area and in population has hitherto been a source of weakness. It is to-day a source of strength if we can only stand united and boldly face our rulers.

A FEDERAL REPUBLIC

From the standpoint of Indian unity the first thing to remember is that the division between British India and the Indian States is an entirely artificial one. India is one and the hopes and aspirations of the people of British India and of the Indian States are identical. Our goal is that of an independent India and, in my view, that goal can be attained only through a Federal Republic in which the Provinces and the States will be willing partners....

There are people in the Congress like myself who would like to see the Congress participating more actively in the movement of the States' subjects. I personally hope that in the near future it will be possible for the Indian National Congress to take a forward step and offer a helping hand to our fellow-fighters in the States....

I shall now proceed to consider the method which the Congress should pursue in the years to come as well as its role in the national struggle. I believe more than ever that the method should be Satyagraha or non-violent non-co operation in the widest sense of the term, including civil disobedience. It would not be correct to call our method passive resistance.

Satyagraha, as I understand it, is not merely passive resistance but active resistance as well, though that activity must be of a non-violent character....

We have to fight Federation by all legitimate and peaceful means—not merely along constitutional lines—and in the last resort, we may have to resort to mass civil disobedience, which is the ultimate sanction we have in our hands. There can be little doubt that in the event of such a campaign being started in the future, the movement will not be confined to British India but will spread among the States' subjects..

A FOREIGN POLICY FOR INDIA

There is one problem in which I have been taking a deep, personal interest for some years and in connection with which I should like to make my submission—I mean the question of a foreign policy for India and of developing international contacts. I attach great importance to this work because I believe that in the years to come, international developments will favour our struggle in India. But we must have a correct appreciation of the world situation at every stage and should know how to take advantage of it. The lesson of Egypt stands before us as an example.

Egypt won her Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain without firing a shot, simply because she knew how to take advantage of the Anglo-Italian tension in the Mediterranean..

In connection with our foreign policy, the first suggestion that I have to make is that we should not be influenced by the internal politics of any country or the form of its state. We shall find in every country, men and women who will sympathise with Indian freedom, no matter what their own political views may be....Developing international contacts does not mean intriguing against the British Government. We do not need go in for such intrigues and all our methods should be above board.....



CONTEXT.

" DIRECT ACTION " BY CONGRESS URGED

Extract from an Associated Press report dated July 12, 1939, of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's speech at a " crowded public meeting " in Dharwar.

IN MR. BOSE'S OPINION, THE COUNTRY WAS WELL-PREPARED with eight Provincial Governments under the control of the Congress, for " direct action ", but the necessary courage for a bold and forward policy was lacking in the present leadership.

In the face of the present international situation, the British Government would surely concede their demand if only they found that India was prepared for mass action, concluded Mr. Bose.

" COUNTRY PREPARED FOR A FIGHT "

Extract from an Associated Press report, of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's Presidential Address to the All-Orissa Youth Conference, held in Cuttack on August 5, 1939.

URGING THE CREATION OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS AND thereby the wrecking of the 1935 Constitution, Mr. Bose wanted the Congress to start satyagraha which would result in the *Cen're issuing ordinances which the Provincial Governments would refuse to put into operation.* He said that the country was prepared for a fight.

INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

" PREPARED TO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM "

Extract from an Associated Press report of a speech delivered by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in opening the 16th Andhra Provincial Students' Conference at Cocanada on Sept. 1, 1939.

MR. SUBHAS BOSE REFERRED TO THE INTERNATIONAL crisis and the problems confronting them and wanted the right wing of the Congress to go ahead with a fighting programme. He asked the students to be ready when the call came from the Congress.

" Mr. Bose told the Associated Pre s correspondent, who travelled with him from Pithapuram to Samalkot, that in the present crisis Indians, particularly Congressmen, should close their ranks and prepare to fight for their freedom. If the struggle was resumed, said Mr. Bose their differences would disappear and all demoralising scrambles for the loaves and fishes of office would vanish.....

CONTEXT.

COMMUNAL GRIEVANCES

REPLY TO MR. FAZLUL HUQ

Extract from an Associated Press report (dated Oct 25, 1939) of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's comment on a statement made by Mr. Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier.

REGARDING THE COMMUNAL QUESTION RAISED BY MR. Huq, I may say that the Bengal Hindus can prefer more serious charges against the Bengal Ministry than what Mr. Huq can level against all the Congress Ministries put together. But because we are incapable of thinking on communal lines we never said anything about these grievances.

If I were to produce the reports of the speeches which some of the satellites of Mr. Huq have been making in the remote districts of Bengal, it would stagger all civilised men and women. I hope for the sake of the good name of this province the other Ministers will see to it that their chief does not make such objectionable statements in future.



CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

"WOULD END IN DISASTER"

Extract from a "Hindustan Times" report on Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's Presidential Address to the All-India Students Convention, held in New Delhi on Jan 2, 1940.

UPON THE SUBJECT OF A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, MR. Bose said that a real Constituent Assembly was one which was convened by a national government after the transfer of power had taken place.

An assembly convened by and meeting under the aegis of an imperialist government and elected on the basis of separate electorate would surely end in disaster to the Congress and to the Indian people.

He, therefore, asked his audience to raise their voice in protest against it while there was time and warn their countrymen in advance of the coming danger in the event of this demand being fulfilled by the British Government in the latter's own interest....

DEPRESSED CLASSES LEADERS

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CONTEXT.

PRESS CORPORATION

DR. AMBEDKAR'S SUGGESTION

Report in the "Bombay Chronicle" of March 1, 1940.

"IF DEMOCRACY IS TO SUCCEED IN INDIA IT IS NECESSARY that all the apparatus and mechanism necessary to make it successful should be set up in this country. To-day we have nothing but the constitutional machinery for it and even that is a half-hearted affair," said Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in an interview to the "Bombay Chronicle".

"This is all the more necessary in India", he continued, "because the social forces, the caste system, the philosophy of fatalism with which the entire population is imbued, the appalling disparity between wealth and poverty, on a scale witnessed nowhere else in the democratic world, make the setting up of such mechanism all the more necessary.

SALARY FOR OPPOSITION LEADER

"Let us take the Provincial Governments. A democratic constitution considers the Opposition as an essential part of Government. If it is to function properly it must have the same status as Government. The Opposition Leader must be paid the same salary as the Prime Minister. That has been done in Canada for decades. The system has been introduced in England also, though England in these matters is always late and copies the Dominions and other democratic countries.

"In England and other democratic countries no important measure is introduced or important administrative action taken without consulting the Leader of the Opposition. He has to make a study of national problems as much as the Prime Minister.

"It is a full-time job for any honest man. If the Opposition is to function properly in India it must be made possible for the Opposition Leaders in various provinces to make their position a full-time job, getting the same salary as the Prime Minister with secretaries and equipment supplied at Government's expense. And, of course, he must be consulted on all important matters."

GOVERNMENT MUST PAY ELECTION EXPENSES

Another important suggestion made by Dr. Ambedkar was regarding election expenses. They are so heavy to-day

that it is very nearly impossible for any but big organised capitalist parties, like the Congress, to put up candidates. And even there only those who can afford to spend anything from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 20,000 on a single election can contest elections. And if the present system continues elections will be entirely controlled and directed only by the wealthy capitalists in a form much worse than is witnessed in America. The conditions under which the Government of the day has to take its orders from bosses outside already exist in India. They will be infinitely worse in the course of time.

What is the remedy? Dr. Ambedkar suggests that if it is necessary for a democratic Government to have elections then it is the duty of the democratic Government to meet the expenses of such elections and fix a definite sum that it will pay each candidate on condition that he secures a certain percentage of the votes. This condition would eliminate frivolous candidature and enable competent and honest men from the poor and middle classes to contest elections without getting into the clutches of capitalists, zemindars and other vested interests.

PRESS CORPORATION OF RS. 50 LAKHS

The third suggestion the Doctor made was almost revolutionary. It was to enable the establishment of complete freedom of the Press and to give it the same constitutional status as that enjoyed by High Court Judges.

He proposes the creation of a Corporation of, say, Rs. 50,00,000, with a Charter having a constitutional status. The trustees will be appointed by the Government after the approval of both Houses of Legislature. The Editors of various papers that may be started will also be appointed in the same manner. But neither the trustees nor the Editors would be under the control of Government any more than are High Court Judges. They would continue to hold office "during good behaviour" and could only be removed "for bad behaviour" after a vote of both Houses of Legislature on a motion moved after due notice and after every opportunity is given to the persons concerned to put in their defence.

STATUS OF HIGH COURT JUDGES

In fact, the procedure that Dr. Ambedkar suggests is the same as exists in the United States for the appointment of Judges of the Supreme Court. Dr. Ambedkar holds that journalists have a duty and responsibility to discharge whose weight and influence are not always properly appreciated either by the public or by journalists.

Journalists, he holds, should have the same freedom to express their opinions and to weigh the pros and cons of a public question as a High Court Judge can discuss a case, without any sort of interference from outside influences and prejudices.

" There is far greater danger of the Indian Press getting completely under the heels of capitalism than the Press in any Western country ", says Dr. Ambedkar. " Of course we have plenty of stuff about workers and peasants in the Congress Press to-day," he continued, " but that is only to exploit the workers and peasants for using them for the Indian capitalist's struggle against foreign capitalism. The moment that struggle is over and the Congress or some other capitalist party has established itself firmly in the saddle the working class and peasant stuff will be smothered and the capitalist press will come out, or will be forced to come out, in its true colours.

RIGHT OF REPLY TO ATTACKS

" Even to-day it is impossible to get any justice from the Congress Press for non-Congress politicians. For years I have myself suffered from injustice at the hands of this Press. For years it was impossible for me and others of my way to get a hearing. For years we have been misrepresented, without even a chance being given to us to clear up misunderstandings and prejudices created by the Press. Things will be a hundred times worse after some years when Indian capitalism has satisfied its ambitions to get an unhampered field for exploitation.

" Even from a purely party point of view it is necessary that complete smothering of the other party points of view should be stopped.

In Canada and some other countries they have definite laws laying down that if a public worker is attacked in a public journal he shall have the right of getting his reply to such an attack published in the journal concerned. It is very necessary that a law of such a nature should he enacted in this country also.

NO GOVERNMENT CONTROL

" The Corporation created by the State will have journals that will have complete freedom from party dictation. They will be models for other newspapers, run as private ventures, and will give a lead to the country on all important problems, independent of Government and anti-government opinions, They will treat all parties and politicians impartially and act as a strong check on one-sided, interested propaganda.

" Of course, it is not likely that the Congress will favour such an idea ", said Dr. Ambedkar in conclusion, " for the Congress believes that no other party has the right to exist. If it could, it would smother all parties and the independent Press. But we, who have a greater regard for the fundamentals of progressive public life, will see to it that the independence of the Press is guaranteed under the future Consti-

tution and that an independent Corporation is set up to ensure that independence of the Press which is a very vital limb of true democracy ".



CONTEXT.

DISTRIBUTIVE SYSTEM OF VOTING

DR. AMBEDKAR'S PROTEST

Extracts from a report in the "Times of India" of March 11, 1938.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR, LEADER OF THE INDEPENDENT Labour Party in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, has sent a cable to the Secretary of State for India in London protesting, on behalf of the Scheduled Classes, against the proposal to introduce the distributive system of voting for provincial Legislative Assemblies, as it is antagonistic to the spirit of the Poona Pact.

According to the distributive system, a vote (non-Scheduled Class) while exercising his franchise is compelled to give at least one vote for a Scheduled Class candidate, and a Scheduled Class voter is compelled to give for a caste Hindu candidate at least one vote.

The distributive system of voting, it is feared, would thus affect the interests of the minorities in regard to representation in the Assemblies as the majority community may be able to sweep away all seats reserved for the Scheduled Classes with their own nominees.

RAJAH, RAO BAHADUR M. C.

MR. JINNAH, A BENEFACTOR

MR. RAJAH ON COMMUNAL QUESTION

Extract from a report in the "Hindu" (Madras), dated January 15, 1940.

A PUBLIC MEETING WAS HELD ON SATURDAY LAST, ON THE High Court Beach, under the auspices of the Muthialpet Muslim League, to celebrate the 64th birthday of Mr. M. A.

Jinnah. Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah (President, All-India Depressed Classes Association) presided.

The Chairman said that he considered Mr. Jinnah as the benefactor of the largest number of people of India in asserting the rights of the largest minority community in the country against the aggressive policy of the Congress, which claimed to act in the name of nationalism on behalf of the majority. By so doing, Mr. Jinnah was also defending the rights of the Depressed Classes, who formed the next largest minority community in the country.

Congressmen, Mr. Rajah continuing said, were fond of saying that the communal problem was a domestic one. But it must be assumed, he said, that the majority party was not purely political and the minority parties were not purely communal. The majority party, once it got power, was swayed by a number of communal considerations. In such circumstances, weak and minority communities stood helpless.

Mr. Jinnah, therefore, had rightly insisted on the settlement of the communal question before going on to demand Dominion Status or Independence. The Depressed Classes trusted the Congress Party when, under the threat of a fast unto death by Mr. Gandhi, they were induced to give up their demand for separate electorates. They felt now that they had been betrayed...

CONTEXT.

VICEROY-GANDHI "NEGOTIATIONS"

MR. RAJAH'S APPEAL TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT

Report in the "Mail" (Madras), dated February 2, 1940.

RAO BAHADUR M. C. RAJAH, PRESIDENT OF THE ALL-India Depressed Classes Association, has sent a telegram to H. E. the Viceroy requesting him that no settlement should be reached with the Congress without ascertaining the views of minority communities.

He has also sent a telegram to the Secretary of State for India urging that in the forthcoming negotiations between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy, the British Government should not agree to place the Depressed Classes 'at the mercy of the Congress'. Congress rule, adds the telegram, had shown that the Congress majority oppressed the weak and minority communities.

"The British Government should bring into operation the safeguards provided in the Government of India Act and implement the assurances given by Britain to minorities."

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an Associated Press report, dated Poona Dec. 20, 1939, in the "Civil and Military Gazette" (Lahore).

"DELIVERANCE DAY"

AN APPEAL TO THE HARIJANS TO SUPPORT MR. M. A. Jinnah in the observance of 'Deliverance Day' was made by Mr. P. N. Rajabhoj, a Harijan leader, at a meeting of the Harijans at Wari.

Mr. Rajabhoj referred to the statements recently issued by His Excellency the Viceroy and thanked His Excellency for his repeated demand from the Congress for safeguards of the minority interests in India before recommending further social reforms.

"ROYAL COMMISSION" DEMAND

Mr. Jinnah's demand for a Royal Commission was supported by Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, M.L.A., President of the All-India Depressed Classes Association, in a statement issued on Dec. 18, 1939.

IMPORTANCE OF NON-CONGRESS INDIA

OPPOSITION TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Diwan Bahadur R. Srinivasan, M.L.C., President of the Madras Provincial Scheduled Castes Federation, issued this statement at Madras, on November 10, 1939.

SOON AFTER THE WAR BROKE OUT, I MADE IT CLEAR THAT even in my 80th year, after toiling over half a century to uplift the Depressed Classes, I am ready to fight and lay down my life for Great Britain. That sentiment has also been expressed in public meetings throughout India...

The Depressed Classes to-day are emphatically of the view that only separate electorates will really safeguard their

interests. Mr. Jinnah, in his very recent speech at Bombay, has exposed the hollowness of the Congress conception of democracy.

My association with the Round Table Conferences that preceded the Government of India Act, 1935, also enables me emphatically to state that the Depressed Classes can rely only on a constitution planned under the auspices of the British Parliament. The Congress insistence on a Constitution framed through a Constituent Assembly must under no circumstances be met. That will be a step fraught with the gravest danger to the Depressed Classes. We shall stoutly resist such a Constitution being foisted on us.

There is an impression that, due to Congress propaganda, step by step the British Government is climbing down. Any compromise in respect of this fundamental position is unthinkable.

The importance of the Congress is being exaggerated. However well-intentioned and moderate Mr. Gandhi may be, the real Congress is neither a friend of the minority communities nor of Great Britain. Let not Great Britain think lightly of non-Congress India. which forms the majority of India.



CONTEXT.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

DEPRESSED CLASS OPPOSITION

Report dated Madras November 26, 1939, in the "Statesman".

"AS LONG AS THE OPPRESSION AND TYRANNY OF THE CASTE Hindus last, the British Government should continue to be the arbiter of the destinies of the Depressed Classes," observed Diwan Bahadur R. Srinivasan, presiding at a public meeting held to-night under the auspices of the Madras Provincial Scheduled Castes Federation.

The meeting resolved that "considering the social, educational and economic position," of the Depressed Classes full self-government should not be granted to India at this stage as they "the original inhabitants of the land," were denied freedom by caste Hindus.

The meeting further expressed the view that the constituent assembly proposed by the Congress Working Committee would not satisfy the requirements of the Depressed Classes.

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Extracts from a report in the "Statesman" of Dec. 29, 1939, of Mr. J. H. Burder's Presidential Address to the annual meeting of the Council of the European Association at Calcutta.

BRITAIN'S OFFER TO INDIA

"DESERVING OF WHOLE-HEARTED ACCEPTANCE"

I AM WELL AWARE THAT THE FEDERAL PROVISIONS OF the Act have been the subject of sincere criticism from various angles. In particular, I appreciate and have every sympathy with the apprehensions felt by the Muslim and other minorities. Those apprehensions clearly call for close and sympathetic examination. But no scheme can ever be perfect from every point of veiw and, moreover, His Majesty's Government have promised that at the end of the war they will be prepared to consider any modifications in the constitutional scheme which may be put forward in the light of the then circumstances.

> **"That offer, combined as it was with proposals which would make possible the immediate initiation of fruitful co-operation at the Centre is, in my view, one deserving of whole-hearted acceptance. ...."**

The Council, among other business, passed the following resolution after a full discussion of National Service and Recruitment:

> **"This Council urges the early introduction of compulsory National Service for European British Subjects in India so that they may be on the same basis as Britons elsewhere in the Empire and in order that the incidence of National Service may be equitably distributed amongst all."**

Extracts from a report dated July 4, 1939, in the "Hindu" from the paper's Salem correspondent, of a speech delivered

FEDERATION

DANGERS OF TRANSITION PERIOD

DEALING WITH FEDERATION, MR. JAMES SAID THAT though the resolution passed by the representatives of the Indian States and the Indian Princes in Bombay recently would appear, at first sight, to be a serious obstacle in the

by Mr. (now Sir) F. E. James, M. L. A. (Central) to the European Association, Yercaud.

way of achieving Federation, he did not believe that to be the case. A collection of States, each with its individual objections to the draft Instrument of Instructions, was bound to pass a resolution such as the one that was passed in Bombay.

It was a habit in Indian politics to use the strongest words possible, and no doubt the use of the word ' fundamental ' in the resolution, though it should not be underrated, was capable of varying interpretations, when individual States were confronted with their own criticisms of the draft Instrument of Instructions. He was convinced that Federation was on the way.

The constitutional unity of India at an early stage was not only necessary but inevitable. International events made this clearer every day, and those who would hinder, for short-sighted views, India's progress to unity, would one day be cursed by their own people.

FINGERPOST TO DOMINION STATUS

Although Provincial Autonomy had marked an immense advance in the Provincial field, said Mr. James, there could be no further advance in India's status *vis-a-vis* the world outside or *vis-a-vis* the Empire until Federation had been achieved. For Federation was the fingerpost to Dominion Status.

The working of Provincial Autonomy had proved to those who had occupied seats of responsibility that difficulties were removed more quickly by co-operation than by non-co-operation. There had been a noticeable change in the attitude of those who were now in office in the Provinces to the question of taking office under the Federal Scheme, much as they continued to dislike many of its features. Mr. Gandhi himself had realised this and, like a wise General, he had ordered a change in the strategy of the Congress in connection with the Indian States.

In the gap between the acceptance of Provincial Autonomy and the achievement of Federation, there was grave danger that the gulf between the Indian States and the British Indian Provinces would be greatly widened. This danger seemed imminent until recently. There was also a tendency during this transitional period for an estrangement between the provinces and the Central Government.

There is also the danger of increasing communalism, which was bound to grow under the existing state of affairs. He did not say that Federation would solve all these problems; but it would certainly bring about in India a unity of constitutional action which was sadly needed today, and the Viceroy should be supported in his ceaseless and persistent work of India's unity by all those who cared for an early

advance in India's status in the Commonwealth. Nor should external dangers do more than emphasise the urgency of this.



" SOME GROUNDS FOR MUSLIM FEARS "

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report in the " Hindu " of a speech delivered by Mr. F. E. James on July 7, 1939, to the European Association, Bangalore.

MR. JAMES, PROCEEDING, REFERRED TO THE HINDU-Muslim question in India and observed that anyone who took the trouble to study facts placed before the public by the Muslim League and also the progress of the Congress in recent years, must agree that the Muslim community have some ground for their fears....

The Congress, in his opinion, had ignored the legitimate position of the Muslims in this country, and it had in one or two directions ridden roughshod over Muslim susceptibilities, for example, the elevation of the Congress Party Flag into a national emblem and the elevation of the *Vande Mataram* song into that of a National Anthem.

> **" If you survey the political scene, one of the disheartening features is the growing gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. India will never achieve the status that she looks forward to, in the Commonwealth of Nations, until that gulf between these two great communities in this country has been bridged some way or other."**



CONGRESS RESOLUTION OF JULY 7, 1940

" MORE REALISTIC NOTE "

Extracts from a statement at Madras on July 24, 1940, made by Mr. F. E. James, M. L. A. (Central).

THERE IS A MUCH MORE REALISTIC NOTE IN THE DELHI resolution of July 7, 1940, than has hitherto appeared in the Congress statements on the war....the Working Committee, however, imposes certain conditions to be fulfilled before it can even assist in the organization of India's defence."

Mr. James does not believe an agreement is possible " on the basis of an unequivocal declaration of complete independence demanded by the Working Committee."

Indeed, he says, " Great Britain would be perfectly justified in pointing out that there is not even agreement in India itself on the basis now suggested."

Referring to the demand for a National Government, Mr. James says the proposal involves drastic constitutional alterations and asks that it should not be pressed at the present time. The alternative, he adds, is participation in the governance of the country through an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

IF FREEDOM IS DEFEATED

Concluding Mr. James says: " I , and many of my friends have warmly appreciated the Mahatma's determination not to embarrass Britain in the struggle....We realize that all thoughts of civil disobedience have been dropped at present. That is helpful. But cannot the Congress go further ? Some of us want Britain to go further too, and make it clear that India is to have the status of a free nation in association with the other free nations of the Commonwealth, immediately after the war, and that she is to determine the shape of her future constitution on the basis of that status.

" But must the Congress press for an unequivocal declaration of independence now ? Must they press for a complete and revolutionary change at the Centre now ? I can assure those who desire a settlement of the present deadlock, that they have the good wishes of a large number of my community, whose names may not be known but who want to see India and Britain working side by side in this war, with no reserves and with mutual trust in each other....If the British Commonwealth is defeated, how can freedom live ? And if freedom is defeated, how can India achieve her heart's desire ? "



CONTEXT.

THE CONGRESS DEMANDS

" REPUDIATED BY PRACTICALLY EVERY OTHER PARTY "

Extracts from Associated Press report of Mr. F. E. James's speech to the European Association, Madras City Circle, on April 12, 1940.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IS, IN THE WORDS OF MR. Gandhi, baffling. The Congress resolution at Ramgarh was unhelpful, intolerant and essentially false in its assumptions. It demanded self-determination through a Constituent Assembly on the basis of adult franchise, a demand which is rejected by the Muslim League and by the Chamber of Princes.

To place British Imperialism on a level with Nazi aggression shows ignorance and a deliberate desire to misrepresent facts....

The Muslim League, convinced of the failure of the present safeguards for minorities and apprehensive of Hindu domination in a powerful Central Government, demands the division of India into Hindu and Muslim States. This demand is not an impracticable one, though it may not be desirable in the interest of Indian unity. The experience of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, with two distinct nationalities in Hungary and Austria but with a very weak central link, does not encourage the idea of separate national units in India with a weak central link.

The Muslim League demand is, however, based upon fear of the tyranny of a Hindu majority and it must be understood in that sense.

AIM OF BRITISH STATESMEN

Secure at present in the freedom which the sacrifice of gallant men from Britain, India and the Dominions provides, the Congress continues to ask for declarations and to issue threats unless its demands are met by Britain, demands which have been repudiated by practically every other party in the country.

Mr. Rajagopalacharia (former Premier of Madras) is profoundly mistaken when he suggests that it is to the interest of any third party (presumably meaning Britain) to encourage the disunity of India.

The constitutional unity of India has been the aim of British statesmen for the past 100 years and the Government of India Act, 1935, is based upon that unity....

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"PARTY PLACED BEFORE COUNTRY"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an Associated Press report dated Ootacamund, Aug. 23, 1940.

"THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION (of August 22, 1940) is a tragic example of placing party before country," says Mr. F. E. James in a statement.

"The men of Wardha are almost as perverse in their attitude as the men of Vichy. They have turned their back on co-operation....When Britain has won the war, India will attain the status of a free nation in spite of the Congress....."

CONTEXT.

FULL DOMINION STATUS

MR. ARTHUR MOORE'S PLEA

Extracts from an Associated Press report dated Calcutta, June 18, 1940.

" Every day that passes before India is publicly accorded full Dominion status in all her external relations is a day lost in the war ", declared Mr. Arthur Moore, Editor of the *Statesman*, addressing the Rotary Club of Calcutta this afternoon on the subject of the war and India.

" Now what is the first flaw in our armour which must be immediately mended to get us ready for battle ? It is that India, the very centre of the Empire's map, the hope of four hundred million people, the potential source of unlimited supplies of men and materials, is not in the British Commonwealth of Nations. She wants to help Britain, she wants to play her part along with others for the future of the whole world, and she wants to be able to defend herself. But she has not the status of a country, she has not the position of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

> **" She ranks as a dependency which Hitler and Mussolini and other robber pirates, who might succeed in imposing their will on Britain, will have a legal right to apportion amongst themselves. That is intolerable and should be ended forthwith....**

" Two men are continually quoted as obstacles in the path of agreement, even at this late hour. My answer to that is let Britain first do her part. Let her proclaim India a self-governing Dominion, and I have confidence that neither my old colleague in the Assembly, Mr. Jinnah, nor my friend, Mahatma Gandhi, will refuse their aid to the Viceroy in forming a popular and organic Government....

" The ending of the controversy between Britain and India seems to me of the greatest urgency. Let us get the question out of the way and be of one heart and mind."

CONTEXT.

FEDERATION: EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION'S ATTITUDE.

Statement issued from Calcutta on behalf of the European Association, on August 9, 1939.

THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION, AT A TIME WHEN THE PROBLEM of Federation has assumed great prominence and has attracted so much public attention, have thought it well again to consider their own position in relation to it.

In the outcome, they reaffirm the view, already expressed on behalf of the Association, that the early achievement of the Federal Scheme on the basis embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is in the best interests of India, and that that scheme continues to meet with their full support.

CALCUTTA EUROPEANS' LOYALTY

Nearly 2,000 European British subjects attended a meeting held on Aug. 25, 1939, at Calcutta and affirmed their loyalty to the Empire. They discussed methods of service during the crisis. The meeting was organized by a committee under the auspices of the European Association, reports the Associated Press in the *Hindu* dated Aug. 26, 1939.

Similar meetings were held at other centres in India.

MR. GANDHI ON INDIA'S INTERNAL PROBLEMS

CONTEXT.

BACK TO THE WILDERNESS

MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT ON OCTOBER 18, 1939

Mr. M. K. Gandhi's statement to the Press (Oct. 18, 1939) on the Viceroy's declaration of October 17, 1939.*

THE VICEREGAL DECLARATION IS PROFOUNDLY DISAPPOINTING. It would have been better if the British Government had declined to make any declaration whatsoever. The long statement made by the Viceroy simply shows that the old policy of divide and rule is to continue.

So far as I can see, the Congress will be no party to it, nor can the India of Congress conception, be a partner with Britain in her war with Herr Hitler.

The Viceregal declaration shows clearly that there is to be no democracy for India if Britain can prevent it. Another Round Table Conference is promised at the end of the war. Like its predecessors, it is bound to fail. The Congress asked for bread and it has got a stone. What the future has in store for India I dare not foretell. I do not blame the Viceroy or the leaders of Britain for the unfortunate result.

" The Congress will have to go into the wilderness again before it becomes strong and pure enough to reach its objective."

H. E.'S BROADCAST ON NOV. 5, 1939

Statement issued by Mr. Gandhi on Nov. 8, 1939.

I HAVE READ WITH RESPECTFUL ATTENTION THE VICEROY'S broadcast and his introductory remarks on the correspondence between himself and Shri Rajendra Prasad and Jinnah Saheb, released by His Excellency....

The pronouncements hitherto made, whether here or in Great Britain, are after the old style, suspected and discredited by freedom-loving India. If imperialism is dead, there must be a clear break with the past; language suited to the new era has to be used. If the time has not yet come for acceptance of this fundamental truth, I would urge that further effort at reaching a solution should be suspended.

In this connection, I would remind British statesmen that what is wanted is a declaration of Britain's intention regarding

*Appendix, page 779.

her Indian policy, irrespective of India's wishes. A slave holder, who has decided to abolish slavery, does not consult his slaves whether they desire freedom or not....

THE MINORITIES

Minorities are entitled to protection, not in stages, but to the fullest extent and in one single step. No charter of freedom will be worth looking at which does not ensure the same measure of freedom for the minorities as for the majority. Minorities will be full-fledged partners in the framing of the constitution. How that can be attained will depend on the wisdom of the representatives charged with the sacred duty of preparing the constitution.

Britain has hitherto held power—this is inevitable in any system of imperialism—by playing the minorities against the so-called majority and has thus made an agreed solution among the component parts well-nigh impossible.

The burden of finding a formula for the protection of minorities should be thrown on the parties themselves. So long as Britain considers it her mission to bear that burden so long will she continue to feel the necessity of holding India as a dependency. And patriots, impatient for deliverance, will fight non-violently if I can guide them, and violently if I fail and perish in the attempt.....

CIVIL RESISTANCE AND THE LEAGUE

There can be no civil resistance so long as,

First, the Viceroy is exploring the possibilities of a settlement,

Secondly, the Muslim League blocks the way, and

Thirdly, there is indiscipline and disunity in the Congress ranks.

The second condition should not offend Muslim friends. So long as there is no workable arrangement with the Muslim League, civil resistance must involve resistance against the League. No Congressman can be a party to it.

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CONTEXT.

" THE MAIN ISSUE "

MESSAGE TO THE " NEWS CHRONICLE "

Statement by Mr. Gandhi cabled to the " News Chronicle," London, on Nov. 14, 1939.

I OBSERVE THAT THE MAIN ISSUE BETWEEN BRITAIN AND India is being confused in the British Press. Does Britain intend to recognise India as an independent nation or must India remain Britain's dependency ?

This question has not been raised by the Congress to gain an advantage over Britain, but to enable the people of India to decide how they should behave during the world crisis. The issue thus becomes purely moral for, owing to her material and military control of India, Britain is able to regulate the Indian and British garrison and drain India's wealth at her will. Eight provinces out of eleven have said in emphatic language that they cannot participate in the war if it does not mean, among other things, India's complete freedom.

MINORITIES

All other issues are subordinate. The question of minorities is purely a domestic one for the majority and the minorities to settle themselves. The proposed Constituent Assembly is the only body that can evolve a proper and lasting solution. Any other can only be a makeshift, carrying no popular sanction.

To fling the minorities question in India's face is to confuse issues. To raise the question of the Princes is still more untenable. They are part of the Paramount Power.

It is painful to think that British statesmen do not so much as mention the millions of people of the States. Have they no voice in their own government? Are they to remain serfs, which they are, though they are dragged into the war? No wonder Herr Hitler has challenged Britain to prove her sincerity by recognising India as a free nation. Whatever may be his intention in issuing the challenge, it cannot be denied that it is pertinent.

Any way, let the British public know that the Congress demand is unequivocal and capable of being satisfied if there is the will to shed imperialism.

The Working Committee meets on the 19th instant at Allahabad to consider the next step. There should be no misunderstanding, therefore, about the issue. If there is to be a fight between Britain and the Congress the world should know clearly what it is to be for.



CONTEXT.

"GERMS OF A SETTLEMENT"

Extract from an article dated Jan. 16, 1940, under the caption "The Dissentients", by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Jan. 20, 1940.

I AM NOT SPOILING FOR A FIGHT. I AM TRYING TO AVOID it. Whatever may be true of the members of the Working Committee, I wholly endorse Subhas Babu's charge that I am eager to have a compromise with Britain if it can be had with honour. Indeed, Satyagraha demands it. Therefore I am in no hurry. And yet if the time came and if I had no follower, I should be able to put up a single-handed fight.

But I have not lost faith in Britain. I like the latest pronouncement of Lord Linlithgow. I believe in his sincerity. There are undoubted snags in that speech. Many i's have to be dotted, many t's have to be crossed.

But it seems to contain the germs of a settlement honourable to both nations.

Those, therefore, who work with me have to appreciate this side of me. Perhaps from the standpoint of the dissentients this compromising nature of mine is a disqualification. If it is, the country should know it....

If the majority of Congressmen entertain the views that Shri Jai Prakash Narayan propounds on behalf of the Socialist Party, I can never hope to lead such an army to success....

MINORITIES QUESTION

What is to be done then? A declaration of civil resistance? Not yet. I mean what I say when I ascribe sincerity to Lord Linlithgow. He is doing his best to understand us, and his duty to his superiors and his nation. With all his traditions he cannot be made to jump to our position. He cannot be hustled into it.....

Whilst we may not allow the British Government to plead the minorities and the like as a bar to right action on their part, we may not blind ourselves to the fact that these questions exist and demand solution at our hands.

We may dismiss from our minds the impossible and utterly anti-national stand taken by the Quaid-e-Azam (great leader), Mr. Jinnah. We cannot dismiss the Muslims from our consideration. The same may be said about the other problems...

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CONTEXT.

"INDIA CANNOT BE ONE OF THE DOMINIONS"

Extracts from an article dated Feb. 6, by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Feb. 10, 1940, on his meeting with the Viceroy.

WE HAD MET TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITIES OF A SETTLEMENT. I had seen the germs of it in the Viceregal pronouncement in Bombay. But I discovered that I was mistaken. The Viceroy's hands were tied down. He was not to go beyond the four corners of the offer now before the country. Perhaps it represented too his own opinion.

But nothing has been lost by our meeting. In spite of the failure we have come nearer each other. There is a clarification of the situation. Non-violence requires great patients. The failure is only apparent. There can be no failure since both the cause and the means are just. This meeting has brought us nearer to our goal....

India cannot be one of the many Dominions, *i.e.*, a partner in the exploitation of the non-European races of the earth. If hers is a non-violent fight, she must keep her hands clean.

If India is not to be a co-sharer in the exploitation of the Africans and the degradation of our own countrymen in the Dominions, she must have her own independent status.

Its content and nature must not be dictated or determined by Britain. They must be determined by ourselves, meaning the elected representatives of the nation, call such an assembly what you will. Unless British statesmen definitely concede this, they do not mean to part with power.

Neither the question of Defence nor that of the Minorities nor of the Princes nor of the European interests need come in the way of her making this clear declaration. Not that the important matters just mentioned do not require serious consideration and adjustment. But they will yield to just and proper treatment only when the required declaration is made and followed up immediately by corresponding action, insofar as it is possible. Without it, Britain's war with Germany cannot be claimed to be just, certainly not unselfish.

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CONTEXT.

MR. GANDHI'S MESSAGE TO "DAILY HERALD"

Mr. Gandhi's reply to a cable from the "Daily Herald," London, asking for a special message on his latest interview with the Viceroy.

MY INTERVIEW WITH THE VICEROY SHOWED THAT A wide gulf still exists between the British Government and Nationalist India. What is offered is not real independence.

Reality demands that India should determine what she needs, and not Britain....It is necessary for Britain to be just to declare her determination to recognise immediately the freedom of India in practice. This means that the future constitution should be framed by a Constituent Assembly, or its equivalent as soon as practicable.

There is no analogy between the Dominions and India. Hers is a case by itself and has to be treated as such. It should be clearly understood that every problem is of Britain's own making.

Britain's moral victory will be assured when she decides by a mighty effort to abandon her immoral hold on India, and then her other victory will follow as day follows night, for then the conscience of the whole world will be on her side. No makeshift, such as is now offered, can stir India's heart or the world's conscience.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an article entitled "Is It War?" by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Feb. 17, 1940.

"FOUR PILLARS OF IMPERIALISM" IN INDIA

THE BUILDERS OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE HAVE patiently built its four pillars—the European Interests, the Army, the Princes and the Communal Divisions. The last three were to subserve the first. It is clear to the realist that the Builders have to remove the four pillars before they can claim to have given up the Empire or the Empire spirit. But they say to the nationalists or the destroyers of the Empire spirit," You have to deal with all the four pillars yourselves, before we can treat India as an Independent Nation, instead of being our Dependency."

They say, in other words, "Guarantee the European interests, make your own Army, and treat with the Princes and with the communalists, otherwise known as minorities."

The Destroyers retort: "By your policy of disarmament you have emasculated a whole nation. But we do not blame you for the past. On the contrary we admire your bravery, skill and spirit of adventure...But if you profess, as you have professed, that you have decided to give India her due, then you have to remove from our way the obstacles you have created. You are entitled to ask us to recognise the difficulties in the way of your making delivery and even to help you. If you are honest, you will leave us to do the best....."

"WAR TO PREVENT DISRUPTION OF EMPIRE"

Lord Zetland (Secretary of State for India) has given the answer to the Destroyers which I paraphrase as follows: "We mean to hold on to what we have. Within that orbit, we will let you have such freedom as we think is good for you. This war that we are fighting is to prevent the disruption of our Empire. We want your help, if you will give it on these terms. It is good for you and us. But we will do without your help if you will not give it. You are not the only party we have to deal with. There are many in India who recognise the benefits of British Rule and the *Pax Britannica*....

"Those like India who are under our tutelage will be initiated into the art of democracy in gradual stages so that their progress may be uninterrupted and they might not have to go through the travail we had to go through."

If, therefore, Lord Zetland represents the British Government's considered view, it is a declaration of war against Nationalist India. For all the four pillars stand firm, rock-like. The more the Nationalists try to deal with them as if they were problems for which they were responsible, the firmer they must become.

I cannot conscientiously pray for the success of British arms if it means a further lease of life to India's subjection to foreign domination. I write this last sentence with a heavy heart.

CONTEXT.

LORD ZETLAND "WANDERING IN FOREST OF UNREALITIES"

Statement by Mr. Gandhi (Wardha, Feb. 14, 1940,) on the interview given to the "Sunday Times" by Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, on February 11, 1940.*

LORD ZETLAND'S RECENT PRONOUNCEMENT, IF REPORTED correctly, sets at rest all speculation regarding the Government's attitude towards the Nationalist demand. I have been taught to believe that Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety is akin to independence and includes the right to secede. Therefore, I had thought there would be no difficulty about Britain allowing India to determine her own status.

But Lord Zetland makes it clear that Britain, not India, has to determine it. In other words the British hold on India must remain. He also puts the burden upon the Nationalists of solving the minorities question and the like. I have shown how impossible this is without previous recognition of India's independence, no doubt subject to safeguards.

"BRITISH TUTELAGE"

His Lordship thinks that because some Indians have received the boon of English education and have learnt ideas of freedom from British writers, they will want always to be under British tutelage, euphemistically called a partnership.

This is what I call banging the door upon the Nationalist position. Does it mean a pact deadlier than was announced at the last Round Table Conference? If it does, it is a declaration of war against the Nationalists, who are out to destroy the Empire spirit. I submit that it is wrong to dismiss the Indian claim by accusing the Nationalists of losing realities in idealism. I suggest that it is he, who refuses to face the realities and is wandering in a forest of unrealities. I cannot accuse him of idealism. I assure him that Nationalist India is in dreadful earnest.

■ ■ ■

"BARGAINING" WITH BRITAIN

Mr. Gandhi's comment in the "Harijan" of March 30, 1940, on a speech delivered by the Chief Judge of Mysore State.

I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THE PARAMOUNT POWER SHOULD not take notice of the Chief Judge's extraordinary utterance. Surely he misuses the word bargain when he applies it to the Congress policy. What is there to be ashamed of in the Congress seeking the deliverance of the country from foreign rule, even when the foreigner is in distress?

If the Congress was not committed to the method of peace, it would have been not only justified but would have deemed it its duty to take advantage of Britain's

*Appendix, page 888.

difficulty by creating a state of rebellion in the country by every means at its disposal.

But the Congress has adopted the policy of peace. No doubt it would have done better if it could have honestly accepted my advice. The choice before the Congress was not between two evils but between good and better. The better was beyond its ability, and would, therefore, have harmed and weakened it. Thus 'good' was the best for the Congress, and so I threw in my lot with it.

I would have been a traitor if, having led the Congress to accept non-violence as its policy, I had remained on my pedestal and refused to guide the great organisation. It ill becomes those who believe in war as an accepted institution to charge the Congress with the spirit of bargaining. The word is a misfit when it is applied to the life and death struggle of a nation bent upon vindicating its right to freedom.

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CONTEXT.

STATEMENT TO "NEW YORK TIMES"

"IF BEST ENGLISHMEN AND BEST INDIANS MEET...."

Mr. Gandhi's statement to a representative of the "New York Times" at Bombay on April 27, 1940.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF INDIA, WHETHER IT IS DOMINION Status or something else, can only come after the war. It is not a question at present to decide whether India should be satisfied with Dominion Status for the time being.

The only question is: what is the British policy? Does Great Britain still hold the view that it is her sole right to determine the status of India, or whether it is the right of India to make that determination? If that question had not been raised, there would have been no discussion such as we are facing today. The question having been raised—and it was India's right to raise it—I was bound to throw in my weight, such as it is, with the Congress.

Nevertheless I can still repeat the question I put to myself immediately after the first interview with the Viceroy: 'Of what value is freedom to India if Britain and France fall? If these Powers fail, the history of Europe and the history of the world will be written in a manner no one can foresee.

Therefore, my question has its own independent value. The relevant point, however, is that, by doing justice to India, Britain might ensure the victory of the Allies because their cause will then be acclaimed as righteous by the enlightened opinion of the world.

FAITH IN NON-VIOLENCE

You are right in pointing out that there is unheard-of devastation going on in the world. But *that is the real moment for testing my faith in non-violence.* Surprising as it may appear to my critics, my faith in non-violence remains absolutely undimmed.

Of course, non-violence may not come in my lifetime in the measure I would like to see it come, but that is a different matter.

It cannot shake my faith, and that is why I have become unbending so far as the fulfilment of my conditions prior to the starting of civil disobedience is concerned; because at the risk of being the laughing-stock of the whole world, I adhere to my belief that there is an unbreakable connection between the spinning wheel and non-violence so far as India is concerned.

Just as there are signs by which you can recognise violence with the naked eye, so is the spinning wheel to me a decisive sign of non-violence. But nothing can deter me from working away in hope. I have no other method for solving the many baffling problems that face India.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

If the best Englishmen and the best Indians meet together with a fixed determination not to separate until they have reached an agreement, the way will have been opened for the summoning of the Constituent Assembly of my conception.

Of course, this composite board will have to be of one mind as to the goal. If that is put in the melting pot, there will be nothing but interminable wrangling. Therefore, self-determination must be the common cause with this composite board.

■ ■ ■

"NO DESIRE WHATSOEVER" TO EMBARRASS BRITAIN

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an article entitled "Civil Disobedience by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of April 27, 1940.

THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE ADVISEDLY PASSED no startling or new resolution this time. For there was no programme before them. That of civil disobedience has to be evolved by me....

Now civil disobedience, if it is really civil, must appear so even to the opponent. He must feel that the resistance is not intended to do him any harm. At the present

moment the average Englishman thinks that non-violence is merely a cloak. The Muslim Leaguers think that civil disobedience is aimed at them more than at the British.

I protest with all the strength at my command that, so far as I am concerned, I have no desire whatsoever to embarrass the British, especially at a time when it is a question of life and death with them.

All I want the Congress to do through civil disobedience is to deny the British Government the moral influence which the Congress co-operation would give.

The material resources of India and her manpower are already being exploited by the British Government by reason of their control of the whole of this sub-continent.

If by civil disobedience the Congress has no desire to embarrass the British people, it has still less to embarrass the Muslim League. And I can say this on behalf of the Congress with far greater assurance than I can with regard to the British.

Working in the midst of suspicion and terrible misrepresentation on the one hand and the prevailing lawlessness outside and inside the Congress on the other, I have to think a thousand times before embarking on civil disobedience....

■ ■ ■

COMMITTEE OF LEADERS FOR THE PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT

CONTEXT.

Mr. Gandhi's reply (April 28, 1940), to a cablegram from the "News Chronicle" regarding a proposal that a Committee of Indian leaders representing all interests should try to reach an agreement on essentials, preliminary to an official constitutional settlement.

THE PROPOSAL FOR CONVENING A COMMITTEE OF LEADERS to reach a preliminary agreement is attractive, provided the leaders are elected and not nominated according to the acceptable procedure. This is my personal view. I have not consulted my colleagues.

■ ■ ■

"NOT AVERSE TO COMPROMISE"

"Times of India" representative's interview with Mr. Gandhi on May 9, 1940 reproduced in the "Harijan" of May 18, 1940 under the caption "An Important Interview".

"I AM NOT AVERSE," MR. GANDHI EXPLAINED, "TO coming to terms with Britain on matters like defence and commercial interests, and I am fully prepared that these adjustments should be referred to a Constituent Assembly as part of an agreed settlement."

Mr. Gandhi went on to explain his attitude to the Constituent Assembly. "I believe personally that it is the most satisfactory method of procedure ; but don't forget that

I preserve an open mind on the matter. If some people hold that there are other forms of procedure which are more representative, I am willing to be convinced. Today I say that the Assembly should be elected on adult franchise, but here again my mind is open to alternative proposals, provided these proposals have the backing of representative men ".

" If the Viceroy ", asked the correspondent, " declares that he will summon a conference of the best Englishmen and the best Indians, and if he further agrees that its terms of reference will be to arrange for the establishment of self-government within the shortest period practicable would you accept that gesture ? "

AN EMPHATIC REPLY

Mr. Gandhi's reply was emphatic. " Certainly, it will be acceptable. In the preliminary conference it is necessary that the best Englishmen and the best Indians should meet to adjust their differences, but in the framing of the Constitution only Indians must participate."

" If the Viceroy," continued Mr. Gandhi with deliberation, " is authorised to declare that His Majesty's Government have definitely come to the conclusion that it is the sole right of India to determine the form of government under which she would live, and if with that end he summons a conference of the best Englishmen and the best Indians—the latter elected according to an acceptable procedure—to devise a method whereby a Constituent Assembly can be summoned for the purpose of framing a Constitution and for solving all problems that may arise, I would accept the proposal." " But,"—and here Mr. Gandhi spoke gravely—" I don't sense the proper atmosphere today."

Asked whether, if His Majesty's Government summoned a conference and acted in good faith, he would be prepared to use his personal influence to induce the Congress Ministers to return to office, the Mahatma quickly replied:

" Not unless there is a Hindu-Muslim agreement. I should wait."

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

WE DO NOT SEEK INDEPENDENCE OUT OF BRITAIN'S RULE

Extracts from an article (entitled "Not Yet") by Mr. Gandhi in the " Harijan " of June 1, 1940.

I WOULD UNHESITATINGLY DECLARE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE if the country was demonstrably non-violent and disciplined.. Any false step at the present time may end in the loss of the great moral prestige the Congress has gained. We have sufficiently demonstrated that the Congress has done with imperialism, and that it will not be satisfied with anything less than the unfettered right of self-determination.

If the British Government will not *suo motu* declare India as a free country, having the right to determine her own status and constitution, I am of opinion that we should wait till the heat of the battle in the heart of the Allied countrie subsides and the future is clearer than it is.

We do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin. That is not the way of non-violence.

But we shall have many opportunities of demonstrating our power if we really have it. We can make it felt at the time of peace which must come whichever party wins.

Have we got the power ? Is India at ease without having up-to-date arms ?... We must first demonstrate the efficacy of non-violence of the strong in our own country before we can expect to influence the tremendously armed Powers of the West.

But many Congressmen are playing at non-violence. They think in terms of civil disobedience anyhow meaning the filling of jails. This is a childish interpretation of the great force that is civil disobedience.

"I WILL LEAVE NO STONE UNTURNED"

CONTEXT.

Extract from the "Ha i-jan" dated June 1, 1940.

INTERVIEWED ON MR. L. S. AMERY'S STATEMENT IN THE House of Commons, Gandhiji said :

While hourly butchery is going on in the West and peaceful homes are being destroyed, I have no heart to say anything publicly in regard to Mr. Amery's statement. Suffice it to say that I will leave no stone unturned to bring about a peaceful and honourable settlement of the present deadlock.

"GULF WIDENED"

CABLEGRAM TO "NEWS CHRONICLE"

Mr. Gandhi sent this cablegram on August 13, 1940 in response to a request from the "News Chronicle" London.

HAVING RETIRED FROM PARTICIPATION IN CONGRESS politics, I have refrained from expressing an opinion on the recent Viceregal pronouncement (August 8, 1940). But pressure from friends in England and fellow-workers here demands a response from me.

The Viceregal pronouncement is deeply distressing. It widens the gulf between India, as represented by the Congress, and England. Thinking India outside the Congress,

too, has not welcomed the pronouncement. The Secretary of State's gloss soothes the ear, but does not dispel suspicion. Neither does the pronouncement take note of the smouldering discontent. My own fear is that democracy is being wrecked. Britain cannot claim to stand for justice if she fails to be just to India. India's disease is too deep to yield to any make-believe or half-hearted measures.



CONTEXT.

"FREE EXPRESSION OF OPINION GAGGED"

Extract from a Press statement issued by Mr. Gandhi, on his interview with H. E. the Viceroy on Sept. 27, 1940.

THE DETERMINATION TO GAG FREE EXPRESSION OF OPINION, provided it was not in the least painted with violence, shatters Britain's claim that India's participation in the war is voluntary.



BREAKDOWN IN TALKS

TRIBUTE TO LORD LINLITHGOW

Extracts from an article by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Oct. 13, 1940, under the caption, "More About the Simla Visit."

IN THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN H. E. THE VICEROY and myself announcing the breakdown in the talks, I have said in my letter that I would make a public statement covering matters not referred to in my letter.

Before I do so I think it is necessary for my purpose to say a few words regarding Lord Linlithgow. He is straight in his talk, always deliberate, and economical in his language. He is never equivocal, never leaves you in doubt as to his meaning.

He conveys the most unpalatable decisions with a calmness and courtesy which, for the moment, make you think that you have heard no harsh or hard decision.

He listens to your argument with a patience and attention I have never known any other Viceroy or high functionary to show in an equal measure. He is never ruffled and never discourteous.

With all this, however, he is not to be easily moved from his position. He meets you with his decision on the matter under discussion already made. He takes care not to let you think that it is so, but there is no doubt about it that his decision is unchangeable.

He is not receptive. He has amazing confidence in the correctness of his judgment. He does not believe in a gentle-

man's or any other agreement. I have always felt that after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact British satraps decided that there should be no more such pacts. Whatever they wanted to do, they should do independently. It shows either a high sense of justice or boundless self-assurance. I think it is the latter.

He and I have become friends, never to be parted, be the differences between us as great as they can be.

THE CONDITION PRECEDENT

I felt that the putting up by the Viceroy, and then the Secretary of State, of want of an agreement by the Congress with the Princes, the Muslim League and even the Scheduled Classes as a barrier to the British recognition of India's right to freedom, was more than unjust to the Congress and the Indian people. I told the Viceroy that these three represented class or communal interests, whereas the Congress represented no particular class. It was a purely national organisation striving to represent India as a whole ; and, therefore, the Congress had always maintained that it would abide by the verdict of a national assembly, elected on the basis of the broadest franchise.

It had further declared its intention to abide by the vote of the separate Muslim electorate, so far as special Muslim rights were concerned. Therefore, it was wrong to speak as if Muslim rights needed special safeguards as against the Congress. The same thing applied to the Sikhs.

TREATY OBLIGATIONS

The Princes of the present day were a creation of the British Government to subserve British interest. As against the plea that the British were bound by special treaty obligations, I contended that the Congress did not ask the British Government to disregard them. Only they could not be used to bar Indian progress, and it was wholly wrong to expect the Congress to produce an agreement with them. The Princes were not, like other parties, free to conclude any agreement with the Congress, even if they wished. Moreover, the treaties, if they oblige the British Government to protect the Princes, equally compel them to protect the rights of the people.... I cited some telling illustrations of this neglect of duty.

The introduction of the Scheduled Classes in the controversy has made the unreality of the case of the British Government doubly unreal. They know that these are the special care of the Congress, and that the Congress is infinitely more capable of guarding their interests than the British Government. Moreover, the Scheduled Classes are divided

into as many castes as Caste Hindu society. No single Scheduled Class member could possibly and truthfully represent the innumerable castes.

"THE STEEL FRAME"

I have sought the interview with the Viceroy to see if my interpretation of the British argument had any flaw. I failed to get any satisfaction on the points raised. The Viceroy would not be drawn into a discussion. I can have no grievance about his disinclination to enter into any argument. He had every right to rely upon the fact that that was a matter of high policy not admitting of argument.

There is a certain cold reserve about the British official world which gives them their strength and isolation from surroundings and facts. They do not want to be too frank. They politely refuse to enter into embarrassing argument. They leave you to draw what inferences you like, while they continue to maintain their inflexible attitude. I suppose that is what is meant by the steel frame.

For me, this side of British policy has been the least attractive. I had hoped, against the warning of friends, that I might be able to break through this steel wall of reserve and get at the naked truth. But the imperialist Britisher is firmly fixed in his saddle.

"WILL NOT ACCEPT DEFEAT"

Nevertheless, I will not accept defeat. I must strive to have the truth admitted by the British people that the bar to India's freedom lies not in the Congress or any other party's inability to produce an agreement which is in its nature impossible, but that it undoubtedly lies in the British disinclination to do the obviously right thing.

Lest it might be said that the Congress fights because it has failed to get power, I told His Excellency in the plainest words possible that the Congress had no desire to mount to power at the expense of a single national interest. It seeks no power save for the whole nation.

Therefore, he will have no opposition from the Congress if he forms a Cabinet composed of representatives of different parties. The Congress would be content to be in opposition so far as the war effort is concerned and so long as the machinery of Government has to subserve imperialist ends.

The immediate issue is not independence. The immediate issue is the right of existence, *i. e.*, the right of self-expression which, broadly put, means free speech.

This the Congress wants not merely for itself, but for all, the only restraint being complete observance of non-violence. I hold that that condition answers all the difficulties, by whomsoever raised.

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CONTEXT.

Extract from an article (entitled "Some Vital Questions") by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of July 6, 1940.

IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE: INDEPENDENCE

THE FIRST THING THAT EVERYONE HAS TO CONSIDER FOR himself is whether Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety can be acceptable to India. If it has not become a myth already, it will be at the end of the war. Britain herself, victorious or defeated, will never be the same as she has been for these few hundred years. But this much is certain that her defeat, if it must come, will certainly be glorious. If she is defeated, she will be because no other Power similarly situated could have avoided defeat.

I cannot say the same of her victory. It will be bought by a progressive adoption of the same means as the totalitarian States have adopted...

> **Whatever may be the case, it is clear to me that India's immediate objective must be unadulterated Independence. This is no time for mincing words or hiding our thoughts. I cannot think of anyone wanting less than Independence for his country, if he can get it....**

The next question for consideration is that of providing for internal disorder and external invasion....I shall hope to the last that for the sake of themselves, India, aye, Britain herself, and humanity, Congressmen will resolutely decline to have anything to do with the use of arms for any of the two purposes. I feel strongly that the future of humanity lies in the hands of the Congress. May God give wisdom and courage to Congressmen to take the right step.

EXPANSION OF COUNCIL

The offer of enlarging the Viceroy's Council is on the tapis. The Congress cannot countenance it, so long as it swears by Independence and non-violence. But if it sidetracks them, it will be logically driven to reconstructing the Congress Ministries in the Provinces. This means the Congress becoming a vital part of the war machine. The Government of India has no other occupation but that of preparing India for defending Britain. It is an illusion to talk of preparing India for self-defence. No Power has eyes on India except as a British possession. As such she is a rich prize. Is not India the brightest jewel in the British Crown? But I own that

if India is to learn the trade of war, she can now have her apprenticeship to the extent that the British masters will allow.

"IRRESISTIBLE TEMPTATION"

The Congress has to make its choice. The temptation is irresistible. Congressmen can again become Cabinet Ministers. They may also be Ministers or Members at the Centre. They will have an insight into the war machine.... If I have my way, I would have the Congress resist the irresistible temptation and not grudge those who believe in the accepted method filling all these posts.

> **There will be Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and others taking up these posts, as they have done before now. They, too, are our countrymen. We must give them credit for good faith.**

Let us who believe in Independence and the only way to attain it, hold fast to the objective and the means. I can see much good coming out of this division of functions. For the Congress to merge itself into the stereotyped method would be a disaster of the first magnitude.

If, on the other hand, the Congress sticks to its Colours, it is sure to fight its way to its goal even before the war is over provided that the fight is purely, truly and demonstrably non-violent.

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CONTEXT.

DOMINION STATUS

MR. GANDHI'S CHANGE IN VIEWS SINCE 1937

Extracts from an article (entitled "For Englishmen") by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of March 16, 1940, in reply to a communication "from a very responsible Englishman to a common friend".

THE WRITER SAYS, "WHAT ARE WE TO MAKE OF THE Congress Working Committee's latest move and of what appears to be the rather sudden and drastic change from a demand for Dominion Status to one for Complete Independence ?

Now Complete Independence has been the definite goal of the Congress since 1929....

> **Confusion arises from my oft-quoted letter to Mr. Henry S. L. Polak wherein I said in 1937 that, if Dominion Status with the right to secede was offered, I for one would accept it. I had no authority to bind anyone else to that statement. Needless to say the offer was never made.**

Whatever may be said of me, no charge of change of policy can be brought against the Congress. So far as I am concerned I have changed.

Experience since gained and maturer reflection have led me to think that Dominion Status, even of the Statute of Westminster variety cannot suit India's case.

I have only recently given my reasons for the change of opinion which I need not repeat here....

"INDIAN STRUGGLE IS NOT ANTI-BRITISH"

The writer dreads to think what will happen to India if Englishmen were to vacate the country bag and baggage. Such a contingency is inconceivable in a non-violent struggle. The end of non-violent action is a friendly settlement. If he means merely the English soldiers, they will certainly go if they will not serve Independent India, or if they are not wanted because they are too expensive, or for any other cause.

It must not be forgotten that the Indian struggle is not anti-British, it is anti-exploitation ; anti-foreign-rule, not anti-foreigners....

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CONTEXT.

INDEPENDENCE AND "DOMINION STATUS"

Extract from report in the "Harijan" of June 24, 1939, of Mr. Gandhi's reply to questions put by Mr. Steel of the "New York Times" at Rajkot.

"BY INDEPENDENCE I MEAN THE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL of British power from India. It does not exclude a partnership between two nations enjoying equal independent status and terminable by either at will. "It need not differ from Dominion Status. But perhaps Dominion Status won't be a happy term to use for a continent like India, which is ethnologically and politically different from other Dominions like South Africa, Canada, Australia, etc.

"But perhaps this term is as elastic as the English Constitution. And if Dominion Status could be so defined as to cover a case like India and if India could come to an honourable agreement with England, I would not quarrel about words.

"If British statesmen feel it convenient to use the word Dominion Status about India rather than any other, in order to describe that honourable agreement, I will not quarrel."

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CONTEXT.

DOMINION STATUS OR INDEPENDENCE ?

Extract from a note entitled "Dominion Status or Independence" by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Dec. 16, 1939.

THE CHARGE OF SHIFTING GROUND IS NOT NEW. THE charge arises from my compromising nature, the desire 'to agree with my adversary quickly'. Thus, when a newspaper interviewer came to me in Yeravada in 1930, I used the oft-quoted expression 'substance of Independence'.

I told him that I should be satisfied with the substance, instead of the fleeting shadow, of Independence. Similarly, I had said to a friend that, if Dominion Status was offered, I should take it and expect to carry India with me. This is, surely, not in conflict with my saying that I would not be satisfied with anything less than the best, when a definition of war aims is concerned. I should be a traitor to the country's cause if I lowered the goal.

If, therefore, Dominion Status is less than Independence, I must claim the latter. If it is the same as Independence, it is solely for India to decide what her status will be called. And in examining Dominion Status as India's status I have endeavoured to show that it will ill fit her case, as Dominion Status has associations which shows that it is applicable to the Whites only and does not exclude the exploitation of non-European races.

India, which is among the exploited nations, will be a misfit as a fellow-exploiter with, say, South Africa. Free India's mission must be much higher, especially if she finally accepts non-violence as a substitute for war.

■ ■ ■

WOULD INDIA BE ABLE TO RETAIN INDEPENDENCE ?

Extracts from an article by Mr. Gandhi under the caption "Independence", in the "Harijan" of Dec. 23, 1939.

IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE CONGRESS HAS NOT ASKED FOR Independence. It has asked for a declaration of Britain's war aims. Secondly, Independence, when it comes, will come because India is ripe for it. Therefore, there can be no consideration to be given for it. It is not a marketable thing. It is a status....

I must dissent from the correspondent's view that "India is in no position, even if it gets Independence, to be able to retain it." The correspondent has involved himself in it because he thinks that Independence can be a gift from someone.

> **India will never have it until she is able to keep it against the whole world. The alliance with Britain will be, not for India's protection, but for mutual benefit. So long as she needs Britain's protection, for whatever cause, her status will be less than Independence.**

We see the mockery of it going on in Europe today among the small nations. I attach little importance to such Independence. So long as the basis of society is force, smaller nations, must hold their status on sufferance. I should not be interested in India being in such a position. And India is not a small nation....

I see no difficulty in a Constituent Assembly elected on a wide franchise. But I do in an Assembly of wise men. Where are they ? Who will certify to their wisdom ?



CONTEXT.

"THE STRUGGLE"

NO STRIKES OR NO-TAX CAMPAIGNS

Extracts from an article by Mr. Gandhi (under the caption "Independence Day") in the "Harijan" and reproduced in the "Hindustan Times" of January 23, 1940.

STUDENTS HAVE ASKED ME WHAT THEY SHOULD DO ON Independence Day. I would expect them individually to take the Independence Pledge, for it means their determination to win independence for India through trustful and non-violent means, symbolized in the constructive programme in which the *Charkha* (spinning wheel) is the central activity. Other items are : harmony among different communities and the eradication of untouchability. These do not constitute a struggle, but their fulfilment is indispensable for it. *If the struggle comes, students will not strike.* They will leave their schools or colleges for good. But students will not strike on January 26 (Independence Day). The same things apply to labour. Those who, without leave, absent themselves from work will, in my opinion, be guilty of indiscipline and render themselves unfit for enlisting as soldiers in the Satyagraha Army....

"STRUGGLE MUST INVOLVE CONSIDERABLE SUFFERING"

The pledge is not designed, as some fear, to eliminate strikes and no-tax campaigns. But I must at once confess that I have in my mind neither strikes nor no-tax campaigns as parts of the forthcoming struggle, if it comes at all.

In my opinion the present atmosphere is not conducive to non-violent strikes and non-violent no-tax campaigns on an extensive scale....

Though I am preparing myself in the best manner I know and inviting the country to join me for a struggle for the overthrow of the imperialistic spirit and all it means, I am making a desperate effort to avoid a struggle. I believe that the best minds of England, nay of the world, are sick of exploitation by the strong of the less strong.

I believe in the sincerity of Lord Linlithgow. In the immediate carrying out of policies it is the individuals who count. I have worked with faith and hope. And I have not lost the hope that we shall have an honourable settlement without a struggle, which, no matter how non-violent, must involve considerable suffering. I, therefore, invite all Englishmen to join in the effort.

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WORLD PEACE

'I MAY BE AN INSTRUMENT'

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an article by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Oct. 20, 1940, under the caption, "Civil Disobedience".

LET ME REPEAT THE ISSUE. ON THE SURFACE IT IS incredibly narrow—the right to preach against war as war or participation in the present war. Both are matters of conscience for those who hold either view. Both are substantial rights. Their exercise can do no harm to the British, if their pretension, that to all intents and purposes India is an independent country, is at all true. If India is very much a dependency in fact as it is in law, whatever the British get from India can never be regarded as voluntary; it must be regarded as impressed. This battle of life and death cannot be won by impressed levies, however, large.

I know that India has not one mind. There is a part of India that is war-minded and will learn the art of war through helping the British.

The Congress has no desire, therefore, to surround ammunition factories or barracks and prevent people from doing what they like.

We want to tell the people of India that, if they will win Swaraj through non-violent means, they may not co-operate militarily with Britain in the prosecution of the war.

And who knows that I shall not be an instrument for bringing about peace not only between Britain and India but also between the warring nations of the Earth.

This last wish will not be taken for vanity by those who believe that my faith is not a sham but a reality greater than the fact that I am penning these lines.

■ ■ ■

CONGRESS "WAR RESOLUTION"

"I HAD A CONCLUSIVE DEFEAT"

Extract from a statement issued by Mr. Gandhi (on

ON THE WAR RESOLUTION, I HAD A CONCLUSIVE DEFEAT. I was invited to draft a resolution and so was Pandit Jawahar-

August 23, 1939) on the War resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha.

lal Nehru. I was proud of my draft, but my pride went before destruction. I saw that I could not carry my resolution, unless I argued and pressed for it. But I had no such desire. We then listened to Jawaharlal's. And I, at once, admitted that it represented more truly than mine the country's opinion, and even the Working Committee's as a whole. Mine was based upon out-and-out non-violence. If the Congress heartily believed in non-violence in its fullness, even as a policy, this was its testing time.

But Congressmen, barring individual exceptions, do not believe in such non-violence. Those who do, believe that it is the right thing only for a fight against the Government, for wresting power. But the Congress has no non-violent message for the world. I would fain believe that the Congress had such a message.

The conclusion to both the resolutions need not have been radically different. But the motive power being different, the same conclusion would bear a different meaning in a different setting.

In the face of the violence going on in India itself, in the face of the fact that the Congress Governments have been obliged to fall back upon military and police assistance, a declaration to the world of non-violence would have seemed a mockery. It would have carried no weight in India or with the world.

Yet, to be true to myself, I could not draft any other resolution than I did. The fate, to which I was a party, of my resolution, proved the wisdom of my withdrawal of official connection with the Congress.

"MY MISSION OF NON-VIOLENCE"

I attend the Working Committee meetings, not to identify myself with its resolutions or even its general policy. I attend in the pursuit of my mission of non-violence. So long as they want my attendance I go there to emphasize non-violence in their acts and, through them, in those of Congressmen. We pursue the same goal. They, all of them, would go the whole length with me if they could, but they want to be true to themselves and to the country, which they represent for the time being, even as I want to be true to myself.

I know that the progress of non-violence is seemingly terribly slow. But experience has taught me that it is the surest way to the common goal.

There is deliverance neither for India nor for the world through the clash of arms. Violence, even for the vindication of justice, is almost played out. With

that belief I am content to plough a lonely furrow, if it is to be my lot that I have no co-sharer in my out-and-out belief in non-violence.



" FRIENDLY SPIRIT OF CONGRESS "

CONTEXT.

Extract from a note by Mr. Gandhi in the " Harijan " of Oct. 21, 1939.

I REGARD THE RECENT RESOLUTION (OCT. 10, 1939) OF the All-India Congress Committee on the situation as moderate and wise. It was bound to reiterate the Congress demand for an unequivocal declaration. Its merit lies in not fixing any time limit for the declaration. It is noteworthy that the resolution was carried by a majority of three to one.

It is to be hoped that the British Government will appreciate the friendly spirit in which the Congress is approaching the situation. It is to be hoped also that the Europeans of India will range themselves alongside of the Congress....



WARDHA RESOLUTION OF OCT. 22, 1939

" LEAVES THE DOOR OPEN "

Extract from a report dated Wardha, October 23, appearing in the " National Herald " of October 23, 1939.

" HOW I WISH THE STUDIED MODERATION OF THE WORKing Committee's resolution will be recognised and appreciated by all concerned ", said Mahatma Gandhi, interviewed by the Associated Press on the Wardha resolution (of October 22, 1939)*.

" Deplorable as the Viceregal declaration† undoubtedly is ", he added, " there is nothing irretrievable. The moderation of the Working Committee's resolution leaves the door open for satisfying the national demand and averting the crisis."



BREAK WITH CONGRESS

GANDHI ON " NON-VIOLENCE OF THE STRONG"

Extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi on the Cong-

I AM BOTH HAPPY AND UNHAPPY OVER THE RESULT. HAPPY because I have been able to bear the strain of the break and

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* Page 142. † Page 779.

rese Working Committee resolution of June 21, 1940, in the "Harijan" of June 29, 1940

have been given the strength to stand alone. Unhappy because my word seemed to lose the power to carry with me those whom it was my proud privilege to carry all these many years, which seem like yesterday.

But I know that, if God shows me the way to demonstrate the efficacy of the non-violence of the strong, the break will prove to have been temporary. If there is no way, they will have justified their wisdom in bearing the wrench of letting me go my way alone. If that tragic discovery of my impotence is in store for me, I hope still to retain the faith that has sustained me all these years and to have humility enough to realise that I was not a fit enough instrument to carry the torch of non-violence any further.

But this argument and doubt are based upon the assumption that the members of the Working Committee represent the feeling of the vast majority of Congressmen. They would wish, and I hope, that the vast majority of Congressmen had in them the non-violence of the strong. No one would be more glad than they to discover that they had underrated Congressmen's strength.

The probability, however, is that there is no majority, but only a good minority, which represents the non-violence of the strong. It should be remembered that the matter does not lend itself to argument....



CONTEXT.

"HAND OF FRIENDSHIP EXTENDED BY CONGRESS"

MR. GANDHI ON THE DELHI RESOLUTION

Extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of July 13, 1940, under the caption "The Delhi Resolution."

I HAVE JUST SEEN THE NEWS THAT THE WORKING COMmittee's fateful resolution has been released to the Press....

Rajaji (Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar) was the framer of the resolution. He was as certain of his position as I was of mine. His persistency, courage and utter humility brought him converts. Sardar Patel was his greatest prize. He would not have even thought of bringing up his resolution if I had chosen to prevent him. But I give my comrades the same credit for earnestness and self-confidence that I claim for myself....

He claims that his very *Ahimsa* (non-violence) has led him to the point which culminated in his resolution. He thinks that I suffer from obsession owing to too much brooding on *Ahimsa*. He almost thinks that my vision is blurred. It was no use my returning the compliment though, half joking, I did....I at once saw as clear as daylight that, if my position was not acceptable, Rajaji's was the only real alternative. I, therefore, encouraged him to persist in his effort, though

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all the while I held him to be hopelessly in the wrong. And by exemplary patience, skill and considerateness towards his opponents he got a good majority, five remaining neutral. I had a fearful moment. Generally such resolutions are not carried by the majority vote. But at this juncture unanimity was not to be expected. I advised that Rajaji's resolution should be enforced. And so, at the last moment, the Committee decided that the resolution should go forth to the world....

"CONSIDERED POLICY"

Rajaji's resolution represents the considered policy of the Congress. Non-Congressmen, who were eager for the Congress to be free of my religious bias to adopt a purely political attitude, should welcome the resolution and support it wholeheartedly. So should the Muslim League, and even the Princes who think of India more than their principalities.

The British Government have to make their choice. Independence they cannot withhold, unless their wisdom is as much blurred as Rajaji claims that mine is. If Independence is recognised, the acceptance of the other part of the resolution follows as a matter of course.

The question is : do they want to impress help from India by virtue of their rulership over India, or will they have the help that a free and independent India can give ?

My individual advice has already gone. My help always has been promised. Acceptance of that advice can but enhance their heroism. But if they cannot accept it, I advise, as a disinterested but staunch friend, that the British Government should not reject the hand of friendship offered by the Congress.



CONTEXT.

"WE ARE RENDERING HELP TO ENGLISH NATION"

"I HAVE RESTRAINED MYSELF"

Extracts from the text of Mr. Gandhi's speech in English (revised by him) and appearing in the "Harijan" of Sept. 29, 1940, at the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay on Sept. 15, 1940.

I HAVE MADE REPEATED STATEMENTS THAT I WOULD NOT be guilty of embarrassing the British people or the British Government when their very existence hung in the balance that I would not be true to my satyagraha, would not be true to non-violence, would not be true to the truth which I hold dear if I did so, and therefore could not do so. That very man now stands before you to shoulder the burden of satyagraha. Why ?

There comes a time when a man in his weakness mistakes vice for virtue ; and virtue itself, when taken away from

its context and from the purpose for which it was dedicated, becomes vice. I felt that, if I did not go to the assistance of the Congress and take the helm, even if it be in fear and trembling, I would be untrue to myself.

I feel that in taking the step that we are doing we are rendering a great service not only to the Congress but to the whole of India. And we are rendering a service not only to the whole of India. History will record and Englishmen will be able to grasp this statement some day—that we rendered help to the English nation, and they will find that we were true to our salt and had the same bravery and fearlessness of which the Englishman is proud and for which he is renowned.

I, who claim to be a fast friend of the British people, will be guilty of unfriendly conduct if, under a false sense of modesty, or because people may think otherwise about me, or because Englishmen themselves will be angry with me, I do not issue a warning that the virtue of self-restraint now becomes vice, because it will kill the Congress organisation, and it will kill the very spirit which is exercising this restraint.

" NO EMBARRASSMENT "

When I say this, I am speaking not only for the Congress, but for all who stand for national freedom—Muslims, Parsis, Christians and even those who are against the Congress, so long as they represent the aspiration of India, namely, unadulterated independence. I should be untrue to all of them, if at this time I said, ' no embarrassment to the British '. I must not repeat parrot-like ' no embarrassment '. Then that repetition would be just as useful for my salvation or for the guarding of my virtue as the repetition by a parrot of God's name which cannot bring him salvation, because it is only a mechanical and vocal effort without any intelligence behind it.

Therefore, if I exercise that suppression at this critical moment in the history of the nation, it would be useless. I should be perfectly untrue to myself if I hid myself in Sevagram and said, " No, I have told you, no embarrassment."

The language of this resolution is, in the main, mine. The Working Committee has accepted this phraseology deliberately, well knowing its implications. The result is this : If we can get a declaration from the Briti h Government that the Congress can carry on anti-war propaganda and preach non-co-operation with the Government in their war effort, we will not have civil disobedience.

THE " FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE "

I do not want England to be defeated or humiliated. It hurts me to find St. Paul's Cathedral damaged. It hurts me as much as I would be hurt if I heard

that the Kashi Vishvanath temple or the Juma Masjid was damaged.

I would like to defend both the Kashi Vishvanath temple and the Juma Masjid and even St. Paul's with my life, but would not take a single life for their defence. That is my fundamental difference with the British people.

My sympathy is there with them nevertheless.

Let there be no mistake on the part of Englishmen, Congressmen, or others whom my voice reaches, as to where my sympathy lies.

It is not because I love the British nation and hate the German. I do not think that the Germans as a nation are any worse than the English or the Italians are any worse. We are all tarred with the same brush ; we are all members of the vast human family.

Let there be no mistake as to what I am about. I want my individuality to remain unimpaired. If I lose it, I would be of no service to India, much less to the British people, still less to humanity. I feel that, if my liberty is at stake, yours is also at stake. I claim the liberty of going through the streets of Bombay and saying that I shall have nothing to do with this war, because I do not believe in this war and in this fratricide that is going on in Europe.

I admire the bravery. But what is the use of this bravery? I deplore the foolishness and the crass ignorance. These people do not know what they are fighting for. That is how I look at this war that is going on across the seas. I cannot possibly take part in it. Nor do I want the Congress to do so.

THE " TIN-POT " CONGRESS

And now I come to our 'tin-pot' Congress—tin-pot in the estimation of others, not my own. If we do not take care, the Congress will disappear, and if the Congress disappears, the national spirit disappears. One after another Congressmen are being selected and jailed. It is not satyagraha to watch people being taken away. It is much better for all of us to rush into the jaws of the opponent.....

If this liberty of the nation or the movement for freedom is likely to be choked, then I say that the virtue of self-restraint cannot be carried to the extent of the extinction of the national spirit, wherever it may reside, whether among Congressmen or non-Congressmen.

I do not want to hurl civil disobedience or anything in the face of the Government without making my meaning clear, the meaning I attach to the sum total of Government actions—actions beginning with the declaration of the Viceroy, the

statement of the Secretary of State for India, and the series of actions and the policy that the Government have pursued since.

The sum total of all these has left an indelible impression on my mind that there is something wrong, some injustice being perpetrated against the whole nation, and that the voice of freedom is about to be stifled. This is implied in the resolution, not in the exact language which I am using now, but you will see the meaning clear as daylight....

"IMPLICATIONS OF MY GENERALSHIP"

Let the people use any reasoning they like for refusal to help the war effort. My reasoning is the only one which will sit well on Congressmen's lips. But I do not expect all to restrict themselves to that reasoning.

> **Those who have conscientious objection, as I have, will adopt my reasoning. Those who are tired of British imperialism will use that argument. There may be others who will have other arguments. All these should be covered under this freedom of speech, provided, however, that they all accept non-violence, provided also that what they say is said openly and not secretly. These are the implications of my generalship....**

I cannot sit still when I see Ram Manohar Lohia and Jai Prakash Narain in jail, than whom I do not know braver or straighter men. They have not preached violence, but simply carried out the behests of the Ramgarh resolution. It was a point of honour with them.

> **I have restrained myself, and will restrain myself. I will not seek imprisonment. I do not want to offer civil disobedience. I will not place myself in peril. In this battle I will not expose myself to imprisonment. But if the Government chooses, it will not be difficult to take me away. I will not be able to seal my lips or restrain my pen.**

It will be difficult for them to keep me in prison, not because India will rise in rebellion. India will be wrong if it does so. My own instinct is that they will not be able to keep me in jail....

Freedom of speech and of the pen is the foundation of Swaraj. If the foundation-stone is in danger, you have to exert the whole of your might in order to defend that single stone. May God help you.

NEW CONGRESS POLICY OF INTERVENTION

Extracts from a report of an interview given to a "Times of India" special correspondent by Mr. Gandhi on Jan. 24, 1939 (reproduced in the "Harijan" of Jan. 28, 1939.)

THE POLICY OF NON-INTERVENTION BY THE CONGRESS was in my opinion, a perfect piece of statesmanship when the people of the States were not awakened. That policy would be cowardice when there is an all-round awakening among the people of the States and a determination to go through a long course of suffering for the vindication of their just rights. If once this is recognised, the struggle for liberty, wherever it takes place, is the struggle for all India.

Whenever the Congress thinks it can usually intervene, it must intervene. . .

Unthinking people very often blame me for having said that, constitutionally, the Indian States were foreign States I do not accept that blame at all. I was wandering about in the States and I knew, as a matter of fact, that the people of the States were not ready.

The moment they became ready, the legal, constitutional and artificial boundary was destroyed. This is a tremendous moral question. Constitutionalism, legality and such other things are good enough within their respective spheres, but they become a drag upon human progress immediately the human mind has broken these artificial bonds and flies higher. That is precisely what is happening before my eyes.

Without any spur from any outside agency, I saw at once that there must be intervention by the Congress of the type you see today. And it will go on from stage to stage, if the Congress remains the moral force that it has become—in other words, if the Congress lives up to its policy of non-violence. . . .

CONGRESS MINISTRIES AND STATE SUBJECTS

Extracts from an article by Mr. Gandhi (under the caption "Rajkot") in the "Harijan" of Feb. 4, 1939.

WHAT THEN IS THE DUTY OF THE CONGRESS WHEN THE people of Rajkot have to face not the Ruler and his tiny police but the disciplined hordes of the British Empire ?

The first and natural step is for the Congress Ministry to make themselves responsible for the safety and honour of the people of Rajkot. It is true that the Government of India Act gives the Ministers no power over the States. But they are governors of a mighty province in which Rajkot is but a speck. As such, they have rights and duties outside the Government of India Act. And these are much the most important.

Supposing that Rajkot became the place of refuge for all the *goondas* (bad characters) that India could produce, supposing, further, that from there they carried on operations throughout India, the Ministers would clearly have the right, and it would be their duty, to ask the Paramount Power, through the British Representative in Bombay, to set things right in Rajkot. And it will be the duty of the Paramount Power to do so or to lose the Ministers.

Every Minister in his province is affected by everything that happens in territories within his geographical limit though outside his legal jurisdiction, especially if that thing hurts his sense of decency. Responsible government in those parts may not be the Ministers' concern, but if there is plague in those parts, or butchery going on, it is very much their concern ; or else their rule is a sham and a delusion.

Thus the Ministers in Orissa may not sit comfortably in their chairs, if they do not succeed in sending 26,000 refugees of Talcher to their home with an absolute assurance of safety and freedom of speech and social and political intercourse.

It is insufferable that the Congress, which is today in alliance with the British Government, should be treated as an enemy and an outsider in the States, which are vassals of the British.

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DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

CONTEXT.

In a letter to Mr. Gandhi early in January, 1939, the late Lord Lothian asked : " But must not the non-violent spirit of selfless love for all, enemies and friends alike, express itself, if it is to succeed, in a liberal democratic constitutional form of government ? " Here are extracts from Mr. Gandhi's reply published in the " Harijan " of Feb. 11, 1939.

I HAVE PURPOSELY REFRAINED FROM DEALING WITH the nature of government in a society based deliberately on non-violence. All society is held together by non-violence even as the earth is held in her position by gravitation. But when the law of gravitation was discovered the discovery yielded results of which our ancestors had no knowledge. Even so, when society is deliberately constructed in accordance with the law of non-violence, its structure will be different in material particulars from what it is today. But I cannot say in advance what the government based wholly on non-violence will be like....

Thus the conclusion is irresistible that for one like me, wedded to non-violence, constitutional or democratic government is a distant dream so long as non-violence is not recognised as a living force, an inviolable creed, not a mere policy.

While I prate about universal non-violence, my experiment is confined to India. If it succeeds, the world will accept it without effort. There is, however, a big BUT. The pause does not worry me. My faith is brightest in the midst of impenetrable darkness.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

FEDERATION OF DISSIMILARS

Extracts from an article by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Feb. 11, 1939, in reply to another letter from Lord Lothian.

BUT THE FEDERAL STRUCTURE IS INCONCEIVABLE TO me because it contemplates a partnership, however loose, among dissimilars. How dissimilar the States are is being demonstrated in an ugliness for which I was unprepared. Therefore, the Federal structure, as conceived by the Government of India Act, I hold to be an utter impossibility.

■ ■ ■

ALLEGATION AGAINST RESIDENT IN RAJKOT

Extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Feb. 11, 1939, dealing with the Government of India and Jaipur Government Communiques on his statements on Rajkot and Jaipur.

LET ME STATE THE ISSUE CLEARLY. I SEEK NO INTERference in the affairs of the State. I seek non-interference by the Resident in Rajkot. The Resident is directly responsible for the strained relations between the State and the people. It is the duty of the Paramount Power to see that the solemn pact is fulfilled in the letter and in the spirit....

■ ■ ■

PARAMOUNT POWER "BOUND TO HELP REFORMERS"

Extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi, under the caption "Lawless Limbdi," in the "Harijan" of Feb. 25, 1939.

IN SPITE OF THIS LAWLESSNESS, THE REFORMERS WILL win if they have grit enough to be ground to the dust and if they really represent the wishes of the people. The public outside will help them.

The Paramount Power is also bound by treaty obligations to help them, as has been amply proved by Pyarelal (Mr. Gandhi's Secretary) in the extracts produced from Lee Warner. But let the Satyagrahis know that salvation comes from within. They will have to lose all, if they will save their souls and gain the freedom which is their birthright.....

■ ■ ■

PRINCES "HAVE A PLACE IN INDIA"

Extract from a statement issued to the Press on March 7, 1939 (and reproduced in the "Harijan" of March 11) by Mr. Gandhi before breaking his Rajkot fast.

I KNOW THAT, EVEN AS IT IS, THERE IS A GROWING SCHOOL of public opinion in India which is convinced that the Princes are beyond reform, and that there would be no free India unless this 'relic of a barbaric past' is done away with. I honestly differ with them and, as a believer in non-violence and therefore in the goodness of human nature, I could not do otherwise.

They have a place in India. It is not possible to wipe out all the traditions of a hoary past. I, therefore, hold that if the Princes will read from the lessons of the past and will respond to the time spirit, all will be well. But they will have to take heroic measures. They need not follow the Rajkot model, but they will have to part with real and substantial power in favour of the people.....



CONTEXT.

INSULT TO CONGRESS

PARAMOUNT POWER MAY NOT TOLERATE IT

Extracts from an article by Mr. Gandhi (under the caption "Reading The Signs") in the "Harijan" of March 25, 1939, dealing with the position of two Travancore leaders.

MAY THE PRINCES SUMMON WHATEVER OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE they may choose. and not the people ?.... The connection between the people of the States and of the so-called British India is organic, vital and indissoluble. There is no such connection between the Princes, who are and who pride themselves on being independent of one another. The common tie between them is that of subservience to the Paramount Power, without whose permission, implied or explicit, they cannot move a blade of grass.

But the Paramount Power itself growingly lives on the will of the nation, including the people of the States. If the nation realises that it can develop invincible strength through truth and non-violence, the Paramount Power will be voluntarily replaced by the power of the people....

If the Princes will not listen, let the Paramount Power tell them in plain terms that they may not expect the latter's assistance in suppressing their people. The Paramount Power which draws Ministers in many Provinces from the Congress may not sit still when neighbouring States heap insults upon the Congress. It is an anomaly that demands quick handling....



TRIBUTE TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS

BUT MANY CONGRESSMEN DID NOT CO-OPERATE WITH MINISTERS

Extracts from a leading article by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of June 24, 1939.

NOR HAS MY VIEW UNDERGONE ANY CHANGE THAT IT IS essential for the Paramount Power to do its duty towards the people of the States—a duty which it has woefully neglected all these years....

The positive implication of the Rajkot chapter in my life is the discovery that the non-violence claimed for the movement since 1920, marvellous though it was, was not unadulterated. The results though brilliant, would have been far richer if our non-violence had been complete. A non-violent action, accompanied by non-violence in thought and word, should never produce an enduring violent reaction upon the opponent. But I have observed that the movement in the States has produced a violent reaction on the Princes and their advisers. They are filled with distrust of the Congress. They do not want what they call interference from it. In some cases, the very name ' Congress ' is anathema. This should not have been the case.

The value of the discovery lies in its reaction upon me. I have definitely stiffened in my demands upon would be Satyagrahis ; if my stiffness reduces the number to an insignificant figure, I should not mind. If Satyagraha is a universal principle of universal application, I must find an effective method of action even through a handful. . .

Final Satyagraha is inconceivable without an honourable peace between the several communities composing the Indian nation.

CONGRESS ORGANISATIONS HAVE INTERFERED

Lastly, there is provincial autonomy. I adhere to my belief that we have not done anything like justice to the task undertaken by the Congress in connection with it.

It must be confessed that the Governors have on the whole played the game. There has been very little interference on their part with ministerial actions.

But the interference, sometimes irritating, has come from Congressmen and Congress organisations. Popular violence there should not have been whilst the Congressmen were in office.

Much of the ministerial energy has been devoted to dealing with the demands and opposition of Congressmen. If the Ministers are unpopular, they can and should be dismissed. Instead, they have been allowed to function without the active co-operation of many Congressmen.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

RAJKOT : VICEROY'S INTERVENTION SOUGHT

Extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi (under the caption " Have I Erred ?") in the " Harijan " of June

I HAVE NO SENSE OF SHAME ABOUT GOING TO H. E. THE Viceroy. I had invited him as the Crown Representative to perform his duty by intervening to enforce performance of

24, 1939 with reference to Rajkot affairs.

a promise by a tributary of the Crown. I had not gone as a petitioner depending upon his mercy.....

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

NECESSARY REFORMS IN STATES

MR. GANDHI ON " THE MINIMUM "

Extracts from an article (entitled " To The Princes ") by Mr. Gandhi in the " Harijan " of July 15, 1939.

SEVERAL PERSONS INTERESTED IN THE STATES HAVE asked me what in my opinion is the minimum that all States should guarantee in order to come in a line with enlightened opinion in what is called British India.... the opinion I am about to give is only my own and binds no one but me

The minimum, then, that all States, great and small, can give is :

1. Full civil liberty, so long as it is not used to promote violence directly or indirectly. This includes freedom of the Press and freedom to receive newspapers which do not promote violence.

2. Freedom to the people of the State s to form associations and educate public opinion in favour of establishing responsible government in their own States.

3. Freedom for Indians outside particular States to enter them without let or hindrance so long as their activities are not directed towards the destruction of the States in question.

RULER'S PRIVY PURSE

4. The privy purse should be limited so as not to exceed one-tenth of the income, where it ranges between Rs. 10,00,000 to Rs. 15,00,000 per year, and in no case should the purse exceed Rs. 3,00,000 per year, and should include all the private expenses of the Ruler (*e.g.*, palace expenses, cars, stables, the Ruler's guests) except those which have reference to performance of public duty which should be clearly defined.

5. The Judiciary to be independent and permanent and free of all interference. In order to ensure uniformity of practice and strict impartiality, there should be an appeal to the High Court of the Province within which the State in question is situated. This may not be possible without a change in the law governing the High Courts. It can, I imagine, be easily altered if the States agree.

I have purposely avoided reference to constitutional reform This will depend upon the situation as it exists in every State. I should assume that where local public opinion demands it, the Ruler is bound to respond.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

CONGRESS FLAG AND BANDE MATARAM

Extracts from an article by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of July 1, 1939.

THE QUESTION OF THE USE OF THE NATIONAL FLAG STILL continues to agitate the public mind. It was designed when non-co-operation was at its height. It was accepted without reserve, without opposition, by all communities.... The Muslim and others vied with the Hindus in hoisting, carrying and honouring it. I recall having listened to the Ali Brothers enthusing over it from many a platform. It was conceived as a symbol of the peaceful revolt against imperialistic exploitation of a nation pledged to non-violence through a mighty constructive and united effort through the spinning wheel and khadi, signifying out and out Swadeshi and identity with the poorest in the land.

It also symbolized unbreakable communal unity, the colours being specially and deliberately designed and chosen.. But it has to be admitted that it does not command that respect today....

I, therefore, suggest that where there is any opposition in a mixed gathering, the flag should not be hoisted. This can happen in schools, colleges, local boards, municipal councils and the like. The flag should not be insisted on when there is opposition even from one member.... My advice applies even to those places where the flag is already flying....

What I have said about the flag applies *mutatis mutandis* to the singing of the *Bande (or Vande) mataram.* No matter what its source and how and when it was composed, it became a most powerful battle cry among Hindus and Mussalmans of Bengal during the partition days. It was an anti-imperialist cry....

I would not risk a single quarrel over singing *Bande mataram* at a mixed gathering. It will never suffer from disuse....

■ ■ ■

INDIAN STATES : "DUTY OF PARAMOUNT POWER"

Extracts from an article (in the "Harijan" of July 29, 1939) by Mr. Gandhi under the caption, "Minority Administration" in the course of which he refers to the Dhami Communique on the firing in the State.

BUT WHAT ABOUT THE RANA ? HAS HE BEEN DEALING justly by his people ? Was he really in danger of his life to warrant firing in self-defence ?.... It is the duty of the Paramount Power to deprive Chiefs of powers of which they do not know judicious use. The whole question regarding the place of the States in Greater India requires overhauling..

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CONTEXT.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND ARMED WARFARE

Extract from a report, in the "Harijan" of Aug. 5, 1939, of a speech delivered by Mr. Gandhi at a public meeting at Abbottabad on July 24, 1939.

LET NO ONE IMAGINE THAT BECAUSE THE HINDUS CONSTITUTE the majority community they can win Swaraj for India, or even for themselves, by organizing civil disobedience without the backing or support of the other communities.

Civil disobedience of the purest type, as I have often repeated, can be effective even if it is confined to a few. But then these few must represent in their persons the united will and strength of the whole nation. Is it not the same in armed warfare ?

VOLUNTARY FEDERATION

Extracts from an article, under the caption "Plea For Voluntary Federation," by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Sept. 2, 1939.

AN IMPOSED FEDERATION IS LIKELY TO DIVIDE INDIA more than it is today. It would be a great step if the British Government were to declare that they would not impose their federal structure on India. The Viceroy seems to be acting in that fashion, if he is not saying so. If my surmise is correct, I suggest that a clear declaration will add grace to his action and will probably pave the way for real federation and, therefore, real unity. That federation can naturally never be of the Government of India Act brand. Whatever it is, it must be a product of the free choice of all India.

But before that political and legalized federation of free choice comes, there should be a voluntary federation of parts to begin with, if not of the whole. This reflection arises from the famine conditions today in parts of lesser Gujarat and the whole of Kathiawad....

COLLECTION OF GRAIN

The (Bombay) Premier contemplates the collection of grain and fodder from available sources outside the Province and its distribution in famine areas, including Kathiawad. The Bombay measure I consider not only to be necessary but conducive to the interest as well of the whole of the States part of the Province as of the British part. I call it an act of voluntary federation ...

What I contemplate has nothing to do with politics. My present and ultimate aim here is purely humanitarian.

If the Kathiawad States would voluntarily federate, say, for water, forests and roads, purely for saving life, there would be no danger of a water famine such as threatens that cluster of States....

CONTEXT.

"NO DESIRE TO ELIMINATE THE PRINCES"

Extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi under the caption "A Maharaja's Threat", in the "Harijan" of Sept. 16, 1939, discussing Patiala State affairs.

I HAVE NO DESIRE TO ELIMINATE THE PRINCES. FRIENDS have complained to me that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has, made such a statement, although the Congress has enunciated no such policy. I have not had the opportunity of asking him about the alleged remark. But, assuming that he did make the statement, it can only mean that some Princes are so acting as to bring about their own elimination.

It is wrong to judge Pandit Jawaharlal by newspaper reports. His considered opinion is to be gathered from his statement on behalf of the Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference. Therein he has even warned people against hasty action. He is much too loyal a Congressman to contemplate any action in advance of known Congress policy.

Therefore, the fear and hatred of the Congress on the part of some Princes are misplaced and are calculated to injure rather than help them.

The Congress is not seeking to interfere directly in the affairs of any State. But the Congress does guide the States people. They are part of the Congress organisation. They derive strength and inspiration from their connection with the Congress. I do not know how this organic relationship can be avoided. To wish its termination is like an attempt to make children disown their parents....

■ ■ ■

DEFINITE PLACE FOR THE PRINCES

"BUT THEY MUST YIELD WILLING AID TO FREE INDIA"

Extract from an article dated Dec. 11, 1939, under the caption "The Princes" by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Dec. 16, 1939.

WHATEVER MAY BE SAID TO THE CONTRARY, I MUST continue to claim to be a friend and well-wisher of the Princes, for my picture of free India has a definite place for them. The small Princes would do well to abdicate the powers they should never have possessed, and the powers of the bigger ones should be regularized. I have also ventured to suggest the minimum required....

If the Princes will not read the signs of the times, has the Paramount Power, which has 'rescued' or 'created' them, no duty towards the people of the States? Shri Pyarelal (Mr. Gandhi's Secretary) has examined this question and endeavoured to show, as the reader will find elsewhere in this issue of "Harijan", that no treaty obligations absolve the Paramount Power from protecting the people against misrule,

or compel it to recognise the Princes as co-equals with itself and free from all control.

The very word 'Paramountcy' involves the final authority of the Paramount Power. The so-called treaties are not treaties between equals, but conditions and restrictions imposed upon those to whom they are given. They are so many grants, principally or wholly for the consolidation of Paramountcy ..."

The Princes must not be used or allowed to impede the march of India to freedom, even as the I. C. S., a British creation, cannot be allowed to do so. Both are bulwarks of the Empire, and both will either be found to yield willing assistance to free India or will be disbanded. This is not said to offend them. It is the naked truth .

WAR AIMS OF BRITAIN

I observe that British statesmen have now begun to confine the war aims to the freedom of European nations. Unless the war comes to an abrupt end, they will find it necessary to go back to the original aim of saving the world for democracy....

At any rate, the Congress, which has voluntarily disarmed itself and chosen the path of peace or non-violence, is engaged in bringing the moral issue to the forefront. And it if keeps patient, it may by its sheer insistence to the moral issue play an important part in preventing the impending holocaust. A clear perception of the problem of the Princes is a big part of the moral issue.....

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"CONFEDERATION OF SMALL STATES"

CONTEXT.

Extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi in the Harijan of Aug. 19, 1939.

FOR THE MOMENT I MUST CONTENT MYSELF WITH HEARTILY supporting the proposal (confederation of small States). I do not share the fear of my correspondent about much opposition from the smaller States, if they are sympathetically approached.

They will soon realize that their safety lies in some kind of confederation and sharing of power with the people. The chief thing is a dispassionate representation of the problem and the creation of public opinion that cannot be answered or opposed.

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CONTEXT.

FRANCHISE: LITERACY TEST FOR AUNDH STATE

Extract from a note (dated Bardoli, Jan. 10' 1939), in the "Harijan" of Jan. 14, 1939. by Mr. Gandhi, on the "Aundh Constitution".

I HAVE MYSELF HITHERTO SWORN BY SIMPLE ADULT franchise as well for the illiterate as the literate. My observation of the working of the Congress Constitution has altered my opinion. I have come round to the view that a literacy test is necessary for two reasons. The vote should be regarded as a privilege, and therefore, carry some qualification. The simplest qualification is a literacy test.

And if the ministry appointed in Aundh State under the literacy franchise is sincere and solicitous about the disqualified illiterates, the much desired literacy will come in no time. The Aundh Constitution has made primary education free and compulsory. I have been assured by the Appa Saheb (Ruler of the State) that he will see that illiteracy is driven out from Aundh State inside of six months. I hope, therefore, that there will be no opposition in Aundh to the literacy test.

COMMUNAL DIFFERENCES

"ALL VERY WELL TO BLAME BRITAIN"

Extract from an article (under the caption "Causes") by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Oct. 28, 1939.

THE BEST WAY OF LOSING A CAUSE IS TO ABUSE YOUR opponent and to trade upon his weakness. Whatever may be true of other modes of warfare, in Satyagraha it has been held that the causes for failure are to be sought within. The refusal by the British Government to fulfil the Congress hope that they would make the expected declaration is solely due to the weaknesses in the Congress organization and Congressmen.

Congressmen must be held partly responsible for the failure to compose communal differences. It is all very well to blame the British Government for our disunity. But that way we prolong the agony. We knew that the policy of Divide and Rule was there in 1920, and yet we made Hindu-Muslim unity part of our constructive programme. We did so because we had expected that, in spite of the Government being in our way, we would achieve unity. What is more we seemed for the time being to have attained it.

I am as impatient as the hottest Congressman for the complete deliverance of the country from the foreign yoke. But I have no hate for a single Englishman and for that matter for anybody on earth. If I may not help the Allies, I do not wish disaster to them. Though the British Government have grievously disappointed the Congress hope, my hope, I do not seek any gain from their embarrassment.

My attempt and my prayer are and will be for an honourable peace between the belligerent nations in the least possible time. I had nursed the hope that there would be an honourable peace and partnership between Britain and India, and that I might be able to play a humble part in finding a way out of the awful carnage that is disgracing humanity and making life itself a burden. But God had willed it otherwise.



CONTEXT.

" CONGRESS DEMAND MISUNDERSTOOD "

From the " Harijan " of October 28, 1939.

IN RESPONSE TO A REQUEST FROM *The News Chronicle* (London) Gandhiji sent the following cable :

I have no doubt whatsoever that the Viceregal statement on behalf of the British Government in reply to the Congress invitation could not have been made more irritating than it has proved to be. What the Congress had asked was not an answer to India's demand for Independence, but it had reminded Britain of the neglect to declare whether her war against Herr Hitler to preserve democracy included India. This had no connection with India's readiness to digest Independence.

But the Congress demand was evidently misunderstood, and the Viceroy began a sort of Round Table Conference in which one member did not know what the other said to the Viceroy, and, as a result of these talks, he was instructed to make a statement wholly unrelated to the unprecedented upheaval going on in front of us.

If the British Government wanted to measure the strength of the Congress and that of other political organizations, it should have been obvious that the Congress could not satisfy the Government standard. But the Congress had set before itself a higher mission. The Congress wanted to help Britain by giving her the moral support which was its speciality and the only thing it could give. The Congress would not give this unless it was clear that Britain's political morality was wholly sound.

THE QUESTION

I wish the British Government would realize that India is not begging for independence. The Congress asked Britain to say that Britain would not resist Independence. The Hindu-Muslim and other difficulties are there beyond dispute.

The question is whether Britain will stand aside and let India settle her own difficulties in her own way when the war is over.

CC-0. DPI

That is why the Congress has suggested a Constituent Assembly, where every community will be fully represented, to frame India's constitution. The mischief done is very real. The Working Committee have passed a mild resolution. It still affords scope for repairing the blunder.

Will the British public realize that it is a blunder, or will they persist in the hypnotic belief that the India Office can never err and that India must always remain their milch cow ?

I can only say that the Congress will not rest and will give no rest till the goal is won. Its very existence depends upon its relentless pursuit of the goal which is no less than complete independence of India.



CONTEXT.

" THE FICTION OF MAJORITY "

Extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi entitled " the Fiction of Majority " in the " Harijan " of Oct. 21, 1939.

I KNOW THAT MANY HAVE BEEN ANGRY WITH ME FOR claiming the exclusive right for the Congress to speak for the people of India as a whole. It is not an arrogant pretension. It is explicit in the first article of the Congress. It wants and works for independence for the whole of India. It speaks neither for majority nor minority. It seeks to represent all Indians without any distinction. Therefore, those who oppose it should not count, if the claim for independence is admitted. Those who support the claim simply give added strength to the Congress claim.

And who are the minorities ? They are religious, political and social : thus Mussalmans (religious) ; Depressed Classes (social) ; Brahmins (social) ; Non-Brahmins (social) ; Lingayats (social) ; Sikhs (social) ; Christian—Protestants and Catholics—(religious) ; Jains (social) ; Zamindars (political). I have a letter from the Secretary of the All-India Shia Conference registering their claim for separate existence.

Who are the majority in this medley ? Unfortunately for unhappy India, even Muslims are somewhat divided and so are the Christians. It is the policy of the British Government to recognize every group that become sufficiently vocal and troublesome. I have drawn no fanciful picture of the minorities. It is true to life. The Congress itself has been obliged to deal with every one of the group I have mentioned. My list is not exhaustive. It is illustrative. It can be increased *ad libitum*.

" HINDUISM AN ELASTIC INDEFINABLE TERM "

I know that the fashion is to talk of the Hindus forming the majority community. But Hinduism is an elastic indefinable term, and Hindus are not a homogeneous whole, like

Muslims and Christians. And when one analyses the majority in any provincial legislature it will be found to consist of a combination of the so-called minorities.

In other words, and in reality so far as India is concerned, there can only be political parties and no majority or minority communities. The cry of the tyranny of the majority is a fictitious cry.

Consider for one moment what can happen if the English were to withdraw all of a sudden and there was no foreign usurper to rule. It may be said that the Punjabis, be they Muslims, Sikhs or others, will overrun India. It is highly likely that the Gurkhas will throw in their lot with the Punjabis. As ume further that non-Punjabi Muslims will make common cause with the Punjabi. Where will the Congressmen composed chiefly of Hindus, be ? If they are still truly non-violent, they will be left unmolested by the warriors.

Congressmen won't want to divide power with the warriors but will refuse to let them exploit their unarmed countrymen. Thus, if anybody has cause to keep the British rule for protection from the stronger element, it is the Congressmen and those Hindus and others who are represented by the Congress.

WHO IS STRONGER ?

The question, therefore, resolves itself into not who is numerically superior but who is stronger. Surely there is only one answer. Those who raise the cry of a minority in danger have nothing to fear from the so-called majority which is merely a paper majority and which, in any event, is ineffective because it is weak in the military sense.

Paradoxical as it may appear, it is literally true that the so-called minorities' fear has some bottom only so long as the weak majority has the backing of the British bayonets to enable it to play at democracy.

But the British power will, so long as it so chooses, successfully play one against the other, calling the parties by whatever names it pleases. And this process need not be dishonest. They may honestly believe that so long as there are rival claims put up, they must remain in India in response to a call from God to hold the balance evenly between them.

Only, that way lies not Democracy, but Fascism, Nazism, Bolshevism and Imperialism, all facets of the doctrine of ' Might is Right '. I would fain hope that this war will change values. It can only do so if India is recognized as independent and if India represents unadulterated non-violence in the political field.



THE MINORITIES

REPLY TO SIR SAMUEL HOARE

Mr. Gandhi issued this statement on the speech of Sir Samuel Hoare in the House of Commons on October 26, 1939.

I HAVE READ SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S SPEECH WITH THE attention it deserves. I appreciate the conciliatory tone behind it. It makes it, therefore, embarrassing for me to produce what may appear to be a jarring note. But, even as he speaks from a sense of duty, I hope I shall receive the same credit.

Has Dominion Status for India any meaning unless it is synonymous with independence?

Has the India of his imagination the right to secede from the Commonwealth?

I like the declaration that the British have shed imperialistic ambition. Will he allow the people of India to judge for themselves whether in reality that ambition has been shed? If it is, proof of it should be forthcoming even before India is statutorily declared independent.

MINORITIES

When the protection of minorities is pleaded against the declaration required by the Congress, the great pronouncement made by Sir Samuel Hoare sounds unreal.

What the Congress has asked is not any sounding of Indian opinion but a declaration of Britain's intention.

> **I have endeavoured to show that there is no such thing as a real minority in India, whose rights can be endangered by India becoming independent. With the exception of the Depressed Classes there is no minority which is not able to take care of itself.**

I observe that Sir Samuel Hoare has mentioned the Europeans also as a minority.

The very mention of Europeans, in my opinion, condemns the cry of protection of the interest of minorities. But the protection of minorities, whatever they are, is common cause between the British Government and the Congress. I would like the British Government to remember that there is every prospect of Congress India, to use Sir Samuel Hoare's phrase, being a hopeless minority.

NON-CONGRESS INDIA

I like Sir Samuel's division of India into Congress and non-Congress. And if non-Congress India contains not merely the Princes but the people of the Princes' India all the Muslims, all those who might be represented by the Hindu Mahasabha and others who refuse to be classified

as part of Congress India, it is Congress India which will be in danger of a non-Congress majority. And the Congress has got to make good its position, even though it may represent a minority wholly unarmed, partly by outside force but largely by its own will.

"MORAL SCALES"

I am glad that Sir Samuel Hoare has declared that the present British policy is to be judged in the moral scales suggested by me.

I venture to suggest that if Sir Samuel's speech is the last word of the British Government, British political morality will be found wanting.

Sir Samuel has laughed at non-co-operation as a barren doctrine. I am convinced that it is not as barren as he thinks. It has proved its worth in the eyes of millions of people and will do so again if the Congress remains truly non-violent, as I hope it will. The Congress decision is an imperative duty. It puts both the Congress and the British Government on their trial. Nothing but goodwill can come out of it, if both play the game.

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CONTEXT.

OBSTACLES TO CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

"IT WILL CERTAINLY MEAN HINDU-MUSLIM RIOTS"

Extract from an article entitled "The Next Step" by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Nov. 4, 1939.

I CANNOT IDENTIFY MYSELF WITH ANY CIVIL DISOBEdience unless I am convinced that Congressmen believe in non-violence, with all its implications, and will follow implicitly the instructions issued from time to time.

Apart from the uncertainty of the observance of non-violence in the Congress ranks is the tremendous fact that the Muslim League looks upon the Congress as the enemy of the Muslims.

This makes it well-nigh impossible for the Congress to organise successful non-violent revolution through civil disobedience. It will certainly mean Hindu-Muslim riots.

Non-violent technique, therefore, demands the reduction of civil disobedience to the lowest term consi tent with national self-respect. The offensive will have to be taken by the British Government. In a situation so delicate and unexampled, no individual Congressman, or even Congress Committee, can be allowed to take the law into their own

hands. The Working Committee should alone have the right to declare and regulate civil disobedience.

I have undertaken to guide the Working Committee, but my limitations appal me. My physical condition makes it impossible for me to move about as I used to before. I am, therefore, cut off from all outward contact with the masses. Even the present Congress workers I do not know personally. I never meet them. My correspondence has to be restricted as much as possible.

Therefore, unless Congressmen almost instinctively perceive the duty and the necessity of the preliminary inaction I am prescribing, my guidance will be not only useless but harmful. It will create confusion...

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"MR. JINNAH LOOKS UP TO BRITISH POWER"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a note by Mr. Gandhi entitled "Hindu-Muslim Unity" in the "Harijan" of Nov. 4, 1939.

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY MEANS COMMUNAL UNITY. No pact seems to be in front of us. Janab Jinnah Saheb looks to the British Power to safeguard Muslim rights. Nothing that the Congress can do or concede will satisfy him. For he can always, and naturally from his own standpoint, ask for more than the British can give or guarantee. Therefore, there can be no limit to the Muslim League demands.

So far as the Congress is concerned, it does not represent all Hindus or all of any single community except in the sense that the Congress represents all because all are believed to desire independence for the country and the Congress is without a rival in fighting for that goal.

It has certainly never represented the Hindus as such. That function is claimed by the Hindu Mahasabha just as that of solely representing Muslim interests is claimed by the Muslim League.

The only course left open to the Congress, therefore, is to state its own communal policy for the guidance of Congressmen, no matter to which community they belong The Congress should have no quarell with the Muslim League for getting all it can through the British Power. An institution that is fighting that Power will never put itself in the wrong by fighting the Muslims.

■ ■ ■

REPLY TO "THE TIMES"

The following report, dated Wardha, November 6, appeared in the "National Herald" of Nov. 8 1939.

COMMENTING ON THE LONDON 'TIMES' EDITORIAL ON the Indian situation, Mahatma Gandhi says:

The editorial seems to me to be unfair. The minorities question has invariably been brought up whenever the question of India's freedom has come to the fore.

To represent the Congress and its demand as totalitarian is to misrepresent facts. This misrepresentation is not less serious because it is unconscious. The Congress has deliberately discarded the use of force. It has no military backing or tradition.

It has from its inception believed in communal unity. It seeks to represent non-Hindus as well as Hindus. It has had Parsis, Muslims, and Christians leading it.

It has gone out of its way to placate all communities. It could not do otherwise as its only sanction was constitutional agitation till it forged non-co-operation and civil disobedience as an addition to constitutional agitation and as an effective substitute for violence.

NO DESIRE FOR LOAVES AND FISHES

Communal differences have been used by the British Government to thwart India's aspiration. That the process is likely to have been unconscious does not make it less mischievous.

That the Congress has no desire for the loaves and fishes must be crystal clear from the wholesale resignations of Congress Ministries. The Congress will never be a party to communal quarrels. It would rather stand aside and wander in the wilderness and wait for a better day.

Even now the ugly spectacle of playing off the League against the Congress seems to be going on. I had expected that the stupendous European crisis would bring better perception to British statesmen.

Mention of the Princes in this connection is particularly unfair. They owe their existence to the Paramount Power and have no status independent of it. Strange as the assertion may appear, they can do nothing good or big without the consent, tacit or implied, of the Paramount Power. They represent nobody but themselves. To invite the Congress to settle with the Princes is the same as inviting it to settle with the Paramount Power.

"LET THE GOVERNORS SPEAK"

The 'Times' wants the Congress record of its dealings with the Muslims and Depressed Classes during the last two years. All that I can say is, "Let the Governors of the provinces speak". That the Muslim League and some Depressed Class leaders complain is nothing strange. Some discontent is inevitable in democracy.

The Congress has made a handsome and sporting offer. Let a Constituent Assembly of elected representatives frame a constitution for the future government of India, subject to safeguards for the protection of rights of minorities to their satisfaction. Will British statesmen play the game?



"DELIVERANCE DAY"

MR. GANDHI'S APPEAL TO MR. JINNAH

CONTEXT.

Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's statement (Dec. 9, 1939) to the Press on Mr. M. A. Jinnah's appeal to Muslims to celebrate "Deliverance Day" on the resignation of the Congress ministries.

I WISH TO APPEAL TO JINNAH SAHEB AND THE MUSSALMANS associated with him to desist from the contemplated step. The gravest allegations have been made against the Congress in the resolution (to be passed at meetings held on "Deliverance Day"). The vast Muslim population is to be made to recite before God allegations as if they were proved and on that account to thank the Almighty for deliverance.

At the same time, the Governors of provinces are to be requested to examine the allegations and grant redress. Will it not be right and proper to wait for the Governors' opinion before the serious step contemplated is taken? I call it serious because Muslims, who will be called upon to believe the allegations, cannot but harbour ill-will against an old national organisation, which is as much theirs as any other Indian's, and this at a time when Jinnah Saheb and Pandit Nehru are about to meet and expect to reach an honourable settlement.

If the Congress is as bad as is described in the resolution, it should be unfit to have any negotiations with.

The only concrete allegations against the Congress Ministries that I know of are contained in the Muslim League Committee's report called the Pirpur Report. I happen to know that the Parliamentary Sub-Committee had referred the report to various Congress Ministries and I know also that the Ministers concerned had made careful investigations and reported to the Sub-Committee that most of the complaints were without foundation.

It is not too much to ask Jinnah Saheb to await the Viceregal opinion and that of the Governors upon serious

allegations, before a vast mass of Muslims are called upon to endorse them and to condemn the Congress.



CONTEXT.

NON-CONGRESS COMBINATION

"A WELCOME MOVE"

Extract from an article ("A Welcome Move") by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Jan. 20, 1940.

I HAD THE PLEASURE OF WIRING HIM (MR. JINNAH) congratulations on his excellent Id Day broadcast. And now he commands further congratulations on forming pacts with parties who are opposed to the Congress policies and politics. He is thus lifting the Muslim League out of the communal rut and giving it a national character. I regard his step as perfectly legitimate.

I observe that the Justice Party and Dr. Ambedkar's party (Depressed Classes) have already joined Jinnah Saheb. The papers report, too, that Shri Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, is to see him presently. Jinnah Saheb himself has informed the public that many non-Congress Hindus have expressed their sympathy with him.

I regard this development as thoroughly healthy. Nothing can be better than that we should have in the country mainly two parties—Congress and non-Congress or anti-Congress, if the latter expression is preferred. Jinnah Saheb is giving the word minority a new and good content.

The Congress majority is made up of a combination of Caste Hindus, non-Caste Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and Jews. Therefore, it is a majority drawn from all classes, representing a particular body of opinion; and the proposed combination becomes a minority representing another body of opinion. This may any day convert itself into a majority by commending itself to the electorate.

Such an alignment of parties is a consummation devoutly to be wished. If the Qaid-e-Azam (Great Leader) can bring about the combination, not only I but the whole of India will shout with one acclamation: "Long Live Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah!"

LETTER TO MR. JINNAH

In a letter to Mr. Jinnah, forwarding an advance copy of the article "A Welcome Move", Mr. Gandhi wrote:—

I do not mind your opposition to the Congress. But your plan to amalgamate all the parties opposed to the Congress at once gives your movement a national character. If you succeed you will free the country from the communal

incubus-and, in my humble opinion, give a lead to the Muslims and others for which you will deserve the gratitude, not only of the Muslims, but of all the other communities. I hope that my interpretation is correct. If I am mistaken, will you please correct me?



CONTEXT.

THE PAKISTAN DEMAND

"MAJORITY OF MUSLIMS ARE CONVERTS TO ISLAM"

Extracts from an article, ("A Baffling Situation") by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of April 6, 1940, on the "Two nations theory" (Pakistan scheme).

BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT MUSLIMS, WHEN IT COMES to a matter of actual decision, will ever want vivisection. Their good sense will prevent them. Their self-interest will deter them. Their religion will forbid the obvious suicide which the partition of India would mean. The "two nations" theory is an untruth.

> **The vast majority of Muslims of India are converts to Islam or are descendants of converts. They did not become a separate nation as soon as they became converts. A Bengali Muslim speaks the same tongue that a Bengali Hindu does, eats the same food, has the same amusements as his Hindu neighbour. They dress alike. I have often found it difficult to distinguish by outward sign between a Bengali Hindu and a Bengali Muslim.**

The same phenomenon is observable more or less in the south, among the poor who constitute the masses of India. When I first met the late Sir Ali Imam I did not know that he was not a Hindu. His speech, his dress, his manners, his food were the same as of the majority of the Hindus in whose midst I found him. His name alone betrayed him. Not even that with Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah. For his name could be that of any Hindu. When I first met him (Mr. Jinnah) I did not know that he was a Muslim. I came to know his religion when I had his full name (Mohamed Ali Jinnah) given to me. His nationality was written in his face and manner.

The reader will be surprised to know that for days, if not months, I used to think of the late Vithalbhai Patel as a Muslim, as he used to sport a beard and a Turkish cap. The Hindu Law of Inheritance governs many Muslim groups.

Sir Mahomed Iqbal used to speak with pride of his Brahmanical descent. Iqbal and Kitchlew are names common to Hindus and Muslims. Hindus and Muslims of India are not two nations. Those whom God has made one, man will never be able to divide.

A FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE

The Qaid-e-Azam has, however, raised a fundamental issue. This is his thesis:

He does not say some Hindus are bad, he says Hindus as such have nothing in common with Muslims. I make bold to say that he and those who think like him are rendering no service to Islam; they are misinterpreting the message inherent in the very word Islam. I say this because I feel deeply hurt over what is now going on in the name of the Muslim League.

I should be failing in my duty if I did not warn the Muslims of India against the untruth that is being propagated amongst them. This warning is a duty because I have faithfully served them in their hour of need and because Hindu-Muslim unity has been, and is, my life's mission



RECOGNITION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an article dated June 4, 1940, by Mr. Gandhi, replying to "a Khan Bahadur from Delhi"

I HAVE NEVER UNDERSTOOD THE REASON BEHIND THE demand for recognition by the Congress of the All-India Muslim League as the sole and authoritative Muslim body. Why should such an admission be demanded or expected? How is it compatible with a genuine desire for a settlement?

The Congress attempts to represent all. But it has never demanded recognition as such from anybody. The all-India status has to be deserved. But whether it be deserved or not, admission thereof is a superfluity. The Congress has never claimed that it represents the whole of Indian Muslims. It has not claimed to represent any single community wholly.

But it does claim to represent every single national interest, irrespective of class, caste, colour or creed.

Even that claim need not be admitted by those who deal with it. It should be sufficient consolation to each party that it is considered by the other important enough to seek friendship with.

The Congress has always frankly admitted that it has not on its register as many Muslims as it would like. But it has been proud to have had the support of many eminent Muslims.

My case is incredibly simple. I must not be called upon to make any admissions about the status of the League before thinking of unity through the League. I must not be disloyal to the Muslim Nationalists, however insignificant they may be considered to be.



DIFFICULTY OF REACHING ALL-PARTY AGREEMENT

Article dated June 11, 1940, by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of June 15, 1940, under the caption "Two Parties".

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC APPEALS ARE BEING MADE TO ME to call all parties together and arrive at a common agreement, and then, they say, we shall get what we want from Great Britain. These good friends forget one central fact. The Congress, which professes to speak for India and wants unadulterated Independence, cannot strike a common measure of agreement with those who do not. To act otherwise would be to betray its trust. In the nature of things, therefore, there can be no 'all parties conference' unless all have a common purpose.

The British Government would not ask for a common agreement, if they recognised any one party to be strong enough to take delivery. The Congress, it must be admitted, has not that strength today. It has come to its present position in the face of opposition. If it does not weaken and has enough patience, it will develop sufficient strength to take delivery. It is an illusion created by ourselves that we must come to an agreement with all parties before we can make any progress.

There is only one democratic elected political organisation, *i.e.*, the Congress. All the others are self-appointed, or elected on a sectional basis. The Muslim League is an organization which, like the Congress, is popularly elected. But it is frankly communal and wants to divide India into two parts, one Hindu and the other Muslim. I read an appeal by a Muslim Leaguer suggesting that the British Government should come to terms with the Muslims and depend upon Muslim aid. That would be one way of settling the question but also of perpetuating British rule. The Hindu Mahasabha will no doubt want favoured treatment for Hindus, including Hindu States.

"ONLY TWO PARTIES"

Thus, for the present purpose there are only two parties—the Congress and those who side with the Congress, and the parties who do not. Between the two there is no meeting ground without the one or the other surrendering its purpose. The other parties must be presumed to be as constant in their purpose as the Congress claims to be in its. Therefore there is a stalemate. But the stalemate is only apparent. An agreement independently of evolving a common demand the Congress must seek and has always sought. It is the process of conversion. Its non-violence forbids the Congress from standing aloof and riding the high horse as its opponents say.

On the contrary, it has to woo all parties, disarm suspicion and create trust in its *bona fides*. This it can only do when it has cleaned its own stables. The process may take time. That time must be given. It will be no waste. But if the Congress loses hope and faith and comes to the conclusion that it must surrender its original position for the purpose of getting a common measure of agreement, it will cease to be the power it is.

Today it is the sheet-anchor of India's hope and faith. All will be well with it, if it refuses to move away from its moorings, whether it is in a minority or a majority.



CONTEXT.

COMMUNAL DEADLOCK

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY "THE ONLY SOLUTION"

Extract from Mr. Gandhi's reply to a correspondent in the "Harijan" of June 29, 1940.

SURELY YOU CANNOT SPEAK OF THE CONSTITUENT Assembly side by side with Pakistan. The latter is wrong, as I conceive it, in every way. There is nothing wrong in the idea of a Constituent Assembly. At its worst, dangers surround its formation. Every big experiment is beset with dangers. These risks must be taken. Every effort should be made to minimise them.

But there seems to me to be nothing like a Constituent Assembly for achieving the common purpose. I admit the difficulty of illiteracy. Indeed, adult suffrage was introduced at the instance of Muslim Nationalists, including the late Ali Brothers (Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali). The danger of corruption is also there. The greater the organisation the less felt is the effect of corruption, because it is so widely distributed.....The cry for partition is the logical outcome, but it is also the strongest condemnation, of separate electorates.....The Muslim vote will surely decide the issue so far as their special interest is concerned.

Arguing communally, therefore, the fear, if there is any, about a Constituent Assembly should surely be on the part of the Hindus. For if the Muslim vote goes in favour of partition, they have either to submit not to one but many partitions or to a civil war. As things are, all satisfy themselves by passing resolutions and seeing their names in print. In practice, all of us remain where we are—in a state of subjection.

A Constituent Assembly is a reality. It will not be a debating or legislative irresponsible body. By registering its final decision it will decide the fate of millions of human beings. You may oppose it. If you are successful in your opposition, there is the dread prospect of anarchy, not an

orderly civil war. There seems to me to be no solution of the painful deadlock except through a Constituent Assembly.

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CONTEXT.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR'S "SPORTING OFFER"

Extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Sept. 22, 1940.

AND I WISH TO SAY THE SAME THING ABOUT RAJAJI'S (Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's) "sporting offer". It is no part of this confession to defend it. But, so far as I can see, the offer was truly sporting, if the correctness of the Poona resolution be accepted. It should be remembered that the Muslim League is a great organisation, wielding influence upon the Muslims of India. The Congress has dealt with it before, and I have no doubt it will deal with it in future. However mistaken the Qaid-e-Azam (Mr. Jinnah) may be in our estimation, let us give him the same credit for honesty of purpose as we claim for ourselves.

When the war cloud is lifted and when India comes into her own, surely Congressmen would just as much welcome a Muslim, a Sikh, a Christian, or a Parsi as Premier, as they would a Hindu, and even a non-Congressman, no matter of what faith he may be. I am sure that Rajaji's 'sporting offer' meant no more and no less than this. When passions have died, critics will read his offer in its proper light.

It is wrong to misjudge a public worker, and doubly so when he happens to be of Rajaji's calibre. He has lost nothing by the misjudgment. But a nation may easily harm itself by misjudging its true servants and denying itself their services.

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"JINNAH WAS ONCE AN ARDENT CONGRESSMAN"

"MUSLIM LEAGUE IS A GREAT ORGANISATION"

Extract from an article ("Hindu-Muslim Unity") by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Oct. 7, 1939.

DURING MY LAST JOURNEY TO SIMLA MY ATTENTION WAS drawn to the bitterness with which, it was alleged, the Muslim League and its doings were being criticized in some Congress organs. I have not seen any such criticism for the simple reason that I do not see the papers except for a few moments daily. But if there is any ground for such complaint, it should certainly be removed.

The Muslim League is a great organization. Its President was at one time an ardent Congressman. He was the rising hope of the Congress. His battles with Lord Willingdon cannot be forgotten.

The Jinnah Hall of the Bombay Congress is a standing monument of the President's labours for the Congress and a mark of Congressmen's generous appreciation of his services.

The League contains many members who were wholeheartedly with the Congress during the memorable Khilafat days. I refuse to think that these erstwhile comrades can be as bitter in their hearts towards their fellow-workers of yesterday as their speeches and writings of today will show.

It is, therefore, wrong of Congressmen and Congress organs if they are bitter against the League or its individual members. The Congress policy of non-violence should put an easy restraint upon the speech, writings and actions of Congressmen in their dealings with the League and its members. They must resolutely believe and hope that sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, there is to be communal unity, not superficial but real and lasting.

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CONTEXT.

"CONGRESS AN ALL-INCLUSIVE BODY"

MR. GANDHI'S REPLY TO LORD ZETLAND

Note dated Segaon, Sept. 28, 1939 (under the caption "Open A New Chapter") by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of October 7, 1939.

AN ADVANCE COPY OF REUTER'S SUMMARY OF THE LORDS, debate on Indian affairs has been shown to me. Perhaps silence on my part at this juncture would be a distinct disservice both to India and England. I was unprepared for the old familiar flavour in the debate in the shape of drawing comparisons unflattering to the Congress.

I maintain that the Congress is an all-inclusive body. Without offence to anybody it can be said of it that it is the one body that has represented for over half a century, without a rival, the vast masses of India, irrespective of class or creed. It has not a single interest opposed to that of the Mussalmans or that of the people of the States.

Recent years have shown unmistakably that the Congress represents beyond doubt the interests of the people of the States.

> **It is that organization which has asked for a clear definition of the British intentions. If the British are fighting for the freedom of all, then their representatives have to state in the clearest possible terms that the freedom of India is necessarily included in the war aim. The content of such freedom can only be decided by Indians and them alone.**

Surely it is wrong for Lord Zetland to complain as he does, though in gentle terms, that the Congress should at this juncture, when Britain is engaged in a life and death struggle,

ask for a clear declaration of British intentions. I suggest that the Congress has done nothing strange or less than honourable in asking for such a declaration.

Only a free India's help is of value. And the Congress has every right to know that it can go to the people and tell them that at the end of the war India's status as an independent country is as much assured as that of Great Britain. As a friend of the British I, therefore, appeal to English statesmen that they will forget the old language of imperialists and open a new chapter for all those who have been held under imperial bondage.

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CONTEXT.

THE COMMUNAL AWARD

CRITICISM OF EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE IN BENGAL LEGISLATURE

Extracts from an article ("Communal Decision") by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Feb. 24, 1940.

DURING MY BRIEF STAY IN BENGAL I HAVE BEEN OVERwhelmed with questions on the Communal Decision.....

For me, I detest the Decision. It has benefited no single party in India but the British. If the Muslims flatter themselves with the belief that they have profited by it, they will soon find that they were sadly mistaken.....

Bengal is the most glaring instance of injustice. I can conceive of no just reason for putting the wedge if the tremendous European vote between the two major communities.

Their number is insignificant. Their interest is protected by the British bayonet. Why should that interest have added strength given to it by its introduction in the legislature ?

I can understand its representation without vote so as to enable it to put its case before the legislature. So long as it has the protection of the British bayonet, its over-representation on the legislature is a wholly unjust imposition. The whole face of the Bengal legislature would be changed if the European vote was withdrawn. To-day that legislature is not wholly responsible to the people, the real voters. The European bloc gives peace neither to the Muslims nor the Hindus.....

IN ASSAM

Bengal is a glaring instance of inequity. Assam is another. It can be altered either by the British Government redressing the wrong or by successful rebellion. I was going to add by mutual agreement. But that seems an impossibility even if Hindus and Muslims agreed. Europeans have also to agree-

and they have to agree to self-abnegation—an event unknown in politics.

He will be a bold man who will assert and hope to prove that there was in India no European interest hostile to the nation.



CONTEXT.

"HIND SWARAJ" IDEAL STILL PURSUED

"BEAUTY IN VOLUNTARY SIMPLICITY"

Extract from an article ("The Unbridgeable Gulf") by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Oct. 14, 1939.

I CAN NOT ONLY IMAGINE BUT AM WORKING FOR A CIVILIZATION in which possession of a car will be considered no merit and railways will find no place. It would not be for me an unhappy event if the world became once more as large as it used to be at one time. *Hind Swaraj* was written in 1908. Since then it has undergone many editions and has been translated in many languages of the world. I was asked last year by Shrimati Sophia Wadia to write a foreword for the edition that she was bringing out. I had the pleasure, therefore, of having to reread it carefully.

The reader may know that I could not revise a single idea. I had no desire to revise the language. It is a fair translation of the original in Gujarati.

The key to understand that incredibly simple (so simple as to be regarded foolish) booklet is to realise that it is not an attempt to go back to the so-called ignorant, dark ages. But it is an attempt to see beauty in voluntary simplicity, poverty and slowness.

I have pictured that as my ideal. I shall never reach it myself and hence cannot expect the nation to do so. But the modern rage for variety, for flying through the air, for multiplicity of wants, etc., have no fascination for me. They deaden the inner being in us. The giddy heights which man's ingenuity is attempting take us away from our Maker who is nearer to us than the nails are to the flesh which they cover.

Therefore even whilst I am travelling at the rate of 40 miles per hour, I am conscious that it is a necessary evil, and that my best work is to be done in little Segaon, containing 700 souls, and in the neighbouring villages to which I can walk. But being a highly practical man I do not avoid railway travelling or motoring for the mere sake of looking foolishly consistent.



CONTEXT.

NO FREEDOM WITHOUT COMMUNAL UNITY

Extract from an Associated Press report from Abbottabad in the "Hindu" dated 24, July 1939.

"WITHOUT HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY, INDIANS CANNOT ATTAIN freedom", declared Gandhiji, addressing a huge public meeting this evening (July 23).

Continuing, Gandhiji said that the greatest passion of his life was the achievement of unity, in the absence of which complete freedom was impossible. He had been tackling this question for several years, but regretted that his efforts so far had proved abortive. If Providence wished, then alone would he be able to achieve the long-cherished objective.

SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT WAS VIOLENT

Extract from an article ("Non-violence Versus Violence") by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of July 8, 1939.

IN THEORY, IF THERE IS SUFFICIENT NON-VIOLENCE developed in any single person, he should be able to discover the means of combating violence, no matter how widespread or severe, within his jurisdiction. I have repeatedly admitted my imperfections. I am no example of perfect *Ahimsa*. I am evolving. Such *Ahimsa* as has been developed in me has been found enough to cope with situations that have hitherto arisen. But today I feel helpless in the face of the surrounding violence.

There was a penetrating article in the *Statesman* on my Rajkot statement. The editor had therein contended that the English had never taken our movement to be true Satyagraha but, being practical people, they had allowed the myth to continue though they had known it to be a violent revolt. It was nonetheless so because the rebels had no arms.

I have quoted the substance from memory. When I read the article, I felt the force of the argument.

Though I had intended the movement to be pure non-violent resistance, as I look back upon the happenings of those days, there was undoubtedly violence among the resisters.

I must own that had I been perfectly tuned to the music of *Ahimsa*, I would have sensed the slightest departure from it and my sensitiveness would have rebelled against any discord in it.

TRAINED DIPLOMATS AND ADMINISTRATORS

It seems to me that the united action of the Hindus and the Muslims blinded me to the violence that was lurking in the breasts of many. The English, who are trained diplomats and administrators, are accustomed to the line of least resistance, and when they found that it was more profitable to conciliate

a big organization than to crush it by extensive frightfulness, they yielded to the extent that they thought was necessary.

It is, however, my conviction that our resistance was predominantly non-violent in action and will be accepted as such by the future historian. As a seeker of truth and non-violence, however, I must not be satisfied with mere action if it is not from the heart. I must declare from the house-tops that the non-violence of those days fell far short of the non-violence as I have so often defined.

REACTION

Non-violent action without the co-operation of the heart and the head cannot produce the intended result. The failure of our imperfect *Ahimsa* is visible to the naked eye. Look at the feud that is going on between Hindus and Muslims. Each is arming for fight with the other. The violence that we had harboured in our breasts during the non-co-operation days is now recoiling upon ourselves.

> **The violent energy that was generated among the masses but was kept under check in the pursuit of a common objective, has now been let loose and is being used among and against ourselves.**

The same phenomenon is discernible, though in a less crude manner, in the dissension among Congressmen themselves and the use of forcible methods that the Congress Ministers are obliged to adopt in running the administrations under their charge.

This narrative clearly shows that the atmosphere is surcharged with violence. I hope it also shows that a non-violent mass movement is an impossibility unless the atmosphere is radically changed. To blind one's eyes to the events happening around us is to court disaster....

But if I cannot find an effective purely non-violent method, an outbreak of violence seems to be a certainty. The people demand self-expression....

There are signs of the Paramount Power repenting the recent declarations about freedom to the Princes to grant such reforms to their people as they chose....When there is this tremendous influence exercised over the Princes, it is but natural to hold the Paramount Power responsible for the unadulterated autocracy that reigns supreme in many States.

So, if violence breaks out in this unfortunate land, the responsibility will have to be shared by the Paramount Power, the Princes, and, above all, by Congressmen. As Congressmen never had non-violence in their hearts, they must reap the fruit of the defect, however unintentional it was....

> **Non-violence is never a method of coercion, it is one of conversion. We have failed to convert the Princes, we have failed to convert the English administrators**

It is no use saying that it is impossible to persuade persons willingly to part with their power. I have claimed that Satyagraha is a new experiment. It will be time to pronounce it a failure when Congressmen have given it a genuine trial.



CONTEXT.

"HUNGER-STRIKE HAS BECOME A PLAGUE"

Extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Aug. 19, 1939.

HUNGER-STRIKE HAS POSITIVELY BECOME A PLAGUE. ON the slightest pretext some people want to resort to hunger-strikes. It is well, therefore, that the Working Committee condemned the practice in unequivocal terms, so far at least as a hunger-strike for discharge from imprisonment is concerned.

The Committee should have gone further and condemned also the practice of forcible feeding. I regard forcible feeding as an undue liberty with the human body which is too sacred to be trifled with, even though it belongs to a prisoner. No doubt the State has control over the bodies of its prisoners but never to the extent of killing their soul. That control has well-defined limits.

If a prisoner decides to starve himself to death, he should, in my opinion, be allowed to do so.....

It is also worthy of consideration whether a rule should not be passed by the Working Committee making a public and political hunger-strike without permission a breach of discipline.....



"I AM NOT ALL-POWERFUL"

Extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi in the "Harijan" of Aug. 12, 1939, replying to criticism by two Congressmen.

I AM NOT ALL-POWERFUL, WHETHER WITH THE CENTRAL Provinces Ministers or with the Working Committee. I know very little of the doings of the Ministers. I never interfere with their work. I have never regarded that as my function.

So far as the Working Committee is concerned, I do influence its decisions in matters that may be referred to me and never in any others... Of many of its resolutions I have no knowledge except after they are passed—and that through the Press....

Let me give out the secret that often my advice makes no appeal to the members. For instance, if I had my way, the Congress would be reduced to the smallest compass possible. It would consist of a few chosen

servants removable at the will of the nation, but getting the willing co-operation of the millions in the programme they may put before the nation. But this is too drastic and too undemocratic for Congressmen.....

Similarly I have endeavoured to have the words "peaceful and legitimate" removed from the constitution but again without success. I can multiply instances in which I have failed to carry the Working Committee with me.....

HINDU LEAGUE

MR. M. S. ANEY on— Page

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CONTEXT.

DISTURBING FEATURES OF POLITICAL SITUATION

MR. ANEY SUGGESTS A "VIA MEDIA"

Summary of a statement issued by Mr. M. S. Aney, Leader of the Congress Nationalist Party in the Central Assembly on April 9, 1940.

THE CONGRESS DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE AND A CONSTituent Assembly, the Muslim League's plea for partition of India, and the British refusal to "abdicate their power" are the main disturbing features of the present situation.

There are one or two redeeming features. The Secretary of State for India and H. E. the Viceroy have repeatedly declared that the goal of British policy in India is the establishment of a self-governing India with Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety.

They have also announced their great anxiety to associate more non-official Indians in the administration of the Central Government by the expansion of the present Executive Council of the Governor-General and the establishment of a Consultative Committee to advise them in the carrying on of defence preparations during the period of the present war.

It is possible to bring the conflicting and conciliatory "elements" together and chalk out a common path of progress.

But the first step will have to be taken by the Government. A declaration should be made, without delay, of the authorities' firm determination to stand by the ideal of one indivisible nation—which will put an end to the "fantastic propaganda" carried on by some Muslim League enthusiasts, to the eternal injury of both communities.

Secondly, the authorities may note that the old-fashioned idea of a purely Government-nominated Round Table Conference cannot appeal to the Indian people now. At the same time, the Constituent Assembly proposal is not considered desirable or practicable by many outstanding Indian statemen.

The question is: Can there be a *via media*?

APPROPRIATE MACHINERY

Mr. Aney suggests that the task of finding out a solution, *viz.*, the devising of appropriate machinery that can be entrusted with the responsible duty of making proposals for the future constitution of self-governing Indian States

for acceptance of and enactment into a Constitution Act by the British Parliament, should be performed by an influential and strong committee of Indian public men. It should consist of not less than 50 or more than 100 public men, drawn from front rank politicians, of all shades of opinion... It may also be called upon to lay down general principles to secure the cultural and religious interests of big and small minorities, with due regard to the paramount necessity of maintaining the integrity of the Indian nation. In the terms of reference should be clearly stated that the British Government treats the demand of the Indian people for the extension of the principle of self-determination as perfectly just and legitimate as in the case of every other civilized nation.

" It may also point, if necessary, to the imperative necessity of maintaining unimpaired the unity of all the self-governing units in the British Commonwealth of Nations for the successful prosecution of the war and also during the period of transition intervening between the termination of the war and the creation of a self-governing India.

" It may be added that the proposals suggested by the committee will be submitted to the Government of India and the same will be duly given effect to after consultation with the British Government with modifications, if necessary, not inconsistent with the basic and fundamental principles underlying the scheme. That machinery will come into existence to function after the termination of the war. It will frame the constitution and its proposals will be the basis of the future constitution of India.

" I do not think it necessary to give a more detailed outline of the plan indicated above. The immediate object is to focus the attention of the Government and the leaders of India on the need of making a joint effort to find out a solution and end the existing deadlock ".

Mr. Aney professes faith in the patriotism of his countrymen and the statesmanship of H. E. the Viceroy and Lord Zetland.



CONGRESS AND STATES

"FRATRICIDAL SCHEME OF PAKISTAN"

CONTEXT.

Summary of Mr. M. S. Aney's Presidential Address at the first session of the All-India Hindu League Conference at Lucknow on July, 27, 1930.

INDIA, SAID MR. ANEY, IS A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF, the Congress having been weakened by Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League disclaimers. He appealed to the majority community " to shoulder the responsibility for shaping our destiny.

The Congress made a blunder in making a departure from the traditional policy of neutrality regarding the Indian States. The Socialistic tendencies of leading Congress politicians had made the Princes suspicious of the growth of the conception of an Indian democratic State.

The Congress must definitely repudiate the socialistic doctrine and declare that in the scheme of an independent India the Princely Order has a place of honour and that it is definitely opposed to the principle of setting the peoples of the native States against their rulers.

BENEVOLENT NEUTRALITY

The suggested policy of benevolent neutrality regarding the States has one exception. If an Administration perversely persists in a fatal policy of radical or communal discrimination, Indian public men may use all means of persuasion with the Administration to bring about a change in such a policy.

> **" Nothing will be more fatal to India's recognition in any form than the fratricidal scheme of Pakistan. It will be neither in the interests of the Muslims nor of the Hindus. It will undoubtedly be the beginning of the end of both."**

Mr. Aney also recorded an emphatic protest against Pan-Islamism, which " had the definite object of bringing Asiatic nations like India and Burma under the influence of Islamic culture and the Islamic religion."

The Congress connived at the wrong done to the Hindus of the Punjab and Hindus generally, which " has accelerated the pace of deterioration in the spirit of nationalism.... "

HINDU LEAGUE RESOLUTIONS

CONTEXT.

Associated Press report of the resolutions adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu League in New Delhi on

FULL PARTICIPATION IN INDIA'S DEFENCE

HINDU LEAGUE DISAGREES WITH CONGRESS

THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-INDIA HINDU League, having given their most anxious consideration to the Viceregal announcement of August 8, 1940, and the statements made by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of

Oct. 13, 1940. Mr. M. S. Aney, President of the League, presided.

State from time to time in elucidation and clarification of the same, and having carefully noted the reactions to the same in this country, have no hesitation in declaring that the scheme and the proposals outlined therein have failed to give any satisfaction to the progressive political parties in the country, inasmuch as it holds out neither any tangible and and definite promise of the inauguration of the Dominion Government immediately at the end of the war nor the introduction of the element of responsibility in any form in the present Central Government immediately.

ASSURANCE TO MINORITIES

The Committee characterize the principles laid down in the assurance given to the minorities or to certain important sections of national life as reactionary, anti-national and anti-democratic. They virtually negative the promise to recognize the principle of self-determination in the case of the people of India in the matter of framing their constitution given in the first part of the announcement and are even calculated to incite and encourage the minorities to insist on impossible and anti-national demands, and effectively impede the progress of the entire nation towards the goal of political emancipation.

The Committee hope that His Excellency the Viceroy will take note of the criticism of the scheme by the important sections of the Indian public and soon come out with a liberal scheme of reform in the existing system of Central Government as a transitory measure, and a definite unconditional announcement in unambiguous and unequivocal terms, recognizing the right of the Indian people to frame their constitution of the future Government of India on the basis of Dominion Status for India in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Committee desire to express their satisfaction at the firm stand taken by His Excellency the Viceroy in dealing with the extravagant and arrogant demands made by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, in regard to the representation of the League on the still-born expanded Council and the Advisory Council proposed in the announcement.

NATIONAL DEFENCE

The Committee deeply regret to express their difference from the opinion of the Congress Working Committee embodied in the resolution passed at Bombay. The Congress Working Committee have, in the opinion of this Committee, failed to take a realistic view of the situation and give a correct lead to the country at this critical hour. The scope of political emancipation of the Indian people depends

on the defeat of the totalitarian forces and the success of the British people with whom their fate is indissolubly bound.

The war has now reached a stage when the Indian people can no longer afford to be indifferent to the vital problem of India's defence. The adequate preparation of the Indian nation for her national defence is a matter of vital importance to them. The Committee ask th m in all earnestness to urge on the Government of India fully to arm and equip the country for defence by raising a strong National Army, Navy and Air Force, promising the Government active co-operation and participation in their effort of India's defence.

In this connection, the Committee desire to invite the attention of the Government of India to the frequent complaints published in the papers that the claims of the Hindus do not receive adequate recognition in the matter of recruitment to certain branches of national defence activities. The Committee emphatically insist on the elimination of all arbitrary and artificial classification of the Indian people as martial and non-martial and a deliberate attempt should be made to enlist in all the arms of the defence forces recruits of all classes in proportion to their numerical strength in the population of the country as far as possible.

By another resolution the Working Committee expressed the view that as the future governance of India should be based on principles of pure democracy and nationalism, as distinct from religious or pseudo-religious principles, " any attempt to frustrate this end either by the Government or any organization must be resisted at any cost."

ALLEGED INSULTS TO HINDU WOMEN

The Working Committee by a third resolution condemned " the insults offered by the Muslims to Hindu women in the provinces of Sind, the North-West Frontier, and other parts of India." It requested the Governments of these provinces to put a stop to this misbehaviour.

The Hindu League also " calls upon the Hindu youth to be ready to serve as voluntary guards for the protection of honour and person of Hindu ladies whenever and wherever be necessary."

The meeting understood that the public feeling in the country had been considerably agitated by persistent rumours that the 10 Andhra districts of the Madras Presidency and four districts of Berar were going to be restored to the Nizam of Hyderabad in recognition of war services and the Committee thought it necessary that the Government of India should make a public statement to allay the public apprehensions in the matter.

NATIONAL MILITIA

The Committee was of opinion that the Government should at the earliest convenient time in future dispense with the British Army of occupation in India and take steps to raise a national militia officered by Indians by the adoption of the policy of conscription. This step is necessary to bring down the military expenditure in the years of peace in the Indian budget to a reasonable proportion to the total income of this country.

HINDU MAHASABHA

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CONTEXT.

"CONGRESS HAS OUTLIVED ITS USEFULNESS"

DR. MOONJE ON MR. GANDHI'S "OBSESSION"

Extract from an Associated Press report of a statement issued by Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha on September 18, 1940.

WHEN MAHATMA GANDHI TRIES TO PUT HIS ETHICS INTO practice in his demand for immediate and complete independence and National Government, to which the British Government has given its reply of a definite "no", he finds himself in an awkward position. He cannot give up his demand and yet the only non-violent weapon that he has he will not use; but, in his obsession, he thinks India should lead a movement of world disarmament.

Does he mean to say that India will get independence only when the whole world has been disarmed and is initiated into Non-violence and when there will be no one to unsheathe the sword in satisfaction of his imperial ambitions? If so, India will have to wait till Doomsday.

It will be no surprise if the Muslim League is found soon enthroned as the *de facto* ruler of India under the sovereignty of the Viceroy to the utter ruin of Hindus and long-cherished Indian nationalism. It is, therefore, time that Mahatma Gandhi realized that the Congress has outlived its usefulness and must regenerate itself in the Hindu Mahasabha. There is no other way to maintain a proper balance in the communal politics of India.

VICEROY-JINNAH CORRESPONDENCE

DR. MOONJE'S COMMENT

Extracts from Associated Press report from Nagpur dated October 5, 1940.

A PLEA THAT THE CONGRESS SHOULD SEEK AN ALLY IN the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, to resist the All-India Muslim League's claims, is made by Dr. B. S. Moonje, Working President of the Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press.

After referring to the Jinnah-Viceroy correspondence and "the alarming revelations about the motive and mentality of the Muslim leader," Dr. Moonje continues: "It may almost be said to be an attempt at conspiracy by taking H. E. the

Viceroy absolutely unawares, with the object of undermining the position of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha and enthroning the Muslim League as the *de facto* ruler both at the Centre and in the provinces, under the suzerainty of His Majesty's Government in equal partnership with H. E. the Viceroy.

" I must, therefore, congratulate His Excellency the Viceroy on having shaken off the shackles of the conspiracy with skill and caution.

" These revelations are so alarmingly harmful to the position of Hindus throughout the whole of India that I cannot resist the temptation of respectfully warning H. E. the Viceroy most solemnly that any flinching and giving in to the Muslim League will entirely ruin Britain's work of about a century and a half in India and encourage strife, jeopardising the chances of the successful establishment of a strong Central Government for the whole of India. If encouraged or connived at, this mentality would become a menace not only to the Hindus but also to the very name of the British in India."

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an Associated Press report from Calcutta dated Nov. 18, 1940, of a speech delivered by Dr. B. S. Moonje to a large gathering of Hindus, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee presiding.

HINDU SELF-RULE WANTED

" IF THERE SHOULD BE SELF-RULE IN INDIA, IT SHOULD be a Hindu self-rule and not any other self-rule," said Dr. Moonje.

He assured members of other communities in India that under the Hindu nationalism and Hindu rule they would live as brothers to the Hindus, who had never been known, through the large ages, to be intolerant of other people's religion.

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PARMANAND, BHAI

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CONTEXT.

Extract from Associated Press report of a statement issued by Bhai Parmanand M. L. A. (Central), Vice-President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, on August 12, 1940.

ARE MINORITIES TO HINDER PROGRESS ?

BHAI PARMANAND ON VICEROY'S STATEMENT

THE VICEROY HAS MADE THE RIGHTS OF THE MINORITIES a condition precedent to the inauguration of even Dominion Status. Such a statement cannot be acceptable to the Hindus. Are the minorities themselves to decide about their rights ? If so, the independence of the country will always be at their mercy. The Muslim League demands the partition of the

country. Will Dominion Status even be postponed till this condition is fulfilled ? If so, the minorities or the minority' become the masters of the land.

Under these circumstances, if the Government do not clarify their position, even Dominion Status becomes a dream. Therefore, no patriot can accept the statement as such.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has suggested that the communal question be solved through a Constituent Assembly. That is impracticable. The Viceroy suggests another Communal Award, which can never be tolerated by any Nationalist.

The Hindu Mahasabha has stressed from the very beginning that it should be solved on the basis of the League of Nations solution, or that an independent commission be appointed for this purpose, whose recommendations the Government should adopt. For us, that is still the only way.

SAVARKAR, V. D.

CONTEXT.

DOMINION STATUS

" REPETITION OF SAME VAGUE PHRASES "

Extrac from a Bombay report in the " National Herald " of Oct. 21, 1939.

" THE VICEROY REFERS TO THE OLD AND OFTEN DISCARDED declaration that India's ultimate goal is Dominion Status made somewhere in 1919. It has not materialised during the last 20 years and was almost forgotten till the war broke out. The present repetition of the same vague " phrases may share the same fate if things are allowed to drift in this manner by India till another war breaks out some 20 years hence, " says Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha in a statement on the Viceroy's announcement of October 17, 1939.

He adds : " The Viceroy should realize that India is sick of running after this wordy mirage. She refuses to look upon Dominion Status as the ultimate goal but instead, insists upon it as an immediate step to be taken. A constitution based on that status must be conceded by Britain to India at the end of the war, at the latest. . . . . ,"

CONTEXT.

" HINDUS MUST BE MASTERS IN THEIR OWN LAND "

MR. SAVARKAR'S ADVICE TO CONGRESS

Extracts from a report on Mr. V. D. Savarkar's presidential address to the 21st Session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Calcutta on Dec. 28, 1939.

AMONG THE BASIC TENETS AND ASPECTS OF THE HINDU movement, Mr. Savarkar stated the following : " Every person is a Hindu who regards and owns this Bharat Bhumi, this land from the Indus to the seas, as his Fatherland as well as his holy land, *i.e.*, the land of the origin of his religion, the cradle of his faith. The followers, therefore, of Vaidism, Sanatanism, Jainism, Buddhism, Lingayatism, Sikhism, the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, the Deva Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj and such other religions of Indian origin are Hindus and constitute Hindudom, *i.e.*, the Hindu people as a whole. Consequently, the so-called aboriginal or hill tribes also are Hindus, because India is their Fatherland as well as the holy land of whatever form of religion or worship they follow.

" It would be simply preposterous, to endow the Muslim minority with the right of exercising a practical veto on the legitimate rights and privileges of the majority and call it Swarajya. " The Hindus do not want a change of masters, and are not going to struggle and fight and die only to replace an Edward by an Aurangzeb, simply, because the latter happens to be born within the borders of India, but they want henceforward to be masters in their own house, in their own land....."

" DAY OF RECTIFICATION "

Mr. Savarkar requested the Congress to observe a ' Day of Rectification ' in order to counteract the Muslim League's observance of the ' Day of Deliverance ' and said in this connection : " Let the Indian National Congress rectify the fundamental mistake and be once more the real Indian National Congress it claims to be. Let it be absolutely consistent with its own ideal of a territorial nationalism and begin with a clean slate.

" Let the Congress proclaim once and for all that it stands by these principles alone :

" First, it recognizes no Muslim as a Muslim, or Christian as a Christian, or Hindu as a Hindu, but looks upon them all and deals with them all as Indians only....."

" Secondly, it does not acknowledge any constitutional principle with regard to electorates other than the rule : ' One man, one vote ', and employment in the ' public services to go by merit alone. Only one alternative which it may condescend to subscribe to in view of the peculiar situation in India, is to the effect that, if communal representation is to be resorted to at all, then it must be strictly in relation to the numerical

strength of the constituents and in the public services too that relation may be observed but only in so far as it is consistent with merit.

" Thirdly, and above all, so long as such a national and just constitution cannot be obtained let the Congress resist the temptation of participating in any election whatsoever under a constitution which is deliberately meant to divide the integrity of the Indian people and is not only based on communal divisions but is most unjustly harmful to the majority community and constitutes a standing instigation to the Muslim minority to act against the nation as a whole, as the present constitution aims to do....."

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF LEGISLATORS

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement issued at New Delhi on February 26, 1940, criticised the proposal for a Constituent Assembly consisting of the existing members of Central and Provincial Legislatures. His grounds were :

(1) That the legislators had not been elected on the issue of the framing a constitution for India,

(2) the overwhelming majority of them were Congressmen and the Congress " is but one of the many parties in the country ", and

(3) even Hindu constituencies had ceased to repose confidence in the Congress legislatures.

OPPOSED TO DIVISION OF INDIA

Addressing a large crowd at Tilak Ghat, Madras, on March 29, 1940, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, declared that the Mahasabha could not tolerate and would oppose with all its might the Muslim League idea of dividing India into two zones.



MR. AMERY'S BROADCAST ON " MAGNA CARTA" MR. SAVARKAR'S DEMAND

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an Associated Press report of a statement issued on June 18, 1940, by Mr. V. D. Savarkar on Mr. L. S. Amery's " Magna Carta " broadcast.

"....BUT AFTER HOW MANY DECADES OR CENTURIES please ? That is really the crucial point and Mr. Amery's deliberate omission of a time-limit reduces his assurance to a pleasant platitude only.

" If the British were powerful enough to conquer India without India's united demand or to thrust communal decisions on her in spite of her protests, or to scrap all constitutional government and introduce undiluted autocratic control only the other day on the outbreak of war, without

caring for India's united consent, can they not be powerful and conscientious enough to introduce a Dominion constitution based on the just and international principles laid down by the League of Nations, in the immediate future ?

" If you feel justified in inflicting curses on others perforce you should feel yourselves a hundred times more justified in thrusting blessings on them, even though they are not unanimously appreciated ".

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

" ARMED SELF-DEFENCE A NECESSARY EVIL "

Extracts from an Associated Press report of a speech by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, at Poona on Aug. 3, 1940.

" ABSOLUTE VIOLENCE AND ABSOLUTE NON-VIOLENCE are both equally sinful and ethically wrong. Violence is necessary and righteous when used against an aggressor for defence, and without defence mankind will not have survived the primitive stages of its existence ", said Mr. Savarkar.

" He then referred to the recent resolution of the Congress passed at the A.-I. C. C. with regard to external aggression and internal disorder and said that even this did not go far enough. It still looked as though armed self-defence was a necessary sin or evil. This attitude, said the speaker, must be changed.....

■ ■ ■

" A PAN-HINDU FRONT "

Extracts from an Associated Press report of a statement by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, on September 14, 1940.

MR. SAVARKAR SAYS THE MUSLIM MINORITY HAVE advanced " impossible claims ", which have been condemned by the Provincial Hindu Sabhas in Madras, the Punjab, Bengal, Bombay and Sind.

Mr. Savarkar severely criticizes the Congress, particularly Mr. Rajagopalachariar's "sporting offer" to the Muslim League regarding the Premiership in the National Government and his " tacit approval of the Pakistan scheme".

" The Hindu Mahasabha, at any rate, can and will never accept any other principle to determine the representation of the Muslim minority other than their population ratio.

" And if but all Hindus who still live, breathe and have their being as Hindus, whether they happen to be in the Congress or otherwise, unite as Hindus, demanding that the Hindu majority, too, must have its legitimate rights as zealously guarded and secured as the rights of any one else, no one can deprive the Hindus of their representation in proportion to their population simply because they happen to

be in the majority or favour the Muslims, as if they were a set of suffering saints, simply because they happen to be a minority.

> **" In fact, democracy itself ought to ensure that the Hindus as the overwhelming majority in Hindustan, rule unchallenged. But even the spirit of compromise can never go farther than the principle of representation in legislatures, etc., in relation to population.**

" Let the Hindus know it for certain that if but the Hindus, along with the Hindu States, organize a pan-Hindu front pledged to defend Hindu rights alone, without let or hindrance, the Hindus will very soon be found a far more powerful factor in Indian political life than Mr. Amery fancies today the Muslim minority to be, and the Britishers will be compelled to placate the Hindus more desperately than they at present do the Muslim minority.

" The indivisibility and independence of India, representation in the legislatures on a population basis, and in the public services by merit alone—these are the fundamental principles on which the Hindu Mahasabha has taken its stand ever since its formation and it will not budge an inch in future from it, even if the worst comes to the worst."

MAHASABHA RESOLUTIONS

CONTEXT.

"FEDERATION SCHEME SHOULD BE WORKED"

HINDU MAHASABHA RESOLUTIONS

Summary based on a report in the " Daily News " Nagpur, of January 1, 1939, of the resolutions adopted at the 20th session of the Hindu Mahasabha on December 30, 1938.

(1) THE CONGRESS POLICY OF COERCION AND INTERference in the internal administration of Indian States " is not " genuine ", inasmuch as such Congress activities are restricted to Hindu States.

(2) The Mahasabha is " extremely greived " at the " indifferent attitude " of Hindu States rulers towards oppression of Hindu subjects in Muslim States, and requests the former to help the Mahasabha to put such Hindu subjects' grievances before their Rulers and " have them redressed ".

(3) While being " emphatically of opinion " that the 1935 Government of India Act is " a highly inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing measure ", the Mahasabha " with a view to securing and maintaining the integrity of the entire country is of opinion that considering the present situation even the scheme of Federation as it stands in the said Act should be worked in order that British India and the Hindu States should send to the Federal Legislature only such representatives as would protect Hindu rights and interests so that the Legislature may not be misused by the anti-Hindu, anti-National and reactionary forces in the country ".

(4) In another resolution the Mahasabha characterises the Congress High Command as " totalitarian and dictatorial in outlook ".

(5) It protests against the Congress declaration that* the Hindu Mahasabha, like the Muslim League, is a communa organisation.

(6) The Mahasabha claims to be " the only national organisation in the country ".

(7) It condemns the Communal Award which is " as grossly unjust to Hindus as it is anti-national and undemocratic in character ".



CONGRESS DOES NOT REPRESENT HINDUS

CONTEXT.

Extract from an Associated Press report of resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Bombay on November 20, 1939.

REFERRING TO THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT (OF OCTOBER 17, 1939), the Committee emphasized that the Hindu Mahasabha refused to look upon Dominion Status as the ultimate goal, but instead insisted upon it as an immediate step to be taken towards the final goal of absolute political independence and that a constitution based on that status should be conceded to India at the end of the war at the latest. It was added :

" A definite declaration to that effect alone can evoke a response of willing co-operation on the part of India. The British Government must bear in mind that India can never extend willing co-operation unless she feels that the cause of her freedom is likely to be served in a substantial measure by offering responsive co-operation ".

CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

In regard to the Consultative Committee contemplated by the Viceroy, the Committee welcomed it if it could be

* Congress resolutions—page 130.

made to serve as a tentative measure, with powers more or less equal to a federal board of ministers, entrusted, without reservation, with matters concerning Indian defence as that of a responsible Council of Ministers. In that, the Hindu Mahasabha must secure representation in keeping with the proportion to the population of Hindus.

The Committee reiterated that the Congress did not, and could not, represent the Hindus and, as such, no constitution or administrative settlement arrived at behind the back of the Hindu Mahasabha between the Government and the Congress and the Muslim League would be binding on the Hindus unless and until it was sanctioned by the Hindu Mahasabha.

It warned the League and the Congress that " it will oppose any humiliating injustice done to the Hindus by levying a kind of electoral ' jezia ' as the Communal Award does at present. The Hindus must have full representation in proportion to their population. They will tolerate nothing less and they demand nothing more ".

The Committee was of the opinion that the Depressed Classes alone should be given weightage or reservation and special protection for a definite period of time.

The Committee further called upon labour and capital in the country to utilise the opportunity afforded by the war by working up the existing industries and starting new industries and to capture and stabilise the home market against foreign competition.

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CONTEXT.

HINDU CO-OPERATION IN WAR URGED

GRIEVANCES AGAINST BENGAL MINISTRY

Extracts from a report on the proceedings of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Calcutta on Dec. 29-31, 1939.

DR. B. S. MOONJE MOVED A RESOLUTION ON " DELIVERANCE Day ". The resolution declared that there was no justification whatsoever for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into Muslim allegations against the Congress Ministries. If, however, a Commission was to be appointed, its terms should include investigation of instances of oppression of Hindus by Muslims in both the Muslim majority and minority provinces. It also suggested that the whole question of minorities should be referred to the League of Nations.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Cries of " Bande Mataram " greeted Dr. S. P. Mookerjee who moved the resolution condemning the Bengal Ministry. This resolution recorded the " strong protest of the Hindu Mahasabha against the communal and reactionary policy of

the Ministry ", and gave 20 instances of this policy, of which the following are the most important :

The passing of the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act ; introduction of the communal ratio in the public services ; overriding of the recommendations of the Public Service Commission on communal considerations ; discriminatory treatment against Hindu officers in the public services ; the posting, transferring and promotion of officers on communal considerations, Moslemization of certain services, especially of the education service, at the cost of efficiency ; discrimination against Hindus in the matter of grants and distribution of stipends and scholarships and the location of schools ; attempts to corrupt the Bengali language and to undermine the foundations of Hindu culture ; interference with the liberty of speech, freedom of the Press and freedom of association and procession of the Hindus ; and failure to give protection to the Hindus against Muslim aggression.

The motion was carried with acclamation....

WAR AND DEFENCE OF INDIA

The resolution on the war and the defence of India affirms that in view of the statement made by the British Government that its object in declaring war is to safeguard the vital principles of freedom and democracy and in view of the fact that nowhere is there greater necessity for the application of these principles than in India, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha declares ' that as the task of defending India from any military attack is the common concern of England and India, and as India is unfortunately today not in a position to carry out that responsibility unaided, there is ample room for whole-hearted co-operation between India and England, " and that in order to make such co-operation effective the British Government should immediately *inter alia*, introduce responsible Government at the centre ; redress the grievous wrong done to the Hindus by the Communal Award ; remove all artificial distinctions between the so-called ' martial ' and ' non-martial ' races, and complete the Indianization of the army as early as possible ; expand the Indian Territorial Force and the University Training Corps ; and make adequate arrangements for the training of the people in all branches of the defence force so as to make it ready for any emergency.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Five resolutions were then moved from the Chair. The first reaffirmed complete independence as the goal of India's political aspirations and urged that a constitution based upon dominion status, as defined in the Statute of Westminster, be conferred on India immediately.

The resolution recorded the Mahasabha's emphatic protest against the recent statements of the Viceroy and the

Secretary of State that the further constitutional progress of India must depend upon a solution of the communal and minority problems.

COMMUNAL AWARD

On December 29, the Mahasabha unanimously adopted a resolution on the Communal Award, which, reiterated its condemnation of the Award and appealed to all Indians to organise a country-wide agitation for its abolition. The resolution expressed the opinion that there would be no peace in the country until the Communal Award was annulled.

■ ■ ■

"RESPONSIVE CO-OPERATION"

OFFER TO GOVERNMENT

CONTEXT.

Extract from an Associated Press report on the meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee in Delhi on Feb. 10, 1940.

THE MAIN SUBJECT BEFORE THE MEETING RELATES TO the political situation as it emerges from the last Viceroy-Gandhi meeting and the publication of the Viceroy-Jinnah correspondence, particularly that part of it in which Mr. Jinnah asks that Indian troops should never be used against a Moslem Power or country.

The Working Committee passed the following two resolutions :—

In view of the fact that the mischief sought to be created by Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League by their observance of the so-called "Deliverance Day", has been nipped in the bud by the refusal of the Government to appoint a Royal Commission as desired by them; that His Excellency the Viceroy has announced in clear terms that Dominion Status in terms of the Westminster Statute shall be the basis of the constitution for India to be achieved "at the earliest possible moment" and that he has further given the assurance "to facilitate the achievement of that status by all means in their power" that the Viceroy, the Congress, and the Hindu Mahasabha are all of one opinion in making provision for safeguarding the legitimate interests of the minorities in any constitution that may be drafted the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha in a spirit of responsive co-operation, is prepared to give its helpful consideration, as an immediate step to its goal of independence, to the proposals contained in the Viceregal communiqué, namely :—

That His Majesty's Government were only too ready to examine the whole of the field in consultation with the re-

presentatives of all the parties and interests in India when the time came; that the federal scheme of the Act, while at present in suspense, afforded the swiftest stepping stone to Dominion Status; that the offer put forward by His Excellency the Viceroy in November, 1939, of an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council on the lines and on the basis, then indicated, remained open and that His Majesty's Government were prepared to give effect to that offer; that as regards the communal problem which is now the only hurdle in the way of further constitutional progress, the Hindu Mahasabha is of the definite opinion that it should be immediately referred for settlement to the League of Nations.

DEFENCE OF INDIA

As for the problem of the defence of India, the Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that a period of transition of 10 years at the most be fixed, during which the scheme of Indianization of all the different branches of the fighting forces, such as the Army, Air Force, and Navy, should be quickened and completed, and that, at the end of the period, the Defence Department also should be made a transferred department.

The Hindu Mahasabha welcomes the publication of the correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and Lord Linlithgow in that it has brought to light the conspiracy which Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League are organizing to create facilities for the Moslem Powers for aggression against India by demanding on the one hand, that Indian troops should not be used against any Moslem Power, and, on the other, that the present proportion of the Moslems in the Indian Army should not be reduced.

A deputation of the Hindu Mahasabha should be sent, in time, to England, so that any agitation that may be started there prejudicial to the interests of the Hindus may be effectively counteracted and an agitation be initiated for the annulment of the Communal Award.

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PAKISTAN SCHEME CONDEMNED

CONTEXT.

Extract from Associated Press report of a resolution passed by the Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee at Bombay, on May 19, 1940.

THIS MEETING OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE STRONGLY condemns the Pakistan scheme adopted by the Muslim League at Lahore last March, aiming to break up India into a number of Moslem States and Hindu States, as fundamentally anti-Hindu and therefore anti-national. The Committee reaffirms the determination of the Hindu Mahasabha to maintain, with all and every means in its power, the integrity of Hindustan as an organic and indivisible national and political unit.

The Committee further repudiates the statements made by certain Congress leaders to the effect that 'if the Moslems unanimously press their demand for Pakistan no power can withstand it', or 'that Moslem rule would after all be Indian rule and therefore must necessarily be preferable to foreign rule' or, 'that the Moslems alone have the right to dictate what safeguards they want and these should be accepted by the Hindus as the basis of any compromise to secure Hindu-Moslem unity.'

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CONTEXT.

DOMINION STATUS AFTER THE WAR

Associated Press report from Bombay, dated May 18, 1940.

A RESOLUTION URGING THE HINDUS TO CO-OPERATE whole-heartedly with the census authorities to get their real numerical strength well registered in the coming census was adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at its meeting to-day.

The Committee also emphasized the need to popularize the definition of Hindu that every one "who recognizes this Bharat Varsha as his or her fatherland or holy land is a Hindu." It was also decided that the hill tribes should be advised to register themselves as Hindus.

APPEAL TO HINDU PRINCES

Another resolution passed by the Committee referred to the declaration of the Muslim League with regard to Pakistan and pointed out to all Hindu Princes the necessity of taking "immediate steps to awaken and consolidate the Hindus in their States by extending every support to the Hindu sanghatan movement in general and the Hindu Mahasabha in particular."

A third resolution referred to the Bidar riots and criticised the policy of the Nizam's Government in this respect.

The Committee passed a number of resolutions arising out of the international situation and the political situation in India. It reiterated that the Congress could not speak on behalf of the Hindus and called upon the Government to give a definite undertaking that no pact entered into by the Congress and the Moslems between themselves, to which the Hindu Mahasabha was not made a party and which was not sanctioned by it, could be binding on the Hindus as a whole.

DEPUTATION TO VICEROY

The Committee authorized the President, Sir M. N. Mukherji, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar and Dr.

Shyama Prasad Mukherjee to place the Committee's resolutions before the Viceroy, secure a definite reply to the issues raised and submit to the Working Committee a report on the subject not later than July 31. On receipt of this report the Committee would consider what further practical steps should be taken in case the Mahasabha's demands are not granted.

Other resolutions regretted that adequate steps had not yet been taken to give military training to Indians for the defence of India and in view of the developments in Europe impressed on the Government of India the necessity of raising a national militia on a large scale and on a voluntary basis without distinction of caste or creed. This militia should have up-to-date equipment for both its land and air forces and should serve as a force reserved for Indian defence.

UNCONDITIONAL DECLARATION DEMANDED

The Committee further reiterated its demand for a declaration by the Government that Dominion status under the Statute of Westminster would be granted to India immediately on the cessation of war, guaranteeing the indivisibility of India as a political unit. This, the Committee urged, should not be conditioned on any Hindu-Moslem pact as an indispensable pre-requisite nor should the future constitution be based on the present Communal Award.

The Committee also resolved that it was prepared to accept Dominion Status as an immediate step towards the attainment of absolute independence.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar presided over the meeting and among those present were Dr. B. S. Moonje and Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerjee.

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CONTEXT.

WAR COMMITTEES

NO " ORGANIZATIONAL CONNECTION "

Summary of an Associated Press report from Ahmedabad, in the "Tribune" Lahore of June 19, 1940.

IN A CIRCULAR TO ALL HINDU SABHAS, MR. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, states that negotiations with the Government being in progress on the Working Committee's resolution of May 18, 1940, all Hindu Sabhas are instructed not to have "any organizational connection with Government District War Committees, etc." though the Mahasabha has sympathy in general with necessary Government measures, civic and military, for the defence of India.

Nevertheless the Working Committee has " not debarred members of the Hindu Sabhas from joining District War Committees " in their individual capacities, provided always Government war efforts are restricted to India's defence and Hindu interests are not harmed.



CONTEXT.

EXPANSION OF VICEROY'S COUNCIL

MAHASABHA'S TERMS FOR CO-OPERATION.

Extract from Associated Press report from Bombay, dated Sept. 22, 1940.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-INDIA HINDU Mahasabha has decided " that in view of the opportunity that the present war offers, for the general militarization of the Hindus and for the organization of the defence system of India on sound and up-to-date modern lines, so that India may be converted into a self-contained defence unit, the Hindu Mahasabha is prepared whole-heartedly to work out the schemes of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the War Advisory Council, but on honourable terms of equity and justice."

The resolution gives the following terms:

" (1) In view of the declaration made by the Muslim League of its determination, firm resolve and faith that the partition of India is the only solution of India's future constitution, the Hindu Mahasabha urges the Viceroy to make a clear and definite declaration that the Government has not approved or accepted any such proposal or scheme.

" (2) (*a*) That in view of the reported understanding between the Viceroy and the Muslim League that the League would be given two seats on the proposed extended Executive Council and five seats on the proposed War Advisory Committee, the Hindu Mahasabha claims representation of six seats on the extended Executive Council and 15 seats on the War Advisory Committee on population basis; and (*b*) that out of these six seats one be given to the Sikhs and one to the scheduled castes and the rest be given to the nominees of the Hindu Mahasabha.

" (3) This Committee considers the demand of the Muslim League of 50 per cent representation on the proposed Executive Council and elsewhere as undemocratic, unconstitutional, unreasonable and preposterous and it would urge the Viceroy to give an assurance to the Hindu Mahasabha that no such demand would be entertained."

The Committee passed three other resolutions which are given below :—

(1) "In view of the attitude taken up by the Muslim League and the altered political situation brought about thereby, the committee requests the President, without meaning any disagreement about the personnel of the panel, to withdraw the panel that has been submitted by him to His Excellency the Viceroy on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha in deference to the wishes of the Viceroy.

(2) " The Hindu Mahasabha urges that a sub-committee of the expanded Executive Council be formed, with the Viceroy and Governor-General as Chairman, to be in charge of the Defence portfolio and that Hindus should be given adequate representation on the sub-committee."

(3) " The Hindu Mahasabha urges that the Governor-General should not commit himself to any distribution of portfolios before the expanded Executive Council is constituted. This committee further urges that the distribution of portfolios when made should be made on an equitable basis, with due regard to the importance and interest of the Hindus."



CONTEXT.

TIME LIMIT WANTED FOR GRANT OF DOMINION STATUS

VICEROY'S OFFER " HIGHLY DISAPPOINTING "

Resolution adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee at Bombay on September 23, 1940.

RESOLVED THAT THE STATEMENT MADE RECENTLY (AUGUST 8, 1940) by H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India are highly unsatisfactory and disappointing, in that they make no reference to India's right to Independence which has been declared to be the goal of Hindu Mahasabha ; reference made to the grant of Dominion Status as an immediate step in constitutional advance is vague and uncertain. The Hindu Mahasabha claims Dominion Status of the Westminster type within a definite time limit not exceeding a year after the war.

CLARIFICATION WANTED

That the statement made to the effect that the British Government will not agree to hand over Indian Administration to a system of Government which will not be acceptable to large and powerful elements of Indian life, requires

clarification as it is capable of the interpretation that if the Moslem League, the Princes or the other vested interests oppose the recognition of the legitimate right of the majority in India, the further constitutional advance will be held up or the rights of the majority will be surrendered to them which will mean the negation of principle of democracy and incitement to minorities to obstruct and revolt.

The temporary expedience suggested, namely, the expansion of the Central Executive Council and the institution of the War Advisory Council will succeed only if a convention grows that the Viceroy will act as the constitutional head of the administration and all real power and responsibility is granted to these bodies.

GREAT OPPORTUNITY LOST

The Hindu Mahasabha notes with regret and disappointment that the British Government, even at this crisis, should not be prepared to give up its old imperialistic policy and states that its latest proposal is hardly of a nature to satisfy the demands of the Indian people. In the Mahasabha's opinion a great opportunity has been lost by the Government.

The Mahasabha makes it clear to the people of India and particularly to the Hindus that in all its actions and activities it will be guided by a policy, whereby the Hindu interests will be furthered and no elements will be permitted to dominate the public life of India to the detriment of the Hindus.

The Hindu Mahasabha is determined to fight every inch of ground both inside and outside the Government to achieve the above object. The Hindu Mahasabha will accept any reasonable and honourable offer made by the Government, only if it will stimulate and advance the Hindu cause and prevent any encroachment being made on the rights of the Hindus by the reactionary elements in the country. But this acceptance of the offer will not be considered to constitute a bar to the Hindu Mahasabha carrying on agitation for the further advancement of the Hindu cause and interest.

The Hindu Mahasabha hereby calls upon all Hindus to support the Hindu Mahasabha by joining it in large numbers and otherwise supporting it in the policy as stated above, to organise themselves with all speed and effectiveness and to be prepared for a struggle, if necessary.

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CONGRESS SATYAGRAHA

MAHASABHA DISSOCIATES ITSELF FROM CAMPAIGN

CONTEXT.

Extract from a report in the "Bombay Chronicle" of Nov. 23, 1940.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA, WITH PARTICULAR reference to the events that have followed the decision of the Congress Executive at its last meeting at Wardha, was

reviewed at length by the Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha on Nov. 21 in Bombay under the presidentship of Mr. V. D. Savarkar.

Following is the text of the resolution passed by the Committee :

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha warns the Government that the policy of depending upon political repression as the only means to secure peace in India or to compel the Indians against their wish to help Britain in the present War is fraught with serious consequences and is sure to defeat its own purpose. Even the experience of the last three decades of Indian history ought to show to the Government that such unalloyed repression under such circumstances can only drive discontent deeper and render political opposition all the more desperate. The immediate and actual grant of Dominion Status at any rate, is the only way to secure willing and, therefore, full co-operation of the Indian people. Any further delay is bound to prove dangerous.

The Working Committee feels aggrieved at the sufferings of these patriotic Indians to whatever parties they might have belonged, who had to face imprisonment under the Defence of India Act or otherwise for activities and issues which were actuated with patriotic motives even though the Working Committee might not have believed in the wisdom or utility of many of those activities and issues in themselves.

NON-VIOLENCE A " CRIME "

But in spite of this sympathy with their sufferings and appreciation of their patriotic motives the Working Committee cannot but condemn the issues which the Congress has raised of preaching the principles of absolute non-violence which as interpreted by Gandhiji, denounces all armed resistance even to incorrigible aggression under all circumstances as a moral sin and a crime.

The Hindu Mahasabha holds that constituted as the world is, absolute non-violence thus interpreted is absolutely impracticable in action and immoral in theory. Such absolute non-violence can only lead a Nation to annihilation which again being an act of self-violence cannot but constitute violence just the same. Moreover, absolute non-violence is under the circumstances as great a crime as aggressive violence. In realistic political life, in particular, the armed strength of a nation does not only provide acid test of its fitness to survive but constitutes as well the only guarantee of it.

Consequently the Hindu Sanghatanists have to dissociate themselves from the Civil Disobedience Campaign which the Congress has started on the issue of preaching this vicious principle of absolute non-violence condemning all armed resistance to aggression and thus threatening to sterilise the very martial instinct of our nation.

But if any movement based on any definitely political issue, not detrimental to Hindu interests, be started the Hindu Mahasabha may consider the question of joining hands in a common struggle.

HINDU MAHASABHA DEMANDS

Owing to the grievous failure on the part of the British Government in returning a satisfactory response to the demands forwarded by the Hindu Mahasabha on the very eve of the breaking out of this war, the question of what active steps should be taken to enforce the demands will soon have to be considered if the Government refuses in the meanwhile to move an inch further in the direction of constitutional advance in India. But as the open session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Madura is drawing close the Working Committee deems it desirable that a decision on that should authoritatively be taken by the Session itself.

HINDU RECRUITS FOR DEFENCE FORCES

Nevertheless, so far as the immediate programme is concerned, Hindu Sanghatanists all over India must concentrate their efforts to utilize the war situation in effecting the militarization and industrialization of our people as best we can. In doing this we shall be helping none else but ourselves and shall be able to strengthen our position as much as it is possible to do under the circumstances in which we are placed, before a further political advance could be effected. The immediate programme can be roughly outlined thus :—

(*a*) To secure entry for as many Hindu recruits as possible into the army, navy and the air force.

(*b*) To utilise all facilities that are being thrown open to get our people trained into Military mechanics and manufacture of up-to-date war materials.

(*c*) To try to make military training compulsory in colleges and high schools.

(*d*) To intensify the organization of the Ram Sena.

CIVIC GUARDS

(*e*) To join the Civic Guard movement with a view to enable us to defend our own people against foreign invasion or internal anarchy, provided always that the Civic Guards are not used against any patriotic political movement in India or in any activities detrimental to the legitimate interests of the Hindus.

(*f*) To start new industries on a large scale to capture the market where foreign competition is found eliminated.

(*g*) To boycott foreign articles, to defeat the entry of new foreign competitors.

(*h*) To set on foot an All-India movement to secure the correct registration, in the coming census, of the popular strength of the Hindus including Tribal Hindus such as Santhals, Gonds, Bhils, etc., and to secure their enlistment as Hindus instead of as Animists or Hill Tribes and by taking every other step necessary to secure the object in view.

These few items will suffice to illustrate the lines on which Hindu Sanghatanists all over India should concentrate their attention in the near future.

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CONTEXT.

Extracts from Mr. A. Dharamdas's Presidential Address to the 33rd Session of the United Provinces Indian Christian Conference at Mirzapur on November 10, 1939.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN LEADER ON CONGRESS DEMANDS

Great hopes were raised in our minds of the grant of real self-government at the termination of the 1914-18 war. Two decades have passed since then and we are yet far from the promised Dominion Status....

The Viceregal declaration, in reply to the Congress demand has been justly considered unsatisfactory and disappointing by almost all the major political parties....

India cannot be asked to fight for the freedom of other countries when its own freedom is not conceded....

SEPARATE ELECTORATE

Representation of the people on the legislatures of the provinces and the country on the basis of the communities, minorities and various interests may be acceptable in the present unfortunate state of affairs in our country, but that those representatives be elected by the members of their various communities alone is a principle which is highly detrimental to the communal co-operation and national unity in India.

This system is bound to spell disaster to the cause of national solidarity.

If we (Indian Christians) are to make ourselves felt in the field of politics, it is essential that we join a political body which offers full scope for the development of our political vision. If people want to serve the public at large, they must join an all-embracing national organisation like the Congress....

I believe that the rights guaranteed by the Congress should expel all suspicion from the minds of our people, especially when during the period of the working of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces in India, they have more than justified their good intentions of carrying out all the provisions contained in the declaration of Fundamental Rights and Duties....

CONTEXT.

INDIA'S SECURITY LIES IN CO-OPERATING WITH BRITAIN

Extract from a United Press report of Dr. H. C. Mukerjee's Presidential address to the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, at Madras on December 30, 1938.

THE GRAVITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION SHOULD, in my opinion, have the effect of binding us closer to Britain. The imperialism of the old type, against which political India raised its voice, is quite different from the imperialism embodied in the British Commonwealth of today. Brute force is something to be reckoned with in these days of totalitarianism and we should throw all our weight on the side of maintaining Indian co-operation with Great Britain on an equal footing, the realisation of which may take some time.

Let us by all means secure as much freedom as we can, but let us not forget for one moment the risks to which we shall be exposed from aggressive nations, the moment we cut off our connection with Great Britain. Our aim should be co-partnership with, and not complete severance from Great Britain at this stage.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS OPPOSE PAKISTAN SCHEME

Summary of an Associated Press report from Bezwada, dated April 1, 1940.

DR. H. C. MUKERJEE, M. L. A. (BENGAL), PRESIDENT of the All-India Council of Indian Christians, commenting on the All-India Muslim League resolution of March 24, said he could not believe that Hindus, Muslims and other religious minorities were so mutually opposed to one another as to require a division of India. He was convinced that today India was evolving a " composite culture ". Indian Christians condemned the scheme for the partition of India into Hindu and Muslim States (the Pakistan Scheme).

CONTEXT.

Extra from a statement by Mr. D. C. Williams President, Indian Christian Association, Cawnpore Branch, to a correspondent of the "Pioneer", on Feb. 1, 1940.

NO FAITH IN GANDHI'S SWARAJ NOR IN MUSLIM LEAGUE LEADERSHIP

AS A CHRISTIAN, IT IS MY OPINION THAT WE HAVE AS little faith in Mr. Gandhi's scheme for Swaraj as we have in Pakistan. We cannot be tied to the chariot-wheels of either. The former is wholly steeped in selfishness ; the latter in communalism. Christians, whose politics are based essentially on non-communal lines, cannot identify themselves with one or the other.

If India is ever to achieve success, it will be necessary that all communities in the country must have equal rights, and this cannot be achieved either through Mr. Gandhi's 'generosity, or 'justice', but by a policy of 'live and let live'.

"A PLACE IN THE INDIAN SUN"

Mr. Jinnah has failed to understand the inherent quality of the Indian Christians —their greatest quality is tolerance— and I am sorry for his fling at my community. He must realise, if he did not do so before, that the Christians, as a community, cannot join hands with the Congress, nor, for that matter, with the Muslim League. The Congress has succeeded in seducing a few Christians, but they are not the spokesmen of the Christian community.

At the same time I would like to tell Mr. Jinnah that Christians are as much entitled to their proper place in the 'Indian sun' as is either the Congress or the Muslim League. Christians have so far kept aloof from Indian politics, but we cannot afford to shut our eyes to all that is happening in the country now.

I would be doing a disservice to the Christians if I did not warn them that Mr. Gandhi's political manoeuvres would lead us into a trap from which it would be difficult for us to extricate ourselves.... At the same time I appeal to Christians in the province to achieve unity, without which our very existence is at stake.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

CONTEXT.

Summary based on a report from Allahabad, dated May 2, 1940, in the "Hindustan Times", of a resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Indian Christian Association of the United Provinces.

"PAKISTAN : BASED ON PERNICIOUS PRINCIPLE"

"THE ASSOCIATION VIEW WITH GRAVE CONCERN THE unpatriotic agitation set on foot in some reactionary quarters under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah" for the partition of India on a communal basis.

Once "this pernicious principle" of members of different religions being regarded as different races or nationalities is conceded, the need of dividing India into scores of States "could be easily demonstrated."

The proposal "only shows the depths to which selfish passions drag the people down."

It is the bounden duty of all parties, interests, and assocaitions and the Government to fight this agitation unitedly.

CHRISTIAN INDIAN FEDERATION

VICEROY'S ORIENT CLUB SPEECH ASSURANCE WELCOMED

Report in the "Hindu" on a resolution adopted at a preliminary Conference of the Christian Indian Federation of South India at Madras on Jan. 13, 1940.

THE CONFERENCE PASSED A RESOLUTION, AMONG OTHERS, welcoming the assurance given by the Viceroy in his speech at the Orient Club at Bombay, and urging the Government to give effect to it with the least possible delay.

The resolution also called upon Indian Christians, individuals and organisations of the province, to work for conditions which would facilitate the early attainment of the objective, and demanded that in the steps to be taken to revise the Indian Constitution, the Christian community should be associated and taken into consultation at every stage.

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CONTEXT.

Extracts from a statement (Poona, August, 10, 1940) by the Hon'ble Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Member of the Council of State and President of the Servants of India Society, on H. E. the Viceroy's statement of Aug. 8, 1940.

"ADVANCE ON PREVIOUS DECLARATION"

LIBERAL LEADER ON VICEROY'S STATEMENT OF AUG. 4, 1940

IN ANNOUNCING UNCONDITIONAL AND IMMEDIATE EXPANsion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and recognising India's right to shape her future constitution, though subject to limitations, the Viceroy's statement marks an advance in two respects on the previous declaration of policy.....Delay has unfortunately robbed it of the efficacy it would have had had it come earlier. It falls far short of the public demand for National Government. In spite of war a much nearer approach to such a government should have been possible than has been agreed to by the British Government....

It is not stated whether the new Constitution will embody the idea of that free and equal partnership in the Commonwealth of which the Viceroy speaks, or whether an indefinite period of probation is to elapse before our association with England is as free and equal as that of the Dominions....It is necessary that we should be told in broad outlines what Britain's conception of its obligations in this country, is, especially in regard to defence....

"DANGEROUSLY WIDE"

The need for safeguarding the just rights of minorities is unreservedly accepted by all parties but the language of the Viceroy's statement is dangerously wide. It virtually incites minorities to be obstructive and makes agreement well-nigh impossible. Even if a minority is unreasonable and by its insistence on something like the Pakistan Scheme, which the Under Secretary of State for India deprecated last April, prevents any understanding being arrived at, it will still be upheld by the British Government....

They should make it plain that they will not shrink from the the acceptance of any scheme which appears to them to be equitable, even if a minority unreasonably persists in opposing it. Unless they give this assurance they will lay themselves open to the charge that they have made up their minds to govern with the aid of minorities and use coercion against the majority.

CONTEXT.

" MERELY PLAYING WITH THE POLITICAL PROBLEM "

DR. PARANJPYE ATTACKS CONGRESS

Summary based on Associated Press report from Bombay dated March, 2, 1940, of a statement by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, President of the National Liberal Federation of India, on the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee on March 1 and by the Ramgarh session of the Congress on March 20, 1940.

THE RESOLUTION SHOWS " COMPLETE DISREGARD " OF internal and international realities and no desire to reach a peaceful settlement.

No Indian can have any objection to independence as the ultimate goal, but to damn Dominion Status, failing to recognize it as a very great step towards the goal, is " merely playing with the political problem ".

To say that Indian States are a creation of British Imperialism and should be swept away at one stroke is neither historically correct nor practical politics.

To threaten civil disobedience is not to place before the country the right ideal, which should be peaceful political progress and not a continual state of war.

It is to be earnestly hoped that the Congress will counteract attempts to divide India, by deeds of conciliation and not merely by words of repudiation.

■ ■ ■

OPPOSITION TO PAKISTAN SCHEME

Summary of a statement by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye President of the National Liberal Federation, on the Pakistan resolution adopted by the All-India Muslim League on March 24, 1940.

INDIANS CANNOT POSSIBLY ACCEPT THE DIVISION OF INDIA into Muslim India and Hindu India and the constitution of autonomous States based on religion.

Different Indian organisations should meet and arrive at a settlement.

The Congress and the Muslim League should give up their extreme positions and the Government should rally moderate opinion by putting India on the road to freedom.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

"WE SHOULD CEASE QUESTIONING GOVERNMENT'S BONA FIDES"

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye's comment (Bombay, May 24,) on Mr. Amery's declaration of May 23, 1940.

YESTERDAY'S STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE contains nothing new, but reiterates the sympathetic attitude of the British Government towards India, which, in the present grave war situation, appears to be all that is possible.

In my opinion, we should cease to question the *bona fides* of the Government, but take such steps as are practicable while the war is going on.....

India's political progress, too, is dependent on the success of the Allies, and all the devoted work of Indian leaders for a hundred years in the cause of Indian nation-building will be utterly wasted if they are defeated. It is, therefore, necessary that some provisional solution should be immediately found out of the deadlock.

Why cannot there be all-parties Governments functioning in all the provinces, instead of irresponsible bureaucratic Government in seven of them, and why cannot all Indian parties be represented in the Central Executive?

Perhaps the habit of working harmoniously together in a grave emergency will make the way even easier for a peaceful permanent settlement at the end of the war.....

The policy of the Government has been to keep Indians absolutely dependent on British for their defence. This policy is now seen to have been absolutely short-sighted.... Cannot a determined and vigorous policy be initiated even at this late hour? The inclusion of Indian popular representatives in the Central Government will pave the way for such a policy. In any case, not a moment should be lost.

MUSLIMS CANNOT EXPECT TO BE TREATED AS A MAJORITY

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye's statement of a Press interview at Poona on September, 1940.

"IT IS RATHER UNFORTUNATE THAT THE WORKING COMmittee of the Muslim League took such a decision", said Dr. Paranjpye, referring to the Pakistan scheme.

Dr. Paranjpye added that if the Muslim League insisted on the satisfaction of every single demand no settlement would be possible. "After all," he continued, "the Muslims are a minority and they cannot expect to be treated as a majority."

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a statement by Sir A.P. Patro at Madras on August 8, 1940.

BONA FIDES OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

IN SUBSTANCE, THERE SEEMS TO BE LITTLE DIFFERENCE between the Viceroy's declaration (August 8, 1940) and the demand of the Muslim League.

The main obstacle seems to be differences among Indians preventing their presenting a united front to prepare an agreed constitution for which the British Government and the Viceroy are prepared to render such help as is possible.....

The *bona fides* of the Government's policy are expressed in the proposal to expand the Viceroy's Council and to form a War Council as a consultative body, associating representative Indians with the war policy of the Government.....

"EVERY OTHER PARTY OPPOSED TO CONGRESS POLICY"

Sir A. P. Patro's comment (July 9, 1940) on the Congress Working Committee's resolution of July 7, 1940.

EVERY OTHER PARTY OR GROUP IS OPPOSED TO THE RESOLUTION as it is impracticable and disastrous at a moment when unconditional co-operation with the British would enable India to achieve the end and realize the ideal most assuredly in the course of time.

The success of Great Britain is inevitably the success of the cause of Indian Swaraj.....

AUTHORITIES CANNOT IGNORE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

IN THE SPEECH AT BOMBAY ON APRIL 9, 1940, WHILE UNveiling the statue of Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, said that mass civil disobedience might begin any day.

"However non-violent it may be, the authorities cannot afford to look on, but must meet it by violent measures."

Continuing, he said, the demand for the partition of India "staggers the imagination and makes it impossible even to guess the next step in our movement."



MR. S. SASTRI'S APPEAL TO CONGRESS

CONTEXT.

Report from Madras in the "Hindustan Times" of Aug. 9, 1940.

AN EARNET REQUEST TO CONGRESS LEADERS TO "FORGET prestige and consistency, ignore the lack of imaginative foresight on the part of the Government and reward the love and trust of the people by active protection which they (the Congress) alone can give" was made by Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the Liberal leader when interviewed on the Viceroy's statement.

Asking the Congress to seize the reins of power everywhere and, by active assistance, militate the trials and tribulations that await the Indian people, Mr. Sastri declared that a negative policy of abstention and non-co-operation must be abandoned in acute situations like these.

Regretting that the Viceroy's statement had not made it easy for the Congress to change its policy, he asked why a time-limit should not have been laid down for bringing Dominion Status into operation. He also feels that there could have been no difficulty in making the Central Government responsible to the Legislature.

MINORITIES' RIGHTS

While welcoming as "a decided advance" the declaration regarding the framing of a new Constitution, Mr. Sastri considers that the paragraph relating to minorities' rights is liable to be interpreted as a charter to intransigence.

"Are obstructionists to have the ultimate veto ?". asks Mr. Sastri. "The advocate of Pakistan and enemies of democracy cannot be allowed, when the world after the war is being reorganized in the interest of democracy, to keep India from the blessings of the new order.

> **"Many in this country believe that something more than a statement by the Under-Secretary of State for India is called for in order to prevent the spread of such poisonous notions. The difficulties of Government are great and no true friend of India will allow himself to forget or underrate them. Still, a warning may appropriately be given against the blind pursuit of a**

policy of 'wait and see,' which has the effect of enabling palpable error to strike deep root and impossible expectations to gain currency until they become serious public dangers."

SETALVAD, SIR CHIMANLAL

CONTEXT.

" PAKISTAN WOULD LEAD TO DISASTER "

Summary of a statement issued (from Bombay on March 27, 1940) by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the Liberal leader on the Muslim League's Lahore resolution of March 24, 1940.

MR. JINNAH'S PAKISTAN SCHEME IS AGAINST THE BEST interests of all concerned, including the Muslims themselves, and, if accepted, will lead to disaster. Sir Chimanlal says that in adopting this attitude he cannot be suspected of any communal bias.

Proceeding, he says that Hindus and Muslims with economic and business interests would refuse to move from the provinces in which they now live. Further, in the proposed arrangement, the Muslim population of Kashmir cannot be kept under Hindu rule and the Hindu population of Hyderabad under Muslim rule.

"The contemplated sovereign States are sure to come into conflict in many directions."

INDIA SHOULD HELP ENGLAND TO WIN WAR

Extracts from a statement by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad at Bombay, August 2, 1940.

I BELIEVE NO INDIAN WOULD BE SO UNPATRIOTIC AS TO wish that India should not be politically independent; but it has to be recognized that under existing circumstances we cannot by one leap attain it. Similarly, the condition about the immediate formation of a purely National Government involves practical difficulties.

To my mind, it is eminently in the self-interest of India to help England in winning the war. India would be doing so, not in order to oblige England, but to safeguard her own interests by preventing the possibility of her

being overwhelmed by Nazi aggression and thus losing all chances of attaining freedom, for how long one cannot say.....

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

COALITION GOVERNMENTS WANTED

Extracts from an Associated Press report of an interview with Sir Chimanlal Setalvad on August 9, 1940.

IF THE CHOICE OF PERSONS FOR THE VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE Council is to be entirely in the hands of the Viceroy the representative character of the persons appointed is sure to be questioned....

Again, in regard to the War Advisory Council, the question arises with whom the selection of these representatives will rest.

To say that the British Government will not countenance any new Constitution which is not acceptable to any minority, however important, is to create a complete deadlock. .....

It is very necessary that for the period of the war Coalition Governments of various parties should be formed in the provinces .Assuming, however, that the Congress does not agree, I think the present running of the Provincial Governments with official advisers should not continue. It would certainly be an improvement to invite non-officials representing various parties, to be advisers to the Governor when there will be at least some approach to the administration of the provinces by popular representatives.

In my opinion, the announcement of the Viceroy (August 8, 1940) does constitute an appreciable advance over the previous proposals. I hope and trust that the Congress and other political bodies will, without prejudice to their programmes, accept the interim arrangements proposed by the Viceroy.....

■ ■ ■

LIBERTY TO CONDUCT ANTI-WAR PROPAGANDA

MR. GANDHI'S ABSURD DEMAND

Extracts from a statement by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad at Bombay on October 6, 1940.

HAD MAHATMA GANDHI MOMENTARILY FORGOTTEN THE creed of non-violence when on the outbreak of the war he expressed himself to the effect that India should give unconditional support to Britain, in the prosecution of the war, such support necessarily involving participation by India in the war?....

To demand liberty to carry on anti-war propaganda, well knowing that such propaganda must weaken the war effort and assist the enemy, is really too absurd.

Nobody can shut his eyes to the fact that if anti-war propaganda and civil disobedience are carried on, the efforts of Britain to win the war will obviously be handicapped.

One wonders how it conduces to the self-respect and honour of the country to strike a blow at all prospects of independence for the country by obstructing the war effort and thus aiding the success of Nazism which, Mahatma Gandhi professes, the Congress hates as much as any Britisher.

SIVASWAMI IYER, SIR P. S.

CONTEXT.

MR. GANDHI'S SATYAGRAHA

"MOST FOOLISH AND ILL-ADVISED"

Associated Press report Madras, dated Oct. 16, 1940.

"BY ENDORSING A PLAN OF ACTION WHICH IS MOST FOOLISH, ill-advised and calculated to jeopardise the safety and best interests of the country, the Congress will be betraying the true interests of the country and making itself the laughing stock of all sensible and patriotic people," declared Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer in an interview on Mahatma Gandhi's statement.

Sir Sivaswami said that he had read Mahatma Gandhi's plan for civil disobedience. It was difficult to understand his logic or mentality. It was also difficult to reconcile his goodwill to Britain and his desire not to embarrass the authorities. No Government, European or Indian, democratic or constitutional, which was engaged in a life and death struggle for the preservation of the country, could possibly recognize any claim to impede or weaken its efforts for defence by any pacifist propaganda or otherwise.

Sir Sivaswami added that to say that mere talking to dissuade people from participating in the war effort did not involve violence, was absurd. One might just as well claim that it was a laudable piece of non-violence when a man prevented people from putting out a fire or saving a drowning man.

CONTEXT.

INDEPENDENCE: "WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO MAINTAIN IT"

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, the Liberal leader, issued this statement, on October 23, 1939.

WHILE I AM IN ENTIRE AGREEMENT WITH THE RESOLUTION of the Council of the All-India Liberal Federation on the Viceroy's declaration, I cannot say as much in approval of the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress.

In so far as the resolution of the Working Committee gives expression to the intense feeling of dissatisfaction and disappointment felt by the country at large all right thinking people must agree with it. The resolution is valuable as an emphatic protest against the illiberal and unstatesmanlike policy of the British Government. The proposed resignation of the Congress Ministries will also serve its purpose.

I do not approve of the proposals to press for independence as the goal of India. Every Congressman must be aware that we are not in a position to maintain our independence outside the British Commonwealth, if we could get it here and now.

The Congress has not laid its cards on the table, and intends to maintain a strategic attitude of silence and to reserve to itself the freedom to embark upon measures of this character. Any course of action that would plunge the internal administration of India into confusion at this juncture must be deplored. The feeling of resentment in the country might have been obviated if the Government had acted more or less on the lines recommended by the Council of the National Liberal Federation.

A JOINT STATEMENT

SETTLEMENT WITH LEAGUE AND CONGRESS

"WILL NOT BIND INDIAN PEOPLE"

Extracts from a joint statement issued by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar (Liberals), Mr. V. D. Savarkar (Hindu Mahasabha,) Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. Jamnadas M

WHATEVER MIGHT HAVE BEEN THE POSITION OF THE Congress as representing all India, till it came under the control of its present leaders, such claims cannot now be maintained.....

The Muslim League, at any rate, repudiates entirely the claim of the Congress to represent Muslims.

Mehta (Democratic Swaraj Party) and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Depressed Classes) on October 2, 1940.

Leaving aside the Muslims, we venture to assert that the Congress cannot claim to represent all classes of people of all shades of political opinion in the country. The members of the Hindu Mahasabha, Depressed Classes, the Democratic Swaraj Party, the Liberals, the land-holding and the labouring classes are all outside the Congress, and do not recognize the Congress as their mouthpiece.

ANALYSIS OF ELECTIONS

It is true that the Congress obtained, at the last elections, majorities in the seven provinces which enabled it to form Congress Ministries in those provinces. This does not, however, indicate that the Congress had behind it a majority of voters.

In the Presidency of Bombay, for example, the number of votes cast for non-Congress candidates in the general constituencies totalled 1,053,509 as against 1,483,189 for Congress candidates. If the votes cast in special constituencies are added to non-Congress votes, the Congress had only a minority of voters behind it.

Moreover, the votes that the Congress candidates succeeded in obtaining in the various constituencies were obtained, we venture to say, by false pretences. The general feeling in the country was against the new Constitution as being illiberal and not going far enough.

The slogan of the Congress candidates was that they were going into the Legislatures to wreck the Constitution. This, naturally, brought the Congress candidates a considerable accession of voting strength.

The non-Congress candidates had the honesty to express the view that though the new Constitution was unsatisfactory, it should be worked so as to get the best out of it in the interests of the country.

The Congress members of the Legislatures, as soon as they took office, bade good-bye to their pretensions of wrecking the Constitution and became instead ardent workers of that Constitution. Not only that, but they began using with a vengeance all the laws that they had called repressive and which they had pledged themselves to repeal.

CONGRESS AND WAR

The attitude of the Congress in the matter of the present war is, on the face of it, insincere and unreliable.

Only a few days before the last resolution of the Congress Working Committee its prominent leaders sang a totally different tune. Mahatma Gandhi advised against any bargaining

for Indian support. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, when he spoke at Meerut, favoured unconditional support and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also spoke in the same strain. The resolution of the Working Committee was apparently dictated by the desire of not being outdone by the Forward *Bloc* of Mr. Subhas Bose.

The reiterated cry of the Congress leaders to secure a definite promise of a free democracy for India as the price of India's co-operation is again not sincere. The way in which they are exercising the limited democratic powers that have been available to them under the present constitution belies the hope that the present Congress leaders want to establish real democracy in India.

" AUTOCRATS "

The Congress Government resent any opposition and wish like autocrats, that no opposition should exist.

From the experience that people have of the Congress Governments, in 8 provinces for over two years, it is felt that the idea of democracy in the minds of the Congress Governments means suppression of the liberty of the Press, curtailment of the civil liberty of the people and ruthlessly silencing all opposition.

Minority opinion in the Legislature is ignored and thrust aside with callous indifference. The Congress and the Congress Governments believe in annihilating all parties and making the Congress the only party in the land as is the case in Fascist and Nazi regimes — a resolve which would be a deathblow to democracy. If the Congress really believed in democracy it would not slight other parties or insist upon their dissolution. The Congress cannot bear rivals and cannot bear sharing credit.

It is strange that Mahatma Gandhi does not realize the fight for democracy abroad and insisting in India that the Congress is the only all-inclusive body is a contradiction in terms.

To insist that the Congress is the one and only political organization to represent the whole country, is to destroy the foundation of Indian democracy.

We only wish to raise our voice to warn His Excellency the Governor-General not to be misled into accepting the position enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi or to regard the Congress and the Muslim League as representing the whole or even the bulk of India and thereby prevent the establishment of true and healthy democracy in this country.

We, therefore, beg to point out that any constitutional arrangement arrived at between the Government and the Congress and the Muslim League only cannot and will not bind the Indian people.

CONTEXT.

Resolutions adopted at annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India, (Dec. 29 and 30, 1938).

FEDERATION FOR INDIA

"THE ONLY NATURAL IDEAL"

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION REITERATES ITS opinion that the Constitution, especially as regards the Centre, as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is utterly unsatisfactory and in several respects retrograde. While the National Liberal Federation accepts a federal form of government for India as the only natural ideal for our country, the Federation considers that vital changes are required in the form of the Federation as laid down in the Act, especially in the direction of (*a*) clearing up the position of the Princes and securing the subjects of states the right of election of states' representatives, (*b*) doing away with the safeguards regarding monetary policy and commercial discrimination, (*c*) introducing direct elections for the members of the Federal Assembly by the Provinces, and (*d*) making the Constitution sufficiently elastic so as to enable India to attain Dominion Status within a reasonable period of time.

The National Liberal Federation considers that the present position when there is an irresponsible government in the Centre coupled with responsible governments in the Provinces, is altogether untenable and earnestly urges on Parliament to make immediate changes in the Federal part of the Constitution so as to make it generally acceptable.

The Federation is further of opinion that these modifications are essential to the successful working of the Federal Constitution.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA NOTES WITH satisfaction that in all the Provinces, Provincial Autonomy, as consistently advocated by the Liberal Party, is being worked on constitutional lines without any undue interference so far from the Governors, and trusts that this atmosphere will continue and soon lead to the establishment of complete autonomy in the provinces.

The Federation strongly deprecates the manner in which the Working Committee of the Congress Party has tried to impose its will and decisions on the provincial ministries in provinces where that Party has formed

ministries. Such interference is calculated very seriously to hinder the growth of a healthy democratic system of government in the country.

REFORMS IN INDIAN STATES

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA WELCOMES the proclamations by the rulers of several Indian states to grant to their subjects an increasingly greater association with their administrations, developing, into responsible Government as their goal.

The Federation re-affirms its complete sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian states for civil and political liberties.

The Federation trusts that the rulers of all states will realize in their own interests that. with the working of autonomous responsible Government in the provinces, it is no longer possible for them to continue to administer their states on the existing basis.

The Federation, therefore, urges the rulers to concede to their subjects, without any further delay, the right of security of person and property, liberty of speech and of the Press, freedom of association, and an independent judiciary, and to initiate measures for the establishment of Responsible Government.

■ ■ ■

VICEROY'S OFFER "UNSATISFACTORY"

CONTEXT.

Resolution passed by the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India at Bombay on Oct. 22, 1939.

THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF India, while confirming the resolution passed by its executive at its meeting held on Sept. 10, by which they recommended that India should unhesitatingly and unconditionally support the Democratic Powers in the prosecution of war and, at the same time, appealed to the British Government to create such psychological conditions in the country as would lead to general political appeasement in India, regrets that the appeal so made by its executive has not been responded to by the Government.

DOMINION STATUS

The Council, having given a careful consideration to the statement issued by the Governor-General on October 17, 1939, is of the opinion that it cannot but be deemed unsatisfactory inasmuch as :

It does not make clear that the Dominion Status to be obtained by India is to be of the same character as

enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions and as is contemplated by the Statute of Westminster.

It contemplates the advent of Dominion Status at some indefinite future period and fails to envisage the attainment of such status by India within a definite period.

It ignores the urgent need for taking immediate measures for the Indianisation of the Defence Forces in all branches in a fixed period, the development of the Indian Air Force and its substitution for the Royal Air Force.

It also ignores the demand for the organization of man-power for the defence of the country on a broader basis and the need of widening the basis of recruitment, so as to give greater opportunity to all classes for serving in the Defence Forces.

It leaves, at least during the period of the war, and for some indefinite period after that, the Central Government entirely irresponsible as at present.

CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

A mere consultative committee, without any power of any sort, mentioned in the Viceroy's statement, is no substitute for responsibility at the Centre and will not satisfy anyone, the creation of such a body for war purposes being not a sufficient and effective association of India in the prosecution of the war.

The Council points out that it is inaccurate to say that the Act of 1935 was based on the greatest measure of agreement which was possible to obtain at the time when it was framed. In the opinion of the Council it would be more accurate to say that it was based on the greatest measure of common agreement between the British delegates alone at the Round Table Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

It cannot be forgotten that the measures of agreement between Indians, embodied in the memorandum signed by the British Indian delegates of all classes, communities and groups at the Joint Parliamentary Committee, were entirely disregarded.

APPEAL TO ALL PARTIES

The Council recognizes that there are differences amongst the people of this country and that sometimes those differences are acute. But though such differences will always exist they should not be permitted to stand in the way of the establishment of a free constitution.

The Council appeals to all parties to take a broad view of the situation and bend their energies to the task of National

reconstruction and freedom and help in pooling all the progressive elements in the country. The Council confidently trusts that its appeal will not be in vain and all sections of the people will forget the narrow bounds of their respective parties and help in the emergence of a new India with real power to further the cause of genuine democracy and peace, and the ideal to which all look forward.



CONTEXT.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IMPRACTICABLE

A CONFERENCE SUGGESTED

Resolutions adopted at the 21st session of the National Liberal Federation of India at Allahabad, December 27—29, 1939.

THE LIBERAL FEDERATION IS STRONGLY OF OPINION THAT the future constitution of India should be framed by Indians themselves but considers that the idea of the proposed Constituent Assembly is impracticable and is likely to retard our progress.

The Federation, therefore, suggests that a conference be convened in India by His Majesty's Government for framing the constitution and that it should be composed of

(1) the representatives of elected members of Provincial and Central Legislatures in British India, elected on the basis of proportional representation,

(2) the representatives of elected members of legislatures of Indian States.

(3) The rulers of major States or their ministers invited by the Viceroy and the representatives of other princes elected by the Chamber of Princes,

(4) representatives elected by landholders' associations, associations representing trade and commerce and associations representing agricultural and industrial labour, and

(5) a certain number of the members of the Conference to be nominated by the Viceroy to represent such interests and views as may otherwise go unrepresented.

DOMINION STATUS

This Federation strongly urges : (1) that the Government of India Act of 1935 should be so amended

a) as to provide for the establishment of complete responsible government in the provinces and on a federal basis at the Centre so that India may automatically become a Dominion within the meaning of the Balfour Declaration of 1926 and of the Statute of Westminster on the conclusion of the war ; and

(*b*) as to secure to the subjects of States, the right of election of State representatives.

(2) That, in the meanwhile, immediate steps should be taken to nationalize the Army so as to enable India to shoulder the responsibility of Dominion Status.

DEFENCE OF INDIA

The National Liberal Federation strongly protests against the decision of His Majesty's Government (*a*) to give an extended meaning to Indian Defence by making India share without her consent in the responsibility of defending Singapore and Egypt although no such responsibility has been laid on the shoulders of any of the dominions vitally interested in the defence of these places, (*b*) to treat one-tenth of the army in India virtually as an Imperial Reserve for utilization outside India in defence of British possessions between Egypt and Singapore, and (*c*) to make India liable for the payment of the maintenance charges of this Reserve even when it is employed in defence of these possessions.

In spite of the heavy burden of military expenditure borne by the country since the inception of the British rule, the Government have utterly failed in their duty to equip the country adequately for defensive purposes. The Federation reiterates its demand for :

(*a*) the rapid nationalization of the Defence Forces of India, involving the replacement of British troops and the Royal Air Force by Indian Land and Air Forces and the substitution of Indian for European officers in the Army, Navy and Air Forces of the country,

(*b*) the redistribution of the existing defence expenditure so as to provide more money for the rapid development of the Indian Air Force, the organization of defence against air raids which has been rendered essential by the changed international situation, the Federation regretting that no steps have been taken in this direction and that the measures taken to train Indian pilots are extremely inadequate specially as compared with those taken in some of the dominions,

(*c*) the removal of provincial and class restrictions regarding recruitment to the army,

(*d*) a wide expansion, wherever possible on a compulsory basis, of the University Training Corps and the selection of cadets from the corps for admission to the Indian Military Academy,

(*e*) the introduction of military drill and the establishment of cadet corps in schools in accordance with the recommendations of the Shea Committee,

(*f*) a much wider extension of the Indian territorial force and

(*g*) the taking of all necessarys teps to make the people of this country more self-reliant in the matter of defence and to make India self-sufficient so far as possible in regard to the production of war materials.

REFORMS IN INDIAN STATES

The National Liberal Federation of India weclomes the steps taken by some Indian princes to associate their subjects with the administration of their states.

The Federation reaffirms its complete sympathy with the natural and legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian states for civil and political liberties.

The Federation trusts that the rulers of states will realize in their own interest that, with the working of responsible government in the provinces, it is no longer possible for them to continue to administer their states on the existing lines. The Federation, therefore, urges the rulers to concede to their subjects without any further delay the right of security of person and property, liberty of speech and of the Press, freedom of association, and an independent judiciary, and to initiate adequate measures for the establishment of responsible government.



CONTEXT.

LIBERALS' SUGGESTIONS

CONGRESS POLICY DISAPPROVED

Summary of a resolution adopted by the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India in Bombay on February 18, 1940.

WHILE WELCOMING THE VICEROY'S DECLARATION AT THE Orient Club, Bombay, on January 10, 1940, the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India regretted that an endeavour to rally all reasonable political opinion in the country for general political appeasement had not been made, regretted that the Congress had rejected the offer, and declared that complete Independence in the present international situation was unpracticable and a Constituent Assembly based on adult suffrage was " thoroughly unpracticable ".

The Council did not consider that the modified proposal of an Assembly of Legislators, provincial and Central, would be acceptable to several parties. It repudiated the suggestion that India consisted of two separate nations

It favoured truly representative Coalition Cabinets in the Province as the best solution of the present political *impasse*.

It declared that it would welcome the immediate enlargement of the Governor-General's Executive Council by the inclusion of some of the representative leaders of parties and interests, as an interim measure.

It urged on the Government, as an earnest of its genuine determination to make India a full-fledged Dominion, to take Indian leaders into confidence with the object of laying down a definite plan for organising the resources of the country for defence purposes and rapid Indianisation embracing all classes of the various branches of the Defence Forces. It demanded for India a " determining voice " in framing a new constitution of India at the end of the war.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

MEMORANDUM ON INDIAN DEFENCE

" MILITARY SELF-GOVERNMENT " WANTED

Extracts from the Memorandum on Indian Defence submitted to H. E. the Viceroy by a deputation of the All-India National Liberal Federation on August 9, 1940.

THE PREPAREDNESS OF THE COUNTRY FOR SELF-DEFENCE is a matter of vital concern to Indians at this time.

The Government's defence policy has so far been based on the assumption that if India were involved in a major war, Britain would come to her assistance. This assumption no longer holds true...

In fact, one of the greatest services that we can render to Britain at this time is to take the burden of defending India off her shoulders. The fulfilment of this task will only be possible under national leadership. The situation calls for an Indian Defence Minister and an Indian Government at the Centre.

The programme announced in the Commander-in-Chief's broadcast on May 31 created deep dissatisfaction throughout the country. It was a grudging submission to the pressure of events. It indicated unwillingness on the part of Government to train Indians on a large scale to defend their country. The disaster that has befallen France has made them revise their ideas. It was announced the other day that the expansion of our armed forces, to which the Commander-in-Chief referred, was only the first stage in the fulfilment of a much larger scheme which the Government of India had in view. We do not, however, yet know the ultimate objective which Government are aiming at.

" ARTIFICIAL DISTINCTION"

In the opinion of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, the altered conditions make it necessary that Government, abandoning old prejudices, should abolish the artificial distinction so long maintained between the so-called martial and non-martial classes, and take steps to provide military training for the ordinary citizen of a better type and on a much larger scale than that provided by the Indian Territorial Force and to rouse enthusiasm for military service throughout the country.

The question of the extent to which Indian officers will be appointed in future has been left quite vague...And it was stated in one of the recent communiqués that 'the new formations will be officered to the fullest extent possible by Indians.'

" RACIAL DISCRIMINATION "

If the assurance given in the communique is to be honestly carried out, non-Indian Officers should be appointed only when competent Indian Officers are not available. So far, however, it appears that the field for the employment of Indians has not been widened in any appreciable measure and that it has been the policy of Government to give preference to Europeans and Anglo-Indians over them.

Taking the other provinces into account it is clear that the British community in India can supply all the officers required for the new units. If the present policy, which based on a racial discrimination, continues to be followed the assurances that have been given with regard to the employment of Indian officers to the fullest extent possible will prove valueless in practice and Indians will be appointed only to a very limited extent.

The University Training Corps can, however, still provide a valuable field for the recruitment of Indian Officers. It should be expanded and utilized in the same way as the Officers' Training Corps at the British Universities is utilized in England. During the last war the U. T. C. supplied about 25,000 officers. This shows what the U. T. C. and the Indian Universities, if encouraged, can do in the matter of supplying well-educated and competent officers for the Indian Army.

THE AIR ARM

The air arm is an essential part of modern defence forces. In India, it consists of one squadron only. Three more squadrons, however, are now going to be formed, but even with this addition it will be a ludicrously insignificant force.....

If England gives the same help to India as she has given to Canada and Australia, the manufacture of aeroplanes should be as practicable here as it has proved in those countries..... It should be one of the duties of the imported men (under the technical training scheme) to train Indian technicians to take their places as quickly as possible.

If the R. A. F. throws open its doors as freely to Indian pilots as it has done to Dominion pilots, the training of pilots on a large scale can be undertaken in this country, even before a large expansion of the Indian Air Force becomes possible..... Here is a field in which young Indians are eager to serve, but it has been practically reserved for men of the white race.

There is no reason why the Indian Navy should not be as completely officered by Indians as the Indian Air Force. We are aware that the R. I. N. has not made the same appeal to Indian youths as the Army or the Air Force, but if Government carry on the necessary propaganda to popularize it, it will doubtless meet with a good response. The popularity of the Mercantile Marine Training Ship "Dufferin" among young men belonging to Northern India who, though unfamiliar with the sea, supply it with a majority of the cadets, shows that Indians are quite ready to adopt a sea career.

It is as necessary to manufacture the munitions required in modern warfare as to raise the necessary forces... India is still unable to manufacture planes, tanks, armoured vehicles and heavy artillery on which mechanized warfare depends... The Council is certain that the country will not grudge any expenditure that may be found necessary to start the manufacture of the weapons referred to above

The measures suggested will not only ensure the security of India but enable her to give effective help to England in defending the just cause which she has espoused. The country is demanding self-government. It may not be possible to take up the constitutional question during the war, but if England shows her readiness to create a national defence force in India and thus to concede military self-government to Indians it will be regarded as signal proof of her desire to grant freedom to India and will unite India and England in lasting bonds of friendship.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF AUG. 8, 1940

MODIFICATION DESIRED

Summary of a resolution at an emergency meeting of the Council of National Liberal Federation of India, at Allahabad on August 25, 1940.

H. E. THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT OF AUG. 8, AND MR L. S. Amery's speech in the Commons on Aug. 14, should be clarified and modified in the manner suggested below :

(*a*) The statement of Mr. Amery, in which he draws a distinction between the functions and the status of a Dominion with reference to India has caused grave apprehension in the minds of the people of the country that what he called the British obligations in India may permanently stand in the way of India achieving the same freedom as the other Dominions.

(*b*) A definite time-limit should be laid down within which India will attain Dominion Status, as it feels that after the war danger is over the various conditions in the declaration

are capable of being put forward as excuses for delaying such attainment indefinitely.

MINORITY INTERESTS

(*c*) While the Council is anxious to satisfy all reasonable claims and aspirations and remedy all genuine grievances of the various minorities and interests in the country, it cannot help feeling that the guarantees given in the declaration to the minorities are worded in such wide terms that they can be used to stop all political progress...

(*d*) To stimulate India's best efforts in the prosecution of the war.

(*i*) the Defence portfolio should be entrusted to an Indian commanding the peoples' confidence ;

(*ii*) The Defence Forces should be organised on a fully national basis, and recruitment of non-Indian officers should be discontinued.

EXPANSION OF VICEROY'S COUNCIL

(*e*) The new members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be selected from various political parties' representatives, and the members should be in a majority in the Council.

That as a matter of convention such an enlarged Executive Council should work as a Cabinet ; that the Viceroy should be its constitutional head and that the British Government should not ordinarily interfere with any policy that has the support of such an Executive Council and the Central Legislature.

(*f*) Acceptance of the principle of self-determination in the declaration is so hemmed in by regard for British obligations and guarantees to minorities and interests as to render it nugatory and the Council considers that if it is really intended to grant self-determination it should be done in a manner which will make it practically effective.

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CONTEXT.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE : BIHAR MUSLIMS' ATTITUDE

Extracts from an Associated Press report from Patna, dated December 28, 1939.

"IF THE CONGRESS STARTS A CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT for Swaraj, the Muslims will offer no opposition to the movement anywhere in Bihar", observed Syed Abdul Aziz, President of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, in an interview.

He added : "Mahatma Gandhi may have other reasons not to start civil disobedience at the present time, but there is not even an iota of ground for him to say that he cannot start it because the Muslims will resist it"....

Referring to Sardar Patel's speech in Bombay, Mr. Aziz said that it was a distinct disservice to India to delay a settlement with the Muslim League for the sake of a handful of Congress Muslims."

VICEROY'S STATEMENT

"MARKED ADVANCE"

Extract from a report in the "Hindustan Times" of Aug. 10, 1940.

MR. ABDUL HAMID KHAN, LEADER OF THE MUSLIM League Party in the Madras Legislative Assembly, said that the Viceroy's statement (August 4) was a marked advance over those that had been issued from time to time, both by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India....

In spite of the Viceroy's strenuous endeavours to make the Congress realise the present position, it had not seen its way to combine with the Muslim League to bring into existence a composite National Government both at the Centre and in

the provinces as an interim agreement during the war. In the circumstances, the British Government could not but carry out the original proposal to expand the Viceroy's Executive Council and to establish a War Advisory Council.

BARKAT ALI

CONTEXT.

Extract from an Associated Press report from Lahore, dated Aug. 8, 1940.

"DESERVES EARNEST ATTENTION"

MALIK BARKAT ALI, M.L.A., AND MEMBER OF THE Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, says that the Viceroy's offer deserves the most serious and earnest attention of all patriotic Indians....

FAZLUL HUQ

TWO NATIONS IN INDIA

Extract from report of a speech by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Prime Minister of Bengal, in inaugurating the first United Provinces Muslim Students Conference at Allahabad on November 17, 1940.

MR. HUQ MAINTAINED THAT MUSLIMS AND HINDUS WERE two separate nations and they should be allowed to progress separately, maintaining their separate entities. It was possible, he said, for the two cultures to live side by side and to contribute separately to a common beneficial blend.

CONTEXT.

JAIPUR INCIDENT

Extract from a statement issued by Mr. M. A. Jinnah (on May 7, 1939) in which he urged an impartial enquiry into the firing on Muslims in Jaipur State.

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PARAMOUNT POWER quickly cancelled his tour, rushed to save Mr. Gandhi's life on the Rajkot issue and intervened even with regard to constitutional advance, whereas the Paramount Power, which maintains its undoubted right and responsibility to intervene in a case of maladministration in a State has taken no steps so far in Jaipur, where Muslims are concerned.

The moral is obvious. We have to organize and when we begin to count ourselves in crores, instead of lakhs, the Paramount Power will awaken to a sense of its responsibility towards Muslims.

■ ■ ■

"REAL OPPOSITION TO FEDERATION"

MR. JINNAH 'S APPEAL TO VICEROY

Extracts from a statement issued (at Bombay on July 30, 1939) by Mr. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League.

ALARMING REPORTS HAVE APPEARED IN THE PRESS THAT the Princes are being coerced by the Paramount Power and their agents.

To what purpose are they to join the Federation ? Will they be helping the country ? Will they be helping either the Hindus or the Muslims ? *There is not even two per cent of responsibility given at the Centre.* I, therefore, trust that they will, apart from their interests and the sacrifices which they are called upon to make, in the larger interests of India, stand by their Bombay decision and not be coerced by any outside agencies.

Will the Congress accept this Constitution merely because Muslims have a special grievance that they are not adequately safeguarded in the Federal scheme ?

Is he (Mr. Gandhi) going to accept this halter round India's neck simply for the sake of dominating the Muslims in those few minor departments which are transferred to the Legislature ?....

As regards the Muslim League, I need not repeat that we are firmly and definitely opposed to the scheme of Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act.

I once more appeal to Lord Linlithgow and His Majesty's Government not to force this Federal Constitution upon unwilling India and in the teeth of real, genuine opposition by every responsible party in the country, and to save the fair name of Britain and his own prestige and reputation in the annals of future history and India.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

DEMOCRACY UNSUITED TO INDIA

CONGRESS "ONSLAUGHTS ON MUSLIM CULTURE"

Extracts from an Associated Press report of a speech delivered by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in Bombay on Aug. 5, 1939.

THE CULTURES OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES, MUSLIM AND Hindu, were so different that one having power naturally tried to run the other down, said Mr. Jinnah. In such a country, comprising different nationalities, a democratic system of parliamentary government was, in his view, an impossibility. What the future Constitution should be, was a matter to be decided.

Muslims on their part, asserted Mr. Jinnah, did not want to harm the Hindus, and, in turn, wanted to be left alone. In this connection, Mr. Jinnah referred to the attempts of the Congress to meddle in Sind politics and to the Muslim mass contact move initiated by the Congress.

Mr. Jinnah narrated how the Congress was attempting to corrupt Muslims in the legislatures by offering them Ministerships. He referred to the flag question, the Bande (or Vande) Mataram song and attempts to introduce Hindi as onslaughts on Muslim culture.

■ ■ ■

"NATIONALIST AND NATIONALISM"

"AMBIGUOUS TERMS," SAYS MR. JINNAH

Extract from an Associated Press report from Hyderabad Press report dated Oct. 3, 1939.

"I HAVE BEEN IN POLITICAL LIFE FOR OVER THIRTY YEARS I do not yet know the meaning of the words nationalist and nationalism. It is very difficult to find out who is a nationalist. I do not believe in ambiguous terms and slogans," observed Mr. M. A. Jinnah, replying to a toast at a dinner given in his honour by the Osmania Old Boys' Association.

Mr. Jinnah, referring to Hindu-Muslim unity, said, "What do people mean by saying that there is no hope of a settlement? You know that countries like Russia and Germany, who have diametrically opposite ideologies, have suddenly

entered into a pact and become friends. The enemies of yesterday are friends of today.

> " This is a country primarily inhabited by both Hindus and Muslims. An understanding has got to be reached between them and that understanding will surely be reached, because the goal of both these communities is to achieve the freedom of our beloved Motherland ".

Mr. Jinnah, in conclusion, sounded a note of warning. He said, " If our paths for achieving our goal are somewhat different it does not mean that outsiders should take advantage and try to exploit us ".

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

CONGRESS, A FASCIST ORGANISATION

MR. JINNAH'S STATEMENT TO " MANCHESTER GUARDIAN "

Extract from a statement made by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to the " Manchester Guardian ", on Oct. 25, 1939.

I AM OBLIGED TO THE *Manchester Guardian* FOR THE courtesy shown to me in giving me an opportunity to place my views briefly before the British public. It is difficult to make an average Englishman understand fully the position which is facing us Muslims today. But I shall mention a few salient points, which will give some idea of the difficulties that are confronting us.

The Muslims have always had their fears and apprehensions of even a representative form of government, and far more of democracy in its strict application to India. Since the time of the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1908 and the historical Lucknow Pact between Hindus and Muslims in 1916, their insistence on separate electorates, weightage and statutory safeguards have been a clear indication of those fears.

But since the inauguration of the new provincial constitutions, it has been established beyond doubt, particularly by the way in which the Congress High Command has pursued its policies and programmes, that the sole aim and object of the Congress is to annihilate every other organisation in the country and to set itself up as a Fascist and authoritarian organisation of the worst type.

MAJORITY COMMUNAL RULE

Having regard to the millions of voters, the bulk of whom are totally ignorant, illiterate and untutored, living in centuries-old superstitions of the worst type, thoroughly antagonistic to each other culturally and socially, the working

of this constitution has clearly brought out that it is impossible to work a democratic parliamentary government in India. It has definitely resulted in a permanent communal majority Government ruling over minorities, exercising its powers and functions and utilising the machinery of Government to establish the domination and supremacy of the majority over the minorities.

> **" Therefore, in my judgment, apart from other reasons into which I need not go in detail, democracy can only mean Hindu Raj all over India. This is a position to which Muslims will never submit.**

" Besides, there are 60 million untouchables and other minorities such as 6 million Christians, Jews, Parsis and the Domiciled British. Therefore, the Muslim League, after very careful consideration, has come to the conclusion that the entire problem of India's future Constitution must be considered *de novo*, and that no declaration or commitment should be made by His Majesty's Government without the approval and consent of the Muslim League, which is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India.

" WHOSE LIBERTY ? "

" The British public may be misled by certain propaganda that the Muslims are against the freedom of India. We want freedom and liberty but the question is: whose freedom and liberty ? Muslim India wants to be free and enjoy liberty to the fullest extent and develop its own political, economic and social and cultural institutions, according to its own genius, and not to be dominated and crushed while wishing Hindu India well and giving it the fullest scope to do likewise.

" I know that the Englishman who has developed in his own country a system of parliamentary government cannot think of anything else, but what has worked and been developed through the centuries, as the only pattern for every other country in the world. But he must dismiss from his mind the experiments tried in Canada and Australia where, after all, the foundations of government are suited to the genius of the people, mainly British in stock.

> **" It is very doubtful as to how it will work in South Africa where there are two powerful rival communities like the Boers and the British, and even here the differences between them are not so fundamental as between Hindus and Muslims. Even Ireland, after decades of union, did not submit to the British Parliament, in spite of the close affinity with the English and the Scots.**

" I may refer to Lord Morley's dictum that the fur coat of Canada would not do for the extremely tropical climate of India.

CONGRESS CLAIM "UNFOUNDED"

"The Congress insistence that they—and they alone—represent the peoples of India is not only without any foundation, but is highly detrimental to the progress and advancement of India. They know that they do not represent the whole of India—not even all the Hindus, and certainly not the Muslims, who are often wrongly described as a minority in the ordinary sense as understood in the West. They are in a majority in the North-West and in Bengal, and all along the corridor stretching from Karachi to Calcutta.

"That part of the Indian continent alone has double the population of Great Britain and more than ten times the area. Until the Congress came down to earth and face realities, they will be wholly responsible for blocking the progress of India, and unless they give up the Fascist and authoritarian basis of their policy and programme, which they are vigorously following, there cannot be any peace in India".

COALITION MINISTRIES

Mr. Jinnah was next asked for his views regarding certain schemes put forward by Muslim League leaders, like Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, and the latter's proposal for Coalition Ministries in the provinces, representing the Congress and the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah said: "There are many proposals and schemes and importance is attached to these schemes, particularly to the one suggested by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, in view of the position which he holds in the League and as the Premier of the Punjab.

"Although his proposals may create an impression that they have emanated indirectly from the Muslim League, I want to make it clear that the League is not responsible for any of them directly or indirectly. As a matter of fact, we have appointed a sub-committee to examine the whole question thoroughly and when this sub-committee has made its report it will be examined by the Working Committee of the League, in order to take such steps as it may think proper. Until that stage has been reached, the Muslim League feels in no way bound by any schemes or proposals that are propounded by various people".

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

WHOM DOES CONGRESS REPRESENT?

MR JINNAH'S REPLY TO MR. GANDHI

Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued this statement on November 6, 1939.

I HAVE CAREFULLY READ THE ARTICLE OF MR. GANDHI on Hindu-Muslim unity reproduced from "Harijan" in the local papers this morning. It has shocked me that the

accusation, for which there is not the slightest foundation, should have been broadcast in an article penned by Mr. Gandhi. He could not have said anything worse about me or about the Muslims of India at this juncture. Mr. Gandhi says :—

> " Janab Jinnah Sahib looks to the British power to safeguard the Muslim rights. Nothing that the Congress can do or concede will satisfy him, for he can always, and naturally from his own standpoint, ask more than the British can give or guarantee. Therefore, there can be no limit to the Muslim League demands."

A LIBEL ON MUSLIMS

This is far from the truth and is a libel on the whole Muslim community of India of which a person in the position of Mr. Gandhi should not have been guilty.

Mr. Gandhi further says : " The Congress does not represent the Hindus."

It certainly does not represent the Mussalmans and one would like to know then whom it actually represents.

Mr. Gandhi further says that " the Congress has never represented the Hindus as such. That function is claimed by the Hindu Mahasabha."

I have made it abundantly clear on more than one occasion—and it has been proved to demonstration—that the Congress is a Hindu body. It is the same coin with a stamp on one side of the Hindu Mahasabha and on the other that of the Congress, and what one speaks out openly the other practises. I assure Mr. Gandhi that the Muslims of India depend upon their own inherent strength. We are determined to fight, and fight to the last ditch, for rights to which we are entitled in spite of the British or the Congress. We do not depend upon anybody.



MUSLIMS WANT ABSOLUTE EQUALITY WITH HINDUS

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an Associated Press report of a speech delivered by Mr. M. A. Jinnah at a meeting of Muslims in Bombay on November 7, 1939.

WITH A MUSLIM MAJORITY IN FOUR PROVINCES, OBSERVED Mr. Jinnah, it was wrong to say that the Muslims were a minority community. He was willing to come to an agreement with his Hindu brethren on terms of absolute equality, and not as a minority community with a majority community.

He said he had no ill-will towards the Hindus, but so long as the present High Command of the Congress remained as a sort of ' Fascist Grand Council " there was little hope of a settlement.

Mr. Jinnah next refuted the cry that the Muslim League had denounced democracy. He said that democracy in the abstract was quite different from democracy as practised. Democracy was not the same in England, as it was in France or America. Islam believed in equality, liberty and fraternity, but not in the democracy of the Western type.....



CONTEXT.

Extracts from a report in the "Bombay Chronicle" of November 9, 1939, of a speech delivered by Mr. M. A. Jinnah at a meeting in Bombay.

MR. JINNAH ON ANXIETY OF MINORITIES

THE CONGRESS, SAID MR. JINNAH, CLAIMED THE RIGHT TO frame the Constitution as it were the final judge and sole arbiter of the fate of India. On the other hand, the British Government claimed to be the final judge and sole arbiter in the matter.

The Muslim League did not agree either with the one or the other. It said that it would not accept any Constitution which did not meet with its approval...

"That is the vital issue before the country. And if I know the Muslims they will fight to the last ditch that nobody shall impose a Constitution on them."

"Some of the Congress leaders say," continued Mr. Jinnah, "that the right of the Congress to frame a Constitution has nothing to do with the minorities. The minorities have only to look to their safeguards.

"The Congress is either on the wrong track or is playing its old game of bamboozing Muslims and other minorities. The minorities are interested not only in the safeguards but in knowing the character of the Constitution."

ISLAMIC AND WESTERN DEMOCRACY

Mr. Jinnah said he was always willing to come to a settlement with the Hindus, provided it was on equal terms.

He was, however, convinced that so long as the Congress High Command was in power there was no salvation for the Hindus or the Muslims. "This Fascist Grand Council must go" he declared.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the allegations that had been made against the Muslim League that its attitude towards democracy was un-Islamic, and said that he did not commit himself one way or the other about abstract democracy. What he said was that the democratic parliamentary system was unsuited to India. It had been tried and had failed miserably. Islamic democracy was not the same thing as

Western democracy and Islam never contemplated a "mixed democracy".



CONTEXT.

MR. JINNAH ON NEED FOR TOLERANCE
ID-UL-FITR BROADCAST

Extracts from Mr. M. A. Jinnah's Id-ul-Fitr broadcast at Bombay on November 13, 1940.

ON THIS DAY OF ID, THERE WILL BE NO WORTHIER MANIfestation of the spirit that kindled in us through fast and prayer than to resolve to bring about a complete harmony within our household, within our community and within our country with all its variety of religions and creeds and to work, whether in private life or public, for no selfish ends but for the greater good of all our countrymen and finally of all human beings.

It is a great ideal and it will demand effort and sacrifice. Not seldom will your minds be assailed by doubts. There will be conflicts not only material which you will, perhaps, be able to resolve with courage, but spiritual also. We shall have to face them, and if today, when our hearts are humble, we do not imbibe that higher courage to do so, we never shall.

All our leaders, both Muslims and Hindus, continue to be pained at communal strife. I shall not enter into the history of its causes, but there will arise moments when the minds of men will be worked up and then differences will assume the character of a conflict.

It is at such moments that I shall ask you to remember your Id prayer and to reflect for a while if we could not avoid them, in the light of the guidance given to us by our Quran and that mighty spirit which is Islam.

I would ask you to remember in these moments that no injunction is considered by your holy Prophet more imperative or more divinely binding than the devout but supreme realization of our duty of love and toleration towards all other human beings.

LIMITS OF COMPROMISE

All social regeneration and political freedom must finally depend on something that has a deeper meaning in life. And that, if you will allow me to say so, is Islam and the Islamic spirit. It is not great speeches and big conferences only that make politics. Several young men have been coming to me to know how they could serve their country. Well, young friends, if I touch upon politics tonight, it is only to tell you, as a word of advice, that we have our rights and our claims in a future India. But we shall not be obstinate about them, for obstinacy will be the negation of that spirit

of love and toleration which should fall upon us on this Id day and whose blessings the Prophet commands us to communicate to others.....

I am coming to the end of my brief talk. As I do so, I remember John Morley's book on Compromise. I usually dislike recommending books to young people, but I think you all ought to read that book not only once but over and over again. There is a good chapter in it on the limits of compromise, and the lesson it teaches regarding the pursuit of truth and the limitations on our actions in practice are worth pondering over.....



CONTEXT.

RESIGNATION OF CONGRESS MINISTRIES

"DAY OF DELIVERANCE FROM TYRANNY"

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, issued this statement on December 6, 1939.

I WISH MUSSALMANS ALL OVER INDIA TO OBSERVE FRIDAY, the 22nd of December, as the day of deliverance and thanksgiving as a mark of relief that the Congress Governments have at least ceased to function. I hope that the provincial, district and primary Leagues all over India will hold public meetings and pass the following resolutions, with such modifications as they may be advised, and offer prayers by way of thanksgiving for being delivered from the unjust Congress regime.

I trust that all public meetings will be conducted in an orderly manner, with all due sense of humility and nothing should be done which will cause offence to any community, because it is the High Command of the Congress that is primarily responsible for the wrongs that have been done to the Muslims and other minorities.

RESOLUTION

" This public meeting of the Muslims of (name of the place) records its opinion that the Congress Ministry has conclusively demonstrated and proved the falsehood of the Congress claim that its represent all interests justly and fairly by its decidedly anti-Muslim policy.

" It is the considered opinion of this meeting that the Congress Ministry has failed to safeguard the rights and interests of the Muslims and other minorities and interests ;

" That the Congress Ministry both in the discharge of its duties of the administration and in the legislature has done its best to flout Muslim opinion, and to destroy Muslim culture, and has interfered with their religious and social life, and trampled upon their economic and political rights.

" That in matters of difference and disputes, the Congress Ministry invariably has sided with, supported and advanced the cause of the Hindus, in total disregard and to the prejudice of the Muslim interests, and

" That the Congress Government constantly interfered with the legitimate and routine duties of the district officers, even in petty matters, to the serious detriment of the Muslims, and thereby created an atmosphere which spread the belief amongst the Hindu public that there was established a Hindu Raj, and emboldened the Hindus, mostly Congressmen, to ill-treat Muslims at various places and interfere with their elementary rights of freedom.

" This meeting, therefore, expresses its deep sense of relief at the termination of the Congress regime in various provinces and rejoices in observing this day as the " Day of Deliverance " from tyranny, oppression and injustice during the last two and a half years, and prays to God to grant such strength, discipline and organisation to Muslim India as to successfully prevent the advent of such a Ministry again and to establish a truly popular Ministry, which would do even justice to all communities and interests.

" This meeting urges upon His Excellency the Governor of (name of the province) and his Council of Advisers to inquire into the legitimate grievances of the Muslims and the wrongs done to them by the outgoing Congress Ministry and redress the same at the earliest moment, in accordance with the announcements that have been made by the Governors in taking over the government of various provinces under Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935, and thus assure people that the new regime stands for even justice to all communities and interests concerned."



CONTEXT.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

REPLY TO MR. GANDHI

Mr. Jinnah's comment (Dec. 8, 1939) on Mr. Gandhi's statement to the "News Chronicle" on the Constituent Assembly scheme.

IT WAS NOT VERY LONG AGO THAT MR. GANDHI GAVE AN interview to an American journalist....

Suddenly, Mr. Gandhi, who was always sceptical about the Constituent Assembly, has now become an enthusiastic convert and its champion....a Constituent Assembly which in the present condition of India will mean a second and larger edition of the Congress.

When Mr. Gandhi speaks of " any agreed equivalent to adult suffrage " the question is, between whom is that agreement to be arrived at ? Secondly, if Britain is not to

depend on Muslims, Hindus or any other opinion, not even Congress opinion, then what is India's opinion ?

Mr. Gandhi proceeds to say : " So far as the Congress is concerned, the people of the Princes of India should be represented precisely on the same footing as those of British India ".

Who will arrange that ? And how are the electorates to be established there ? And what is to happen to the treaty rights and relationship between the British Government and the Indian Princes ?

Then he proceeds : " Muslims and other accepted minorities may be represented by separate electorates if necessary."

This a concession, but there is no grace in it when he further proceeds to state that it should be done in the exact proportion to their numbers. He knows perfectly well that they will be in a hopeless minority in the Constituent Assembly of his conception, where he hopes to get a brute majority against the Muslims, including other minorities.

MINORITY VOTE TO PREVAIL ?

He makes the further concession that " they will determine what is required for their protection." Is the Constituent Assembly to be bound by the minority vote as to what is required for their protection and for each minority ?

And then comes the omnibus clause which is fundamentally wrong and once more shows blind arrogance when he says that in all matters of common interest the composite majority decision should prevail. Therefore, the Muslims and other minorities will have to submit to the verdict of the Assembly as to the nature, character and form of the future Constitution of India, which will presumably be dictated by Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress. As an instance, Muslims and other minorities may prefer a bicameral legislature, whereas the Congress-controlled majority of the Assembly may decide against it, and this according to Mr. Gandhi, will be final.

A truly representative Assembly presupposes that, in order faithfully to express the judgment of the people, it can only be constituted provided you have a fully developed public opinion, an electorate educated and experienced, free from superstition and capable of judging the vital political issues affecting the country....

A PACKED BODY

The Assembly proposed by Mr. Gandhi would at best, therefore, be a packed body, manœuvred and managed by the Congress caucus....

It will not be the " popular will," as Mr. Gandhi professes, but it will be the will of one community which is in an overwhelming majority....

Mr. Gandhi's notion of justice is to follow what he advises ; then alone can it be just.....I deed hardly reiterate that I am willing to help to the utmost of my power on behalf of the Muslims towards an honourable solution (of Hindu-Muslim question).

Apart from this academic discussion about Constituent Assembly, it shows colossal ignorance, both historic and constitutional, to expect a foreign Power that is dominating this country to sign its death warrant.... It is puerile to ask the British Government, in the first instance, to call a Constituent Assembly of another nation and afterwards have the honour and privilege of placing the constitution framed by this Supreme Assembly of India on the Statute Book of the British Parliament.

" DELIVERANCE DAY " APPEAL

MR. JINNAH EXPLAINS

ON DECEMBER 9, 1939, MR. M. A. JINNAH EXPLAINED that the issue of the appeal for the observance of Deliverance Day on the eve of the Congress League talks (for a communal settlement) was " sheer coincidence ". He had decided to issue the appeal as soon as the first Ministry resigned, but the matter was delayed owing to the Assam Ministry not resigning at the same time as the others. The Muslim League was fully justified in breathing a sigh of relief on the departure of Ministries inimical to Muslim interests and in praying for popular Ministries fully representing the popular rather than a party will. That is all that he asked the Muslims to do.

CONTEXT.

DEMAND FOR A ROYAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

" DELIVERANCE DAY ": JINNAH'S REPLY TO CRITICS

Statement issued by Mr. Jinnah at Bombay on December 13, 1939.

A great deal of unnecessary controversy has arisen over my appeal to Muslims to celebrate December 22 as a day of deliverance from oppression, and since the guilty do not admit their guilt and public memory is short, I consider it advisable simply to trace the events that led and the reasons that prompted this appeal.

To commence with, the suggested resolution says nothing more or less than has been said on many previous occasions. The very first complaint against Congress rule was made by me very shortly after they took office and, in my speech at

the Lucknow session of the Muslim League in 1937, I complained against the compulsory singing of *Bande Mataram*, the question of the Congress flag and the supplanting of Urdu by Hindi and even then I called upon the Governors to exercise their special powers.

From then onwards the Congress caucus, like the proverbial steam-roller, gathered speed and complaints of oppression began to pour into the central office. These became so numerous that the Council decided to appoint in March, 1938, the Pirpur Committee which, after an elaborate, and painstaking investigation over all the Congress Provinces, submitted its report at the Patna session in December 1938.

" ATROCITIES "

The following resolution was passed at a full session :—

" That having regard to the atrocities that have been committed and that elementary rights of the Muslims have been trampled upon in a systematic manner in Bihar, U.P., and C. P. and that the Governments of these provinces have failed to redress their grievances or protect even the elementary rights of the Mussalmans in these provinces in spite of all constitutional methods adopted so far by the Muslims, this session of the All-India Muslim League is, therefore, of opinion that the time has now come to authorize the working Committee of the All-India Muslim League to decide and resort to direct action if and when necessary."

During this time, in order to prevent direct action being resorted to, I was repeatedly urging both Governors and the Governor-General, in person and by correspondence, to exercise their special powers and to take executive action to safeguard the rights and interests of the minorities placed by the constitution under their protection and it was only on April 17, 1939, that the Viceroy intimated that he would take up the matter.

DISMISSED

As regards the Congress Ministries, our complaints were dismissed as false, frivolous and vexatious and even Mahatma Gandhi, before whom I placed our charges as far back as May 1938, side-tracked the question by writing : " I believe Congress Committees have been advised to avoid as far as possible all occasions of friction over *Bande Mataram* and the flag.... The first two demands have come upon an unexpecting public. Nevertheless they undoubtedly have to be examined on their merits, but it does not appear to me to be fair to anticipate the result of the joint committees which I hope will come into being without any hitch....

With no redress, Muslims in certain provinces grew restive and, in the C. P. ignoring the Working Committee altogether, resorted to direct action over the Vidya Mandir scheme.

I may state here that at no stage did the Working Committee favour or encourage direct action and on a request being received from Bihar, in July 1939, for permission to launch direct action, the Working Committee instructed the Bihar Muslim League to place the whole case before the Governor-General, the Governor and the Prime Minister and to report later the result of their representation. Similar advice was given to the other Muslim Leagues who contemplated similar measures.

COUNCIL RESOLUTION

Complaints, however, continued to pour in and the Council of the League when it met at Delhi, passed the following resolution :—

"(*a*) This Council, deplores the policy of the British Government towards the Muslims of India by attempting to force upon them against their will a constitution and in particular the Federal Scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which allows a permanent hostile communal majority to trample upon their religious, political, social and economic rights, and the utter neglect and indifference shown by the Viceroy and the Governors in the Congress-governed provinces in exercising their special powers to protect and secure justice to the minorities."

In September, war was declared and on the 17th of that month, the Working Committee reaffirmed the above resolution as one of the fundamental conditions of Muslim support and the Viceroy, realizing the gravity of the situation, pressed Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders to come to an agreement with the Muslim League in the provincial sphere on a coalition basis for at least the duration of the war.

Consequently, Babu Rajendra Prasad wrote on October 5, that the Congress was prepared to request Sir Maurice Gwyer or some other suitable person to investigate only any specific charges which the Muslim League might formulate against the Ministries of the Congress-governed provinces.

"UNSOUND"

I considered this proposal unsound and unpractical for the following reasons.

First, legally and constitutionally, the Congress Working Committee has no place or power in the Constitution.

Secondly, the complaints of the Muslims and other minorities were directed against the Governments of certain provinces who were responsible to the legislatures and the electorate and not to the Working Committee.

Thirdly, the proposed resolution of the Working Committee could not confer upon the contemplated tribunal, the necessary power to summon witnesses and administer

oaths. Nor could the tribunal compel the production of documents that might be required.

Finally, I wished to know to whom the tribunal was to report and who would be the final authority to take action if any, against the Ministries.

If this final authority was the Working Committee, I pointed out that in my opinion, it was the Working Committee itself that was primarily responsible for the injustices and the wrongs committed and also could not believe that any adequate action would be taken against the Ministries in view of the fact that the Working Committee had already decided that the Muslim League's charges were also false and unfounded.

APPEAL TO VICEROY

I also informed Babu Rajendra Prasad that I had already placed the whole matter before the Governor-General and had requested him to take executive action without delay to safeguard and to secure justice for the minorities.

I must explain, at this stage, that I have never asked either the Governor-General or the Governors to act as a judicial tribunal, as is suggested in Mahatma Gandhi's appeal to me. What I asked them to do was to take executive action to redress our grievances.

Mahatma Gandhi's appeal to me to await the Viceroy's opinion is, therefore, based on a wrong assumption and even intervention is not possible now that the Congress Ministries have resigned. For what then should I wait ?

However, just after my letter to Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress Ministries resigned, to the very natural relief of the Muslims and other minorities, and I immediately decided to appeal for the observance of a day to express our relief and to show its intensity in a manner that would force ears that had hitherto been deaf to listen to us. I might point out that if our appeals had been heard at the proper time, no such action on our part would now be necessary.

This appeal has been variously described as ill-timed, provocative and anti-national and that the Muslims are asked to gloat over the departure of an elected Government and to welcome an official administration.

I gladly deal with these points. As regards the time, my appeal could not appear before it did for reasons already made public and its connection or effect on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit is dealt with by me at the end of my statement.

NO DEMONSTRATION

As regards provocation, let me point out the words of my appeal : " I trust that all public meetings will be conducted

in an orderly manner, with all due sense of humility and nothing should be done which will cause offence to any community...." However, to make quite clear my insistence that the day is observed in such spirit, I again state that I look to all District and Primary Leagues to ensure that the meetings are held in that spirit. Let there be no hartals, processions or any such demonstrations, but let a spirit of humility and a mood of reflection prevail. There is relief and gratitude in our hearts ; not joy or triumph.

Thirdly, it is extremely unfair and unjust to contend that the Muslims welcome the present administration. It is true that we urge upon them to inquire into our grievances and to redress them but this is only because it is in their power to do so. On the other hand, my appeal emphasizes that prayers should be offered for the establishment of truly popular Ministries which would do even justice to all communities and interests.

But there is one statement on my appeal that I cannot let pass coming as it does from such an authoritative source as the Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Committee. I am told that all our charges are totally false and unwarranted and that was to be expected, but I must take notice of his declaration :—

" Furthermore, every Premier at my instance had invited his Governor unhesitatingly to intervene in matters affecting the rights and the interests of the minorities whenever the Governor felt that the action of the Ministry was not correct. When Mr. Jinnah recently made the charges, I again instructed every Premier to invite his Governor's attention to them as they also affect him and I was informed that the Governors considered the charges unwarranted."

ROYAL COMMISSION

The above statement raises a very grave issue for it makes the Governors accessories after the fact. Let me inform Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel that we have overwhelming evidence in support of our case and far from shirking an inquiry, as is suggested, I insist that a Royal Commission be appointed by the British Government of a purely judicial personnel and composed of Judges of His Majesty's High Court and under the chairmanship of one of the Law Lords of the Privy Council.

I cannot conceive any objections to this demand from the Congress or any other quarter and call upon them to support.

" CRUSADE "

Before concluding, I must deal with Mahatma Gandhi's appeal and Pandit Jawaharlal's visit. I would have been inclined to respond to Mahatma Gandhi's appeal had he and other Congress leaders practised what they preached about

the necessity for a cordial atmosphere in which a communal agreement might be arrived at. May I remind that a regular crusade, beginning with Mahatma Gandhi himself, is being carried on against the League since the Delhi conversations took place.

Mahatma Gandhi himself since my conversation with him in Delhi in October, has, in the *Harijan* described the Muslim League as an agent of Imperialism ; as an obstacle and an obstruction in the way of India's freedom and progress and has stated that the Muslim League is insatiable in its demands since it can always look to the British Government to fulfil them. He even threatens the Muslims that, though they may be holding up the country at present, they cannot do so for long.

Further the Congress Press and organizations are carrying out propaganda all over India and abroad discrediting the League and attempting to divide the ranks of the Muslims. Let me give one out of many examples in my possession.

SECRET LETTER

Mahatma Gandhi is, perhaps, not aware that a secret letter from the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, the present Congress President's own province, issued from the Sadaquat Ashram, P. O., Dighaghat, Patna, and addressed to the President of the District Congress Committee, Gaya, which was published in the *Star of India* on December 4, and which remains uncontradicted, says :—

" You are I hope convinced by this time that the one outstanding question before us awaiting solution and thus preparing the pattern for our forward move towards our goal of self-government is the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity. To achieve this end, it is essential that Congress-minded and truly nationalist Mussalmans of Hindustan have got to become vocal so that the stopper to all progress applied by the League should disappear."

POLITICAL DISCUSSION

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that daily propaganda on these lines has the exact result that Mahatma Gandhi fears will ensure from my single appeal.

Now to deal with the chief objection raised against my appeal that it will prejudice the communal talks taking place between Pandit Nehru and myself. Let me inform the the public that, rather than approaching a settlement, as has been so readily and widely assumed, such discussions have yet to commence. The discussions between him and other Congress leaders and myself were of a purely political nature and related to the political demands made by the Congress

at that time. This has been stated by Congress leaders themselves.

I informed them at Delhi that I could not associate the Muslim League with any joint demand to the British Government till a Congress-League agreement had first been arrived at.

I also informed them that no such agreement was possible till the Muslim League was recognized as the authoritative and representative organization of the Mussalmans of India, and as this position was not acceptable to them, the talks ended on this point, and on Pandit Nehru expressing a desire to see me again I gladly agreed and I look forward to his visit.



CONTEXT.

" DELIVERANCE DAY "

SUPPORT FROM NON-CONGRESS HINDUS

Extracts from a statement issued by Mr. Jinnah (on December 17, 1939) referring to criticism of his appeal for the observance of Deliverance Day.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE STANDS FOR JUSTICE AND FAIRPLAY to all, whether Muslim or of any other community, and I am glad to have received encouragement and support, not only from all the minorities, but from non-Congress Hindus also....

The functions on December 22, are not Muslim functions directed against their Hindu fellowmen as a community, but a condemnation, pure and simple, of the regime of the Congress caucus.



MINORITIES STAND UNITED

" DELIVERANCE DAY " SPEECH

Extracts from Bombay report in the " Statesman " (Delhi) of December 24, 1939.

MR. JINNAH WAS ACCORDED A GREAT OVATION WHEN HE arrived at one of the biggest mass meetings of Muslims seen in Bombay in connexion with the " Deliverance Day " celebration... The mosques on either side of the meeting place were illuminated.

Besides Muslims, there was a fair sprinkling of Parsis and members of the Independent Labour Party of Dr. Ambedkar who was also present.....

Mr. Jinnah, in a brief speech, declared that the meeting was not convened against the Hindu community. For the first time in the history of the League all the minorities had gathered on the same platform. He urged all minorities to stand united. Their grievances were against the Congress

High Command and not against the Hindu community. "The policy of this Fascist Grand Council," he said, "is based on falsehood and hypocrisy. We must expose them....."



CONTEXT.

"AMALGAMATION OF NON-CONGRESS PARTIES"

MR. JINNAH'S REPLY TO MR. GANDHI'S LETTER

Extracts from Mr. Jinnah's reply to Mr. Gandhi's letter, sent along with an advance copy of an article on "Deliverance Day" in the "Harijan".

I REGRET TO HAVE TO SAY THAT YOUR PREMISES ARE wrong, as you start with the theory of an Indian nation that does not exist, and naturally, therefore, your conclusions are wrong.....

I sometimes wonder what can be common between practical politics and yourself, between democracy and the dictator of a political organization of which you are not even a four-anna member....

It is true that many non-Congress Hindus expressed their sympathy with Deliverance Day in justice to our cause, as also the leaders of the Justice Party and the Scheduled Castes, and the Parsis who had suffered. But I am afraid that the meaning which you have tried to give to this alignment shows that you have not appreciated the true significance of it.

It was partly a case of 'adversity bringing strange bedfellows together,' and partly because common interest may lead the Muslims and minorities to combine. I have no illusions in the matter, and let me say again that India is not a nation, nor a country. It is a sub-continent composed of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations....



WARNING AGAINST SETTLEMENT WITH CONGRESS

Extracts from a statement issued by Mr. M. A. Jinnah (on January 22, 1940) appealing to Muslims and the public in general not to have anything to do with the celebration of "Independence Day" on Jan. 26, 1940.

THE CONGRESS HIGH COMMAND, FROM THE LATEST WRITING of Mahatma Gandhi, are out for a compromise with the Viceroy under paramountcy in a manner such as would once more revive the Gentleman's Agreement and the alliance with the British Government in order that Muslims and minorities and other interests may be placed at their mercy once more for them to begin their process of crushing them outright....

But I wish to strike a note of caution, and I hope the Viceroy and the British Government will fully realize that any repetition of such a position, that the guarantees already given to the minorities are not implemented or are not honoured in practice, will create the gravest crisis in India; and Muslim

India will resist it by all the means in its power and will not shrink from making any sacrifice and the British Government will be wholly responsible for the consequence if they yield or are a stampeded by threats and coercion by one party.....



CONTEXT.

"ROYAL COMMISSION" DEMAND

"UNREASONABLE" BRITISH ATTITUDE

Extracts from Mr. Jinnah's comment (January 28, 1940) on Sir Hugh O'Neill's reply (in the House of Commons) to the Muslim demand for a Royal Commission to inquire into the allegations against Congress Ministries.*

WE ARE INFORMED THAT LONDON 'SCOUTS' OUR JUST demand to appoint an impartial judicial tribunal, namely, a Royal Commission to inquire into our charges of a very serious character about the tyranny and oppression practised over Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces.....

Sir Hugh O'Neill's unreasonable reply has imposed an additional task upon us. He is entirely mistaken when he says that such an inquiry would embitter the feelings of Hindus and Muslims. It is a charge against the Congress High Command and the Congress Ministries, which must be investigated in order to stop a recurrence or repetition of it in future.....



TWO NATIONS IN INDIA

CONTRIBUTIONS TO "TIME AND TIDE"

Extracts from an article contributed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to "Time and Tide".

WHAT IS THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF INDIA? THE declared aim of the British Government is that India should enjoy Dominion Status in accordance with the Statute of Westminster in the shortest practical time. In order that this end should be brought about, the British Government very naturally would like to see in India the form of democratic constitution it knows best and thinks best under which the government of the country is entrusted to one or other political party in accordance with the tour of the elections.

Such, however, is the ignorance about Indian conditions among even the members of the British Parliament that, in spite of all the experience of the past, it is even yet not realised that this form of government is totally unsuited to India. Democratic systems based on the concept of a homogeneous

* Appendix page 931.

nation such as England are very definitely not applicable to heterogeneous countries such as India, and this simple fact is the root cause of all of India's constitutional ills.

Even as Under-Secretary of State for India, the late Lt.-Col. Muirhead. . . .forgot that the whole concept of democracy postulates a single people, divided however much economically, and he might well have started his study of Indian problems by consulting the report of the Joint Select Committee, on Indian Constitutional Reforms (sessions 1933-34, Vol. 1, Para. 1). . . .

Perhaps no truer description of India has been compressed into a paragraph, and, without this background, no understanding of Indian problems is possible. The British people must realize that Hinduism and Islam ' represent two distinct and separate civilizations ' and, moreover, are ' as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe '.

TWO DIFFERENT NATIONS

They are in fact two different nations, and if this fact is accepted by no less an authority than the Joint Select Committee, the Muslim people have cause to question the wisdom of the British Government in forcing on India the Western system of democracy without the qualifications and limitations to which the system must be subject to make it at all suitable for Indian conditions. . . .

It follows that a parliamentary system based on the majority principle must inevitably mean the rule of the major nation. Experience has proved that, whatever the economic and political programme of any political party, the Hindu, as a general rule, will vote for his caste-fellow and the Muslim for his co-religionist. . . .

Both these religions are definite social codes which govern, not so much man's relation with his God, as man's relation with his neighbour. . . .

TOTALLY UNSUITED TO INDIA

Western democracy is totally unsuited to India and its imposition on India is a disease in the body politic. . . .

It (the Congress) refused to accept office. To the consternation of the Muslims and other minorities, overnight, the Viceroy and the Governors became suppliants. What would the Congress have them do ? What assurance did the Congress need ? The answer was ready. Give us the undertaking that you will not exercise your special powers and we will accept office.

Hastily, the constitutional guardians of minority and other rights jettisoned their trust and, amidst much mutual appreciation of each other's 'statesmanship' the Congress and the British Government came into alliance. Victory number one.....

They (the Congress) had but to claim that joint responsibility was impossible unless the Muslim Minister was prepared to abide by the decisions of the Working Committee and their point was won. Meekly the Governors acquiesced, and, in order to allow the Congress to deceive the public by making it appear that it was 'national' and looking after the interests of the minorities by including a 'representative' of them in the Council of Ministers, accepted as Muslim Ministers individuals who by no stretch of imagination could be regarded as representatives of the Muslim community and who, by signing the Congress pledge, were responsible to the Working Committee alone. Victory number two....

Is it their (British people's) desire that India should become a totalitarian Hindu State, with the Central and all the Provincial Governments responsible, not to their legislatures or to the electorate but to a caucus unknown to the Constitution, the Working Committee of the Congress? They may rest assured that such will be the inevitable result if the Congress demand for the right of framing India's constitution through a Constituent Assembly is conceded....

THE WAR

The war is to the Working Committee a heaven-sent means of increasing its rule from over eight provinces to over the whole of India, States and provinces. If the British Government are stampeded and fall into the trap under the stress of the critical situation created by the war, India will face a crisis the result of which no man could prophesy, and I feel certain that Muslim India will never submit to such a position and will be forced to resist it with every means in their power....

Is it too much to say that since the vast majority of the elected representatives will be illiterate Hindus, the Constituent Assembly will be under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders, and the constitution that will emerge will be as the Working Committee directs.

Thus, through the Constituent Assembly, will the Working Committee attain its ends. British control and commerce will disappear; the Indian States will be abolished; minority opposition will be stifled and a great Hindu nation will emerge, governed by its beloved leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and the Congress Working Committee.

THE REMEDY

We have now considered the disease and the symptoms. What is the remedy ?

(1) The British people must realize that unqualified Western democracy is totally unsuited to India and attempts to impose it must cease.

(2) In India, it must be accepted that ' party ' Government is not suitable and all Governments, Central or Provincial, must be Governments that represent all sections of the people.



CONTEXT.

FUTURE CONSTITUTION

STATEMENT TO A LONDON JOURNAL

Statement made by Mr. M. A. Jinnah (on February 19, 1940) to the correspondent of a London Journal.

MR. GANDHI DEMANDS INDEPENDENCE—THERE IS NO objection. He demands self-determination—again there is no objection. But how does he seek to fulfil all these unexceptionable ideals ? .... There exists at the moment no other sanction in Mahatma Gandhi's mind than the British power..

Mahatma Gandhi asks in fact that the British Government, at the behest of the Congress, should impose ' independence ' and a process of self-determination of party design upon the rest of the country. If he wants to be logical he should ask for the immediate withdrawal of that ' humiliating ' British bayonet so that the people of India could settle their own manner of self-determination in complete independence. That he does not do because he is well aware of what would result if the Congress caucus tried to impose its present ideas in those circumstances.....

MUSLIM LEAGUE ATTITUDE

The Muslim League has, in fact, made a positive demand that the whole problem of India's future Constitution should be taken up so soon as circumstances permit or, at the latest, immediately after the war. When the British Government and other parties are seriously and earnestly ready to tackle the question of the future Constitution of India, and are willing to set up suitable and practical machinery for that purpose, we shall delay not to give our views as to the nature and personnel of such machinery.

We are ready and prepared to put forward our concrete proposals instead of indulging in ' abstractions '. So far, no

such desire has been indicated either by the Viceroy or His Majesty's Government, but both are busy in persuading Mahatma Gandhi to descend from ideals to realities....



CONTEXT.

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S FIVEFOLD DEMAND

Extracts from an Associated Press report on a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi on February 25, 1940.

IN ASKING THE MEETING TO CONFIRM THE RESOLUTIONS of the Working Committee passed on September 18, 1939, October 22, 1939, and February 3 and 4, 1940, Mr. Jinnah briefly related the points raised during his conversations with the Viceroy. He said that the Working Committee's decisions had been sent to the Viceroy and " there the matter stands at present and we are awaiting what His Excellency proposes to do next ".

Referring to the fivefold demand of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah told the meeting what response they had received from the Viceroy. One of those demands, had, it seemed, been misunderstood by the Viceroy. The League had asked that Muslim troops should not be used against Muslim countries outside India. This did not imply that Muslim troops were not to be used for the defence of India. If any country attacked India, the Indian Army had to fight to safeguard India's boundaries.

VICEROY'S ASSURANCE

Mr. Jinnah said the League had demanded a clear statement on behalf of the British Government that the Act of 1935 would go, lock, stock and barrel, and the entire scheme of constitutional reform would be examined *de novo*, in the light of experience gained from the working of the Constitution during the last two years, and in the light of experience which might be gained in future.

This demand, said Mr. Jinnah, had been accepted by the Viceroy, who had assured them that the whole scheme of the Act of 1935 would be examined afresh, as also the policy and plan underlying it.

Another demand was that Muslims would not agree to any declaration unless their consent had been obtained for it; nor was any interim settlement to be made under threat or at the behest of any other party, however strong it was, without the previous approval of the Moslems.

In this matter also the Viceroy had assured them that His Majesty's Government were fully alive to the importance of the Muslims, and any settlement which ignored them was

unthinkable. Mr. Jinnah said that this statement was unsatisfactory. This left them within the region of consultations and counsel, while the Muslims wanted to be the sole judges of their destiny.

ARAB QUESTION

The fourth demand was for the settlement of the Arab question, and Mr. Jinnah urged, on behalf of the League, that 'endeavours to reach a settlement' would not do, and the British Government must reach a settlement forthwith to the satisfaction of the Arabs.

The last demand of the League related to Muslim grievances in the Congress-governed provinces. It was true that the Governor-General could not intervene when the Congress Ministries did not exist. The question, however, had two aspects.

"Firstly, we made it abundantly clear that the Muslims had been oppressed in the Congress-governed provinces, and members of the League were made the special targets. The Congress High Command characterized these statements as false, but was willing to set up a judicial committee. That proposal was absurd. On the other hand, I offered to accept a Royal Commission, consisting of two people from outside India. It was then said that the Congress was not willing to have outsiders as arbitrators in their domestic affairs. As if Sir Maurice Gwyer was swadeshi-born in Wardha ! (At the request of Mr. Gandhi, Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court was asked to arbitrate in the Rajkot dispute).

Mr. Jinnah said he repeated the demand. The second aspect of the question was whether "the High Command caucus Ministries were again to be put into office." The Deliverance Day demonstrations had amply shown that every section of the people outside the Congress was opposed to Congress rule, including the Hindus who were members of the Hindu Mahasabha and who prayed from the League platform on 'Deliverance Day'.

MINORITIES

Mr. Jinnah said the next question was that of the protection of minorities. Mr. Gandhi, in this connexion, had recently stated that everyone in India should depend upon himself for his protection. That meant that every minority should have an army of its own and not depend on the Government for protection.

Mussalmans, however, were not a minority but a nation. "People ask me what is our goal. If you do not understand even now then I will say you will never understand what our goal is. Great Britain wants to rule India. Mr. Gandhi wants to rule India and the Mussalmans.

"We say that we will not let either British or Mr. Gandhi rule the Mussalmans. We want to be free."

He asked Mussalmans to organise themselves and wished the members present to convey the message of the League to every Mussalman and explain to him what the League stood for.



CONTEXT.

NEITHER BRITISH NOR CONGRESS RULE

MR. JINNAH ON MUSLIM DEMAND

Extracts from a report from Aligarh dated March 8, 1940, in the "Hindustan Times".

"WE WANT INDEPENDENCE, BUT WE DO NOT WANT THE rule of the British Government nor Congress Raj rule, as was witnessed by us during the last two years of the Congress regime", declared Mr. Jinnah addressing a mammoth public meeting held at Jama Masjid Road.

It had to be clearly understood that the British Government would never leave India willingly, and it was next to impossible to hand over the reins of such a vast Empire either to the Congress or the Muslim League. Mahatma Gandhi understood this well. He was afraid lest the Muslims should be hard upon the Hindus after the British had left India.

Muslims were only a handful when they came to India about eight hundred years ago, and established their Raj. The British people in India, ruling over them, were only 200,000 while the whole British population was less than 40 million and the number of Muslims in India was 90 million. Muslims should not think themselves to be weak in any way and lag behind.



DEMAND FOR "SEPARATE HOMELANDS"

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO MUSLIM LEAGUE

Extracts from Mr. M. A. Jinnah's Presidential address at the 27th session of the Muslim League at Lahore on March 22, 1940.

IF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ARE REALLY IN EARNEST and sincere to secure the peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national States'.....There is no reason why these States should be antagonistic to each another.....

Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority Government..

We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial constitutions during the last two and a half years, and any repetition of such a Government must lead to civil war and the raising of private armies, as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to the Hindus of Sukkur, when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow. If they cannot, they must emigrate...

These fundamental and deep-rooted differences, spiritual, economic, cultural, social and political have been euphemized as mere 'superstitions'. But, surely, it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the sub-continent of India as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society *vis-a-vis* that of Hinduism to characterize them as mere 'superstitions'. Notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary statutes.

"ARTIFICIAL UNITY"

It is a dream that the Hindus and the Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality. This misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits, and is the cause of most of our troubles, and will lead India to destruction, if we fail to revise our notions in time....

The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest, and is maintained by the British bayonet, but the termination of the British regime, which is implicit in the recent declaration of His Majesty's Government, will be the herald of an entire break up, with the worst disaster that has ever taken place during the last 1,000 years.

The Mussalmans are a nation, according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory, and their State... Mr. Gandhi has been saying for the last 20 years that there cannot be any Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity. Mr. Gandhi is fighting for a Constituent Assembly. May I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that they are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which we cannot accept. Therefore, the idea of a Constituent Assembly is impracticable and unacceptable.

SUGGESTION TO MR. GANDHI

If there exists the will to come to a settlement with the Muslim League, then why does not Mr. Gandhi, as I have said more than once, honestly agree that the Congress is a Hindu organisation and that it does not represent anything but the solid body of Hindus. Why should Mr. Gandhi not be proud to say: 'I am a Hindu and the Congress is a

Hindu body'. Why should not Mr. Gandhi come as a Hindu leader and let me meet him proudly representing the Muslims ?....

We have asked the British Government to make a declaration that no constitution will be thrust upon us without our approval and consent, and that no Indian settlement will be made with any party behind our back and without our approval and consent. I trust that it is a fair and just demand.

I declare here that if any declaration is made by His Majesty's Government without our approval and our consent, Muslim India will resist it and no mistake should be made on that score.

LAJPAT RAI'S VIEWS

Mr. Jinnah quoted a letter written by the late Lala Lajpat Rai to the late Mr. C. R. Das, in which he had expressed the view: "We cannot rule Hindustan on democratic lines".

Mr. Jinnah said: "When I had the temerity to speak the truth, there was a shower of criticism. Then, what is the solution? The solution, according to the Congress, is to keep the 90 million Muslims in a backward state. That is the aspect put before you".

DESPATCH OF INDIAN TROOPS ABROAD

Referring to the despatch of Indian troops abroad, Mr. Jinnah said: "There seems to have been a misunderstanding. We have made it clear that we never intended that Indian troops should not be used for the defence of the Indian people. What we wanted was that Indian troops should not be sent against Muslim countries or any Muslim Power".

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

PAKISTAN EXPLAINED

MR. JINNAH'S APPEAL TO HINDUS

Summary of a statement, issued by Mr. M. A. Jinnah on March 31, 1940, earnestly appealing to the better minds of Hindus and others to give serious consideration to the Muslim League resolution of March 24, 1940

IT IS INSIDIOUS MISREPRESENTATION TO SAY THAT Muslim minorities "would have to migrate *en bloc* and wholesale" (from the Hindu States under the Pakistan scheme) "An exchange of population, however, on the physical division of India as far as practicable, will have to be considered". It is wrong to think that Muslim minorities "would be worse off and be left in the lurch in any scheme of partition or division of India".

"....The question for the Muslim minorities in the Hindu India is whether entire Muslim India of 90 millions should be subjected to a Hindu majority Raj or whether at least the 60 million Muslims residing in the areas where they form a majority should have their own Homeland"....

HONOURED PLACE FOR SIKHS

As regards Sikh apprehension, Mr. Jinnah says: "It is obvious that whereas in a United India they would be mere nobodies, in the Muslim Homeland constituted of the western zone of the federated autonomous sovereign State of the Punjab, the Sikhs would always occupy an honoured place and would play an effective and influential role."

Regarding Indian States, "the only important States which matter are not in the eastern but in the north-western zone. They are Kashmir, Bahawalpur, Patiala, etc. If these States willingly agree to come into the Federation of the Muslim Homeland, we shall be glad to come to a reasonable and honourable settlement with them. We have, however, no desire to force them or coerce them in any way".

Regarding the Muslim Homeland's relations with Great Britain, Mr. Jinnah refers to the part of the Lahore resolution laying down that the Constitution will provide for "the assumption finally by respective regions" of all powers including defence and external affairs.

With the rest of India the relations of the Muslim States will be of an international character, like those existing at present between India and Burma.

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CONTEXT.

Extract from Mr. M. A. Jinnah's reply (April 8, 1940) to the Defence Secretary's invitation to a meeting of party leaders and prominent members of the Central Legislature, called to explain the measures adopted by the Government to meet the strategical situation, as it may develop in India.

MR. JINNAH'S REPLY TO DEFENCE SECRETARY

I AM IN RECEIPT OF YOUR LETTER OF APRIL 6, 1940. I believe that His Excellency the Defence Member (the Commander-in-Chief) must be aware of the negotiations that are going on between His Excellency the Viceroy and myself, representing the All-India Muslim League. And until the assurances asked for are definitely given and the basis of co-operation settled, I do not think I can take any part in the proposed meeting.

I am sending you a pamphlet under separate cover for the information of His Excellency the Defence Member and your department and it will give you full details of what the position is up-to-date.

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CONTEXT.

WAR COMMITTEES

Mr. Jinnah issued this statement on May, 10, 1940.

The VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT PUBLISHED ON JUNE 5 TO set up war committees and the consequent efforts that are being made by the provincial Governors in the various provinces in that direction have brought to me many inquiries from various prominent Muslim Leaguers and branches of the Muslim League in different parts of India. In the first instance, the Muslim League was not consulted with regard to these measures. Secondly, we do not yet have the exact scheme and its full details before us. Thirdly, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League is meeting on June 15 in Bombay when this question, along with many other issues, will be considered.

In these circumstances, I hope no Muslim Leaguer will commit himself and I trust by that time we may be able to know the exact details and implications of the proposals embodied in the Viceroy's announcement.

SUGGESTED PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE

OF BEST INDIANS AND ENGLISHMEN

United Press report from Bombay, dated May 18, 1940.

"MR. GANDHI'S PROPOSAL FOR A PRELIM NARY CONFERENCE of the best Indians and the best Englishmen contains nothing concrete or practical. It is enigmatical,", observed Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in an interview to the *Times of India.*

"Before such a conference could take place the Viceroy must be authorised to make the required declaration. Secondly, in such a conference how will the best Englishmen be chosen and by whom? Thirdly, the best Indians are to be elected 'according to an acceptable procedure". Acceptable to whom? And elected by whom?....."

Mr. Jinnah, however, added that he was willing to see Mr. Gandhi to discuss the possibility of a Hindu-Muslim settlement.

"I have repeatedly expressed my desire to meet Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Hindus, as I believe him to be the one man today who can deliver the goods. Let us take first things first. The most pressing need is a settlement between the Hindu and Muslim nations".

MR. GANDHI REJECTED VICEROY'S OFFER

Referring to the present constitutional deadlock and a possible remedy, Mr. Jinnah said: "The Muslim League

is not responsible for the deadlock. We were willing to consider the proposals made by His Excellency the Viceroy at Delhi, at a meeting which took place on November 1, 1939, between Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Gandhi, the Viceroy and myself. Mr. Gandhi summarily dismissed those proposals ".



CONTEXT.

MR. GANDHI'S CRITICISM OF PAKISTAN SCHEME

MR. JINNAH AMAZED

Extracts from a message sent by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to the third session of the Bombay Muslim League Conference held at Hubli on May 24, 1940.

OUR IDEALS PRESUPPOSE INDIAN FREEDOM AND independence and we shall achieve India's independence far more quickly by agreeing to underlined principles of the Lahore resolution on Pakistan Scheme than by any other method....

It is amazing that men like Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar should talk about the Lahore resolution (on Pakistan) in such terms as " vivisection of India " and " cutting the baby into halves ". Surely today India is divided and partitioned by nature... Where is the country which is being divided ? Where is the nation which is denationalized ? India is composed of nationalities, to say nothing of castes and sub-castes.



MUSLIM LEAGUE READY TO HELP

APPEAL FOR TRUST

Extracts from a statement issued by Mr. M. A. Jinnah on May 27, 1940.

I FULLY REALISE THAT BOTH THE INTERNAL AND external situation is very grave. The question is, what is the Muslim League expected to do immediately ?..

Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war. The provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government, pending their consideration with regard to the assurance we have asked for, and in particular that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connexion without our approval and consent.

Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing, as far back as November last, to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field, which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present Constitution and existing laws. But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.

A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency early in February, which met the same fate. Since then it seems that the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word.

CONGRESS OBJECTIVE

So far we have not declared non-co-operation nor have we decided to resort to direct action nor are we preparing to launch civil disobedience at any moment, although we are fully alive to the objective of the Congress which is to force the British hand to throw Muslim India once more to the tender mercies of the Congress....

I think the British Government must realise that it is the resistance of the Muslim League to the machinations of the Congress that has compelled the Congress leaders to make a virtue of necessity when they say that they do not want to embarrass the British Government and launch civil disobedience immediately but keep the sword of Damocles hanging over Muslim India.

With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim leadership—there are many ways of doing so—and as confident friends seek our whole-hearted co-operation. And we shall not fail.

CONTEXT.

MUSLIM LEAGUERS AND WAR COMMITTEES

PUNJAB AND BENGAL NOT EXEMPT

Statement issued by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, on June 18, 1940.

WITH REFERENCE TO THE INTERVIEW GIVEN BY SIR Sikander Hyat Khan to the Associated Press, and quoted by the radio, stating that the Punjab and Bengal are exempted from the resolution asking the Muslims not to join the War Committees, it is unbelievable and I cannot imagine how Sir Sikander Hyat Khan could have said this.

In order to stop the mischief that might be created by such a report, I wish to make it quite clear that the resolution of the All-India Muslim League makes no exception of any kind whatsoever and has in the clearest language appealed to the Muslims not to join the War Committees until further instructions from the President and pending the result of the communication with His Excellency the Viceroy.

I hope that the Muslim Leaguers and Muslims generally will fully comply with the appeal.



CONTEXT.

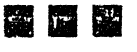
"WITHDRAW FROM WAR COMMITTEES"

Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued this statement on June 28, 1940.

I AM REALLY VERY HAPPY THAT MUSLIM INDIA HAS wholeheartedly responded to the appeal to the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and that Mussalmans have refrained from joining the so-called War Committees, pending the communication between myself and the Viceroy and further instructions from me.

Unfortunately, however, there are a few, specially in the Punjab and Bengal, who have joined these Committees. With some of them I am already in communication, but I once again request them to withdraw without delay from these Committees, because their attitude is not only undermining the fundamental considerations of discipline amongst us but is doing great harm to the cause we all have at heart.

Every aspect of the question was fully considered by the Working Committee and I am convinced that the course we have adopted is the right one and I hope that all Muslim Leaguers will abide by the decision of the Working Committee of their League.



CONGRESS RESOLUTION OF JULY 7, 1940

"HINDU MAJORITY GOVERNMENT"

Associated Press report from Bombay, dated July 9, 1940.

IN AN INTERVIEW, COMMENTING ON THE CONGRESS Working Committee resolution passed at Delhi, Mr. Jinnah said:

"Mahatma Gandhi came to Simla to dictate and not to negotiate, and that this is the Congress attitude is demonstrated by the Delhi resolution". He added that the Congress demand for a so-called National Government, indicated in the resolution, means Congress Raj.

" The word 'national' has been flagrantly abused. The nation does not exist in India any more than in Europe or America. If their demand is met, it will mean a Hindu majority government—a permanent Hindu majority government—a position which will never be accepted by Muslims.

" The Muslim League now firmly stands convinced that the only solution is a division of India, as laid down by the Muslim League at Lahore."

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CONTEXT.

WAR COMMITTEES

PUNJAB DEPUTATION TO MR. JINNAH

Extract from a statement issued by Mr. Jinnah on August 10, 1940, after meeting a deputation of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League.

" I HAVE HEARD THE DEPUTATION OF THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL Muslim League, including the Nawab Saheb of Mamdot and his colleagues, Raja Ghazanfar Ali and Mr. Mohammed Ali Jafri. All that they had to urge has been very carefully considered by me.

> **" I have come to the conclusion that there is no ground for making any exceptions in the case of the Punjab with regard to the ban imposed upon the Muslim Leaguers that they should not associate themselves with the War Committees, pending the result of the negotiations between the Viceroy and me.**

"According to the resolution of the Working Committee, I can only issue fresh instructions after the result of the negotiations, and the negotiations are still pending."

" I, therefore, request the Nawab Saheb of Mamdot, as the leader of the deputation and as the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, to abide by the resolution of the Working Committee passed on June 17 at Bombay, resign from the War Committees forthwith, convey to the Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim League my reply, and request every Muslim Leaguer likewise to resign forthwith, pending the negotiations....."

PUNJAB DECISION

On August 15, 1940, at Lahore, after hearing the members of the deputation which waited on Mr. Jinnah at Bombay the Punjab Muslim League Working Committee unanimously adopted a resolution that " members of the Muslim League should refrain from participation in War Committees and sever their connections with such Committees" pending instructions from the All-India League Working Committee

which was to meet shortly to consider the Viceroy's statement of August 8, 1940.



CONTEXT.

LEAGUE AND WAR COMMITTEES

BAN DOES NOT EXTEND TO INDIAN STATES

Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued this statement on August 14, 1940.

IT HAS BEEN GIVEN OUT IN THE PRESS THAT SOME OF THE State Muslim Leaguers are associating with the war efforts of their respective Rulers.

In order that no misunderstanding should be created I want to make it clear that the ban imposed upon the Muslim Leaguers by the resolution of the Working Committee of June at Bombay does not apply to them.

Some of them have written and asked me about my views and I have intimated them that as they are not affiliated in any way to the All-India Muslim League organization, which is purely confined to British India (nor can be affiliated under the present constitution of the All-India Muslim League), they are free to adopt such course as they may think advisable in their interest as the subjects of their respective States.



CONGRESS SATYAGRAHA

LEAGUE MAY INTERVENE, IF NECESSARY

Extract from an Associated Press report of a speech by Mr. Jinnah on November 30, 1940.

WE FEEL THAT THE WAR AIMS OF THE CONGRESS ARE TO put all the pressure that they can on the British Government and coerce them, so that they may coerce us and let us down and throw us to the wolves. That is the war aim of the Congress. I ask them : why follow this ostrich policy ? How can we possibly be deceived ?

The whole effort of the Congress seems to me to be like that of a bat which has entered a room and flies round and round knocking against the walls but will not, cannot see that the door is wide open. That is what the policy of the Congress is like.

It is therefore not possible for us to view this satyagraha movement with equanimity. We must view it with serious anxiety. I say to Muslims : " Please don't get mixed up or involved in this terrible situation for which the Congress alone is responsible.

" But if we find at any time that our interests are at stake, we cannot remain onlookers and spectators but we shall play our part and intervene if necessary. Let that be understood.

Congress leaders say they are willing to make me, or any Muslim League nominee, Prime Minister of India. They say : " Let Muslims have all the power. We do not want power. We are ready to accept Muslim rule rather than British rule ".

Can any man with a grain of sense believe this ? No. The Muslims have grown up. They are different, totally, fundamentally, radically different, from what they were three years ago, and I am sure as I am standing here that five years hence they will be more different still. (Applause)

LIAQAT ALI KHAN

CONTEXT.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR'S " SPORTING OFFER "

MADE TO SECRETARY OF STATE NOT TO MUSLIM LEAGUE

Extract from Associated Press report from Bombay, dated Aug. 31, 1940.

NAWABZADA LIAQAT ALI KHAN, SECRETARY OF THE All-India Muslim League, said in an interview that reports that the Working Committee of the League would consider at its meeting today the " sporting offer " made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar were incorrect.

That offer did not figure on the agenda. The offer had been made not to the Muslim League, but to the Secretary of State for India. If the Secretary of State should refer the matter to the Muslim League, the League would consider the proposal.

CONTEXT.

" SPORTING OFFER "

RAJA OF MAHMUDABAD'S COMMENT

The Raja of Mahmudabad's comment (August 24, 1940) on Mr C. Rajagopalachariar's "sporting offer."

THE PREMIER OF INDIA IS TO BE MUSLIM LEAGUE NOMINEE but he and the Cabinet that he will form—which is so generously bestowed upon Muslim India as a gift—would be responsible to the legislature comprised of a permanent communal Hindu majority....

But, apart from the deceptive nature of this latest ' sporting offer ', Muslim India stands by the League resolution passed at Lahore, popularly known as the Pakistan resolution, and this is the only solution—honest and clear....

FEDERATION

PUNJAB PREMIER ON NEED FOR AN ALTERNATIVE SCHEME

Extracts from an Associated Press report from Bombay dated July 4, 1939.

THE NEED FOR DRAWING UP AN ALTERNATIVE SCHEME OF Federation to the one adumbrated in the Government of India Act was stressed by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, speaking at a luncheon party to-day.

Sir Sikander said that the present Federal scheme had already been criticised and rejected by the parties concerned. The majority community did not like it, because the scheme did not go far enough.

The Princes contended that the scheme would not suit them because it would give opportunities to the Centre to

interfere in their internal affairs. The minorities argued that the present scheme was likely to give vast powers, not only to a political party, but to a communal majority. They further feared that the communal majority might eventually result in the putting into power of a communal oligarchy and also that, in the few provinces in which the minorities happened to be in majority, a domineering Centre might eventually superimpose its legislative and executive authority.

A HARMONIOUS CENTRE

But there was a consensus of opinion that the country must have, in the interests of ordered progress, a Federal scheme which would bring the various units, including Indian States, into harmony and close contact.

It, therefore, behoved the critics of the scheme to frame a fresh one.... . Sir Sikander claimed that the report prepared by the Punjab to help the Simon Commission clearly indicated all the defects which were now put forth by the leaders of the various parties.

Continuing, he said that if India was to progress on democratic lines she should have a harmonious Centre, a Centre which would not domineer over the units.....

It was essential that only such subjects as were necessary for the integrity and good administration of the country as a whole should be retained in the Centre, and the remaining subjects transferred to the provinces.

Referring to the world situation, Sir Sikander remarked that some people mistakenly thought that, if there was a war, England naturally would be in difficulties, and that it would provide an opportunity for India to press her demands. But as a soldier and as one who had studied the problem he could say that with an unprotected frontier and seafront, *India could not wish for a worse thing than that England should be defeated in war.*

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CONTEXT.

PUNJAB PREMIER'S " SEVEN UNITS SCHEME "

Extract from an Associated Press report from Lahore dated July 6, 1939.

" MY SEVEN UNITS FEDERAL SCHEME WILL BE THE solution of all our ills—political, communal and even economic," declared Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in an interview.

These seven units, he added, would be based on linguistic affinity, common economic interests and administrative convenience. The scheme would unite both Indian States

and Indian Provinces and remove that alignment dividing them into water-tight compartments under the present scheme.

These groups, he emphasised, would not be based on communalistic, but geographical considerations.



CONTEXT.

SEPARATE ELECTORATES

PUNJAB PREMIER'S VIEWS

Extract from a report in the "Tribune" of Aug. 9, 1939

"PERSONALLY I AM NOT AT ALL IN FAVOUR OF SEPARATE electorates. During the last 25 years I have been an ardent supporter of joint electorates and it has been my heart's desire that we should have joint electorates everywhere."

This characteristic reply was given by the Hon'ble Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab to a deputation of a section of the Scheduled Castes, representing what is called the Depressed Classes ' Association, which waited upon him to request him to give to the Acchuts separate representation in the proposed Lahore Municipal Corporation.

The Premier told the deputation that he could not entertain their request because, from what he knew, the Acchuts as a whole, or even the majority, were not in favour of being given separate representation. He had seen some resolutions demanding separate electorates in the Press but the number of resolutions opposing separate electorates was larger.....

He had refused to entertain similar requests made by the Mussalmans at many places who wanted to introduce separate electorates in the Local Bodies.....



PROVINCIAL MINISTRIES

LEAGUE REPRESENTATION DESIRABLE

Extract from an Associated Press report from Lahore, dated Oct. 11, 1939.

"I STILL HOPE THAT SOME SETTLEMENT WILL BE ARRIVED at between the major communities, because on such a cherished decision depends the future welfare and destiny of our Motherland," declared Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in an interview to the Press.

He added : "I am afraid I cannot say anything more than this : that both parties are genuinely anxious to settle their differences."

Proceeding, the Premier said: " It is my firm conviction that if, to our misfortune, a solution regarding the fundamentals is not reached between the major parties in this country the hopes of an early settlement of our political future might recede indefinitely..... "

Asked about a basis for a settlement, the Punjab Premier said that, so far as the complaint of minorities in the existing circumstances was concerned, *there seemed to be no remedy except to invite—the representatives of the Muslim League to participate in the administration of the provinces and include them in the cabinets by forming coalition ministries instead of party ministries.*



HINDU-MUSLIM QUESTION IN PUNJAB

CONTEXT.

Extract from a statement issued by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan on November 21, 1939, in reply to Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, Leader of the Opposition in the Punjab Assembly, when he made a statement regarding the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question in the Punjab.

SO FAR AS THE PUNJAB IS CONCERNED THE MAIN BONE OF contention, namely, the distribution of ' loaves and fishes ' has already been settled by the Government, in pursuance of of the decision of the Hindu Muslim conference that the Cabinet should decide the question of the Services...

...My own views with regard to the electorate question are well-known and I have never tried to hide them, but I am also aware and conscious of the fact that the Muslim community generally is at present averse to accepting any system of joint electorates.

My own view is that if other outstanding questions are amicably settled, that settlement must necessarily bring amity and goodwill in its wake and thus create a healthy atmosphere and mutual confidence which is essential before the question of revision of the Communal Award can even be mooted.....



COMMUNAL PROBLEM IS MATERIALISTIC

Extract from an Associated Press report from Lahore dated January 17, 1940.

" MY ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM IS THAT IT IS A QUESTION of loaves and fishes and political adjustments, that is, our shares in the administrative sphere and representation in legislative bodies, including local bodies. The communal problem is not a religious problem, but is really a mundane, materialistic problem ", declared Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, addressing a ladies' meeting tonight at the Rotary Club on the subject of " Inter-communal Unity ".

The Premier added: " We are sometimes told that the communal problem does not exist. I am afraid that the experience of the past two years shows that the problem does exist and in a very acute form, and it cannot be ignored.....



CONTEXT.

ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE TO SOLVE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

PUNJAB PREMIER SUGGESTS COMMITTEE WITH VICEROY AS PRESIDENT

Text of Associated Press interview with Sir Sikander Hyat Khan at Simla on May 24, 1940, on Mr. L. S. Amery's statement in the House of Commons on May 23.

" I AM GLAD THAT THE NEW SECRETARY OF STATE FOR India has further amplified and clarified the declaration made by his predecessor regarding the future political status of India. His statement has come at a very opportune moment and will, I trust, finally allay the misgivings of those who may still be in doubt regarding the " bona fides " of the British Government in the matter.

Mr. Amery has made it clear that India shall have the same status as the other free Dominions of the British Commonwealth and has conceded the demand that India shall be free to formulate its own constitution, suited to the genius of its people and the peculiar needs of the country, and without dictation from Great Britain.

Now that the British Government has made its position clear, it is for the leaders of the various political parties in the country to put their heads together to devise a suitable plan and method for hammering out an agreed constitution. I earnestly hope and pray that our leaders will rise to the occasion and not fail us at this crucial juncture by insisting on needless formalities wasting time on unnecessary preliminaries.

MR. JINNAH'S GESTURE

Mr. Jinnah in a recent statement has again expressed his willingness to meet Mr. Gandhi in order to discuss and adjust the vexed Hindu-Muslim differences. I am confident that Mr. Gandhi will not hesitate to reciprocate this gesture and, his usual courtesy, will try to meet him more than half-way.

Mr. Jinnah has also offered to reconsider His Excellency the Viceroy's suggestion for a reconstitution of Provincial Ministries and enlargement of the Governor-General's Executive Council at the Centre, in order to secure the representation of the important political parties in the country, both in the Provincial and the Central spheres.

In view of the Secretary of State's announcement I earnestly hope that Mr. Gandhi will also be in a position to reconsider his previous decision regarding this matter. I am sanguine that an agreement on this question would have the way for an agreed settlement on the larger inter-communal and political issues.

PRELIMINARY HURDLE

If this preliminary hurdle can be successfully negotiated it should not be difficult for the leaders concerned to agree on the constitution of a small and representative body to discuss and formulate plans for the future constitutional structure of India

In this connexion Mr. Satyamurti's suggestion to entrust the provincial Prime Ministers with the task of settling communal questions and the basic principles of the constitution provides a promising basis for the constitution of a compact and representative body for the purpose.

In order to make that body more representative and authoritative, Mr. Satyamurti's proposal can be suitably amplified by the addition of representatives of all important interests in the country, e.g.

(1) The President of the All-India Congress or his nominee (2) The President of the All-India Muslim League or his nominee, (3) The President of the Hindu Mahasabha or his nominee, (4) A representative of the Indian Liberal Federation, (5) A representative of the Scheduled Castes, (6) A representative of the European Association, (7) A representative of the Anglo-Indian community, (8) A representative of the Indian Christians, (9) A representative of the Sikhs, (10) A nominee of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, (11) His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, (12) His Highness the Pro-Chancellor, (13) One other representative of the Indian Princes, (14) to (16) Three Ministers of Indian States to be nominated by the Chamber of Princes, (17) to (19) Three members to be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy.

His Excellency the Viceroy should be requested to preside over the deliberations of this assembly which, including His Excellency the president and the 11 Provincial Prime Ministers, will thus consist of 31 members Representative of all sections and interests, without being too unwieldy.

The decisions taken at this assembly need not necessarily be by a counting of heads and, to allay any misgiving on the part of the minorities, it could be laid down that in the event of a difference of opinion on issues of a vital character, no decision will be binding, unless it is carried by a three-fourths majority, and, so far as religious, cultural and social matters are concerned, no decision will be binding unless it is endorsed by a three-fourths majority of the community concerned.

These are, however, matters of detail and can be settled and varied after the main principle has been accepted by the parties concerned. Once these leaders get together and decide to tackle the various outstanding problems with courage and determination, one can look forward with confidence to the success of their deliberations.

MENACE TO INDIA

Meanwhile let us not forget that the situation in Europe is exceedingly grave—it is even graver to-day than when the Nazis invaded Holland and Belgium a fortnight ago. The menace to the safety and tranquillity of India is also becoming increasingly serious. It is a matter for gratification that leaders of the various political schools are now keenly alive to the extreme gravity of the situation as is evident from their statements and pronouncements. These are, among others, the refreshingly realistic and constructive statements of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Fazlul Huq.

It is high time that the two most prominent leaders in the country, viz., Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, also lent their weight by giving a clear and courageous lead to the country at this most critical juncture.

I venture to suggest to them that the extreme gravity of the situation —which cannot be adequately appreciated from the newspapers and the radio—demand an immediate and an unequivocal declaration and lead from them.

NEED FOR QUICK ACTION

This is no time for political manoeuvring. If we cannot immediately settle our internal differences let us, as I said in a previous statement, at least call a truce and join together to offer a united front in the common cause, the preservation of justice and freedom and the integrity of our country.

I ask once again: Where would be our freedom and the achievement of our objectives and ideals if India is rent by internal strife or is ground under the heel of ruthless aggressors from abroad ? The rapid development on the Western Front and the possibility of its extension nearer East brook of no further delay or vacillation.

The situation—internal as well as external—is daily getting more acute. The policy of sitting on the fence hereafter would be a criminal neglect of duty on our part. Let us, therefore, rise to our highest traditions of chivalry, fair-play and patriotism and prove once again that when duty called India did not falter. The adjustment of domestic problems have waited so long and can wait longer, but the Nazi aggression will not wait ; and opportunity has a curious way of knocking at the door, and, if it does not open in time, of never recurring again.

WAR COMMITTEES

In an interview at Lahore on June 18, 1940, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan told the " Tribune " that the Punjab and Bengal Ministers had been exempted from the operation of the Muslim League resolution and that they were to join the War Committees.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON DEFENCE

Extract from an Associated Press report of an interview with Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, at Lahore on July 8, 1940.

THE PREMIER DECLINED TO MAKE ANY COMMENT ON THE Congress Working Committee's resolution of July 7, but wished that it had been slightly differently worded. The Premier said that both the Congress and the Muslim League were on the same platform in the matter of defence and their method of approach was also the same, except that their conditions were different...

■ ■ ■

PUNJAB PREMIER WILLING TO EXPAND HIS CABINET

Extract from a report in the " Tribune " of July 8, 1940, from the paper's special correspondent at Simla.

DISCUSSING THE GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION, SIR Sikander Hyat Khan, Punjab Premier, said that if, as a result of discussions in the Congress and League and other bodies, it was decided to form national governments in all the provinces, he would willingly add to his Cabinet some prominent members, now belonging to the Opposition...

■ ■ ■

VICEROY'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 8, 1940

" SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSION "

Extract from a report in the " Hindustan Times " of Aug. 9, 1940, of an interview at Lahore with Sir Sikander Hyat Khan.

I GLANCED HASTILY THROUGH THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT today and I think it would be premature for any individual to make a categorical statement regarding the issues dealt with in His Excellency's declaration.

It, however, appears to me that, shorn of superfluous diplomatic verbiage the declaration contains a substantial concession to Indian opinion....

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

"VICEROY AND BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE DONE THEIR DUTY"

Statement by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan at Simla on Aug. 14, 1940.

TO SUM UP, THE TWO DECLARATIONS (BY THE VICEROY and Mr. Amery) read together concede the Indian demand for freedom and a representative Government at the Centre, and at the same time meet the demand of the Muslims, the Indian Princes and other interests for a clear declaration of their right to have an effective voice in the framing of the future constitution of the country which will be devised by agreement between the parties concerned.

It must, however, be realized that the acceptance of this demand is meant to enable them to safeguard their legitimate interests, and not to thwart the attainment of India's full political stature, as some critics seem to apprehend.

The Viceroy and the British Government have done their duty. It now remains for the Indian leaders of the various political bodies in this country to do theirs.

MR. GANDHI'S DEMAND

"FREEDOM TO STAB BRITAIN IN THE BACK"

Extract from Associated Press report of a speech delivered by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in New Delhi on Oct. 1, 1940.

Mahatma Gandhi's demand amounts to this: while Britain is engaged in a life and death struggle, he should be given freedom to stab her in the back. That the stabbing is to be, according to him, non-violent makes no difference to the position.....

ZAFAR ALI

"ROYAL COMMISSION" DEMAND

Summary based on a report in the "Hindustan Times" (Delhi) of February 26, 1940.

AFTER THE SPEECH OF MR. JINNAH AT THE MEETING OF the Council of All-India Muslim League at Delhi on February 25, 1940, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan said that an understanding

with the Congress and the Hindus was not possible and the British Government had refused the League demand for a Royal Commission.

Were they prepared to fight ? Were the Punjab and Bengal Ministries ready to resign on the issue of the Royal Commission to investigate grievances against the Congress Ministries ? The Maulana opined that the All-India Muslim League was still dominated by capitalists, Nawabs, Rajas and Knights.

NON-LEAGUE MUSLIMS

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CONTEXT.

"PAKISTAN" OPPOSED

EX-PREMIER OF SIND'S ANALYSIS

Summary of a report in the "Hindustan Times," on the All-India Azad Muslim Conference, held in Delhi on April 27, 1940.

KHAN BAHADUR ALLAH BUX, EX-PREMIER OF SIND, IN his Presidential Address, said that the North-Western Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sind, enjoying comfortable majorities in autonomous provinces and financial help from the Centre would not care to be a minority in another unit even though the latter by overwhelmingly Muslim. Excluding 6,000,000 Muslims from the proposed North-West Pakistan, the Punjab with 12,500,000 Muslims confined to Campbellpur and perhaps Lahore Districts would "constitute a problematic little Pakistan with drastically curtailed financial resources, reduced to the position of one of the bigger Indian States."

If the N.-W. F. Province, Baluchistan and Sind joined Pakistan, who would bear their deficit of about Rs. 2,50,00,000? Without sufficient financial resources, what would be the guarantee for adequate land, air and sea defences against internal and external dangers?

BENGAL AND ASSAM PAKISTAN

In the North-Western Pakistan or Punjab proposal, "there is at least a possibility of its being linked up with more powerful Afghan or Russian Muslim neighbours, but the Bengal and Assam Pakistan will be an isolation quarantine with no superfluity of martial races to its credit" and may not take long to be quickly absorbed by its more enterprising neighbours.

The President said it "should be clearly noted" that no responsible Minister of the Punjab had supported the scheme, nor had any popular support been forthcoming from that province or Bengal.

The present war represented "the birth pangs of a new world order." The aggressor had been condemned by all right-thinking men as a menace to human freedom and civilization.

One thing is certain beyond a shadow of doubt that unless the brutal and ruthless methods of the aggressor are checked and also the ambitious maps of all the empires are rolled up, whether they are based on democratic or totalitarian

ideologies, the peace and prosperity for which the vast bulk of mankind has been pining will not come into sight.

FAROQUI, SIR K. G. M.

CONTEXT.

POLITICAL DEADLOCK

SIR K. G. M. FAROQUI'S SUGGESTIONS

Points from an Associated Press report from Calcutta, dated June 7, 1940, of suggestions made by Sir K. G. M. Faroqui, former Minister of Bengal.

A PROCLAMATION SHOULD BE ISSUED DECLARING THAT, immediately after the conclusion of the war, India would be raised to the full status of a dominion and then would have an opportunity to frame her own constitution, embodying adequate safeguards for the minorities.

Meanwhile, the 1935 Act might be suspended and Advisory Boards administer the Centre and the Provinces, these Boards to consist of representatives of all communities and classes, working in an honorary and voluntary capacity.

GHAZNAVI, SIR A. H.

MUSLIMS' "DIFFICULT POSITION"

LEAGUE CHARGED WITH INCONSISTENCY

Associated Press report from Simla, June 28, 1939.

IN A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS, SIR ABDUL HALIM Ghaznavi says that, ultimately, the (Muslim League's real criticism of the constitutional scheme embodied in the Government of India Act is that Governors, in certain provinces,

have failed to exercise the special powers conferred upon them by Sec. 2 of the Government of India Act.

The whole criticism, therefore. boils down to this : that the constitution confers too much power and responsibility upon the Ministry which is responsible to the legislature and tends to establish the tyranny of the majority, that is to say, that of non-Muslims over Muslims. The attitude of the Muslim League, therefore is on the one hand to secure complete independence for India where there would be no check of any kind whatsoever upon the tyranny of the majority and on the other hand, to oppose any kind of constitutional advance which confers greater powers and responsibilities upon the majority.

APPEAL TO MUSLIM LEAGUE

Sir A. H. Ghaznavi appeals to the Muslim League " to adopt some clear line of policy and what is more important, to explain that policy in clear terms so that the bewildered Muslim community is enabled to record a definite verdict on that policy.

" About one matter there can be no doubt that the Muslims are placed in a very difficult position, that the application of the principle of responsibility at the Centre is bound to add to their difficulties but that is no reason why they should not, out of several difficult positions, make a choice of that which, so far as they are concerned, might appear to be the least difficult.

At present the Muslim League does nothing more than make use of certain high-sounding phrases and issue extreme declarations of policy. It has made no positive contribution towards the solution of any of the difficulties with which the country as a whole and the Muslim community, in particular, are confronted."

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

MUSLIM LEADERS CRITICISE LEAGUE

SPLIT ON WAR POLICY FORECAST

Extracts from Associated Press report from Simla, dated Aug. 27, 1940.

SIR A. H. GHAZNAVI, SIR ABDUL HAMID, SIR MOHAMMAD Yakub and Nawab Sir Mohammad Faroqui have issued a long ' joint statement ' in which they say that the policy hitherto pursued by the All-India Muslim League should now be changed.

" The League has changed from benevolent to malevolent neutrality in the matter of war aid. Continuation of this policy will lead to a split in the League ".

They state that Muslims as a community throughout the country, particularly in the Punjab and Bengal, have been helping in the prosecution of the war. The entire responsibility for a possible split in the Muslim League would rest with the Working Committee and its President.

They believe that the Muslim League's demands have been met in the Viceroy's declaration of August 8, 1940.....

" In our judgment the British Government has given adequate proof of its *bona fides* with reference to the Muslim demands."

YAKUB, SIR MOHAMMAD

CONTEXT.

1935 CONSTITUTION

" PREJUDICIAL TO MUSLIM INTERESTS "

Extracts from Associated Press report dated July 5, 1939, of a statement issued by Sir Mohammed Yakub.

" THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION, SO FAR AS THE EXPERIENCE of Autonomy in the provinces goes, has proved not only a failure but distinctly disadvantageous to the Muslim interests in India, and certain provisions contained in the Federal scheme are still more unfavourable to the Muslims in this country ", says Sir Mohammad Yakub.

Nevertheless, he continues, it will have to be conceded India can only reach her goal of political aspirations by introducing some sort of Federation between the British Indian provinces and the Indian States.

" As the Muslims in both the Federal Houses of Legislature will always be in a minority, it is essential that there must be some statutory brake in the Constitution to stop and withhold the passing of such legislation as would interfere with the religious, cultural and social rights of the Muslims and reduce their share in the executive of the country.

" Therefore, a provision for this purpose, to stop the passaage of such measures as are opposed by a two-thirds majority of the Muslim members of the Indian legislatures, should find a place in the Government of India Act."

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S POWERS

The next point, says Sir Mohammad is that the Governor-General is vested with very great powers of interference even in the administration of the provinces and the danger is that the Governor-General may succumb to the pressure brought upon by him by his Ministers in the Federal Cabinet and neutralize the advantages which the Muslims may have in the provinces in which they are in a majority. Therefore, this interference by the Governor-General, which will never be exercised in the Congress Provinces, as experience has shown, should be stopped and the residuary powers should remain vested in the provinces.....

The share of Muslims in the Services of the country, both in the Centre and in the provinces, should be fixed by statute, which should cover both initial appointments and promotions.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

It is extremely necessary, he says, that the system of representation in the Provincial Legislatures should be changed in such a way as to make it possible to have an alternative party in power. Representation in the legislatures should be regulated by means of allotting fixed seats to different interests, such as commerce, industry, non-agricultural labour, the learned professions, landlords, ex-soldiers and such other important interests and voters for each class should consist only of that very class.

In this way no one party or interest will dominate and always remain in power in the legislatures, but it would be possible for different groups to form different combinations, in order to have an alternative government.

This system of representation, Sir Mohammad pleads, should also be adopted for the Federal Legislature. Unless this is done, there can never be real autonomy or democratic government in India.

■■■

CONTEXT.

"COMMUNAL TUG-O'-WAR"

APPEAL TO LEAGUE AND CONGRESS

Extracts from a statement issued by Sir Mohammad Yakub on July 8, 1940.

THE COUNTRY IS NOW TIRED OF THE COMMUNAL TUG-o'-war.....

The Congress, claiming to be a non-communal organisation, should take the lead in showing a change of heart and give in unstinting measure to meet the demands of other nationalities in India.

Equally, the Muslim League should realize that no combination can turn a minority into a majority.....

AHRARS

AZAD AND JINNAH: AHRAR LEADER'S OPINION

MAULANA KHALILUL RAHMAN, "DICTATOR" OF THE ALL-India Majlis-i-Ahrar, in a statement on July 15, 1940, refers to the telegraphic correspondence between the Congress President (Maulana Azad) and Mr. Jinnah on the question of a " national government."

He says that Maulana Azad more truly represents the sentiments and aspirations of Muslim India than Mr. Jinnah " who has nothing in common with the poor Mussalmans...."

ANSARS

CONTEXT.

Report in the " National Herald" (Lucknow) of November 19, 1939.

ANSARS AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

MAULANA NOOR AHMAD, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE All-India Jamiat-ul-Ansar, in a statement, refutes the claim of the Muslim League to represent the Ansar community, and says:

" The All-India Jamiat-ul-Ansar, which represents 30 million Muslims, by a resolution passed at its last session, has declared no-confidence in Mr. M. A. Jinnah and the All-India Muslim League.

" The Ansar community is pledged to the principle of a Constituent Assembly and Mr. Jinnah is opposed to it, for he feels that it will thoroughly expose the hoax of his leadership. Some Urdu papers have given it out that the Ansars are behind the League. This is wrong and without any foundation."

AZAD MUSLIMS

CONTEXT.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

MUSLIMS MUST DETERMINE OWN SAFEGUARDS

Text of resolution adopted by the Subjects Committee of the All-India Azad (Independent) Muslim Conference on April 29, 1940, in Delhi.

" IT IS THE CONSIDERED OPINION OF THIS CONFERENCE that the future Constitution of India should be framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise. In this Constitution the safeguards for the protection of the rights and interests of Muslims shall be determined solely by the Muslim members of the Assembly. The representatives of other communities or any foreign power shall not have the right to interfere with their decision."

The main Conference adopted the resolution.

The following resolution was adopted by the conference on May 2, 1940 :—

" Since the safeguards for the communal rights of different communities will be determined in the Constituent Assembly referred to in an earlier resolution, this Conference considers it necessary to declare that the Muslim members of this Constituent Assembly will be elected by the Muslims themselves ."

DIVISION OF INDIA

" IMPRACTICABLE AND HARMFUL "

Resolution moved by Maulana Habib-ul-Rahman of the Majlis-i-Ahrar and adopted by the All-India Azad Muslim Conference on April 29, 1940.

" THIS CONFERENCE CONSIDERS THAT ANY SCHEME WHICH divides India into Hindu India and Muslim India is impracticable and harmful to the country's interest generally and those of Muslims in particular. This conference is convinced that the inevitable result of such a scheme will be that obstacles

will be created in the path of India's freedom, and British Imperialism will exploit it for its own purpose."

Mr. Abdulla Altafi of the Bengal Krishak Praja (People's) Party, Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, ex-Minister, United Provinces (Congress) Government, and Arbab Abdur Rahman, M. L. A., North-West Frontier Province supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously amid shouts of " Pakistan Murdabad " (" Death to Pakistan ").



CONTEXT.

Official text of resolution passed on April 29, 1940, by the All-India Azad Muslim Conference.

INDIA INDIVISIBLE

THIS CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INDIAN Muslims who desire to secure the fullest freedom of their country, consisting of delegates and representatives from all provinces, after having given its fullest and most careful consideration to all the vital questions affecting the interests of the Muslim community and the country as a whole, declares the following :—

" India, with its geographical and political boundaries, is an indivisible whole and as such is the common homeland of all citizens, irrespective of race or religion, who are joint owners of its resources. All nooks and corners of the country contain the hearths and homes of the Muslims and the cherished historic monuments of their religion and culture, which are dearer to them than their lives.

" From the national point of view, every Muslim is an Indian. The common rights of all the inhabitants of the country and their responsibilities in every walk of life and in every sphere of human activity are the same.

" The Indian Muslim, by virtue of these rights and responsibilities, is unquestionably an Indian national, and in every part of the country he is entitled to equal privileges with all other Indian nationals in every sphere of Governmental, economic and other national activities.

" For that very reason, Muslims owe equal responsibility with other Indians for striving and making sacrifices to achieve the country's independence. This is a self-evident proposition the truth of which no right-thinking Muslim will question.

" COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE "

" This conference declares unequivocally, and with all the emphasis at its command, that the goal of Indian Muslims is complete independence along with the protection of their religious and communal rights, and Muslims are anxious to attain this goal as early as possible. Inspired by this aim, they have in the past made great sacrifices.

" This conference unreservedly and strongly repudiates the baseless charge levelled against Indian Muslims by the agents of British Imperialism and others that they are an obstacle in the path of Indian freedom, and emphatically declares that the Muslims are fully alive to their responsibility and consider it inconsistent with their tradition and derogatory to their honour to lag behind others, in the struggle for the country's independence."



CONTEXT.

MINORITY SAFEGUARDS

BOARD APPOINTED

Resolution adopted by the All-India Azad Muslim Conference on May 1, 1940.

WHEREAS IN FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA IT WILL be essential, in order to ensure stability of Government and preservation of security, that individuals as well as communities should be contented, this Conference considers it necessary that a scheme of safeguards as regards vital matters mentioned below should be prepared to the satisfaction of Muslims.

This Conference appoints a board consisting of 27 persons. This board should, after the fullest investigation, consultation and consideration, make its recommendations for submission to the next session of the Conference so that the Conference may utilize the recommendations as a means of securing a permanent national settlement of the communal question. These recommendations should be submitted within two months.

RIGHTS OF MUSLIMS

The matters referred to the Board are as follows :—

Protection of Muslim culture, personal law and religious rights ;

Political rights of Muslims and other protection ;

The form of the future Constitution of India to be non-unitary and federal with absolutely essential and unavoidable powers for the Federal Government ;

Provision of safeguards will include economic , social and cultural rights of Muslims and their share in the public service.

The Board will be empowered to fill up the vacancy of a member in a suitable manner. The Board will have the right to co-opt other members by a unanimous vote. It will be empowered also to consult other Muslim bodies, and if it considers necessary any responsible organization of the country. The 27 members of the Board will be nominated

by the President. The quorum for a meeting of the Board will be five.

BALUCHISTAN

Another resolution adopted by the Conference recorded the emphatic opinion that Baluchistan was entitled to the rights and powers enjoyed by other provinces and assured the " freedom-loving inhabitants " of Baluchistan of every possible help in this connection.

PROMINENT DELEGATES

Several prominent Muslim leaders from all over the country and representatives of seven organizations which were conveners of the conference, attended the session, according to the " Hindustan Times ". Prominent delegates included Mufti Kifayatullah, President, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, Maulana Abul Mahasan Sajjad, President of the Bihar Muslim Independent Party, Khan Abdus Samad Khan, President, Anjuman-i-Watan, Baluchistan, Maulana Habib-ul-Rehman, President of the Majlis-i-Ahrar, and Mr. Zahir Uddin and Dr. Abdul Razzak, President and Secretary of the All-India Momin Conference respectively. Khan Bahadur Mohammad Jan was Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Among those who sent messages, wishing the Conference success, were : Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Mr. Mohammad Bhoy Rowjee, ex-Sheriff of Bombay and a Member of the Aga Khan's Supreme Council.

Sir Mohammad Yaqub issued a statement on April 26, 1940, welcoming the idea of holding the conference.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

RECOGNITION OF LEAGUE

AZAD MUSLIMS' RESOLUTION

Extracts from an Associated Press report from Lahore, dated November 7, 1939.

" IF RECOGNITION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE IS THE ONLY hitch in the way of national unity, then the Nationalist Muslims have no desire to stand in the way, provided Mr. Jinnah and his associates are prepared to fight the battle of India's freedom shoulder to shoulder with their non-Muslim brethren."

This was one of the resolutions passed at an emergency meeting of the Azad Muslim Conference, held here.

The earlier part of the resolution reads :—" Mr. Jinnah attaches the greatest importance to the recognition of the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Muslims of

India though the truth is that the number of Muslim members of the Congress is far greater than the total membership of the Muslim League. Again, there are other organisations such as Jamiat-ul-Ulema and Majlis-i-Ahrar who are very powerful and work hand-in-hand with the Congress."

JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA-I-HIND

CONTEXT.

VICEROY'S DECLARATION OF OCT. 17, 1939

JAMIAT SECRETARY'S OPINION

Maulana Ahmad Saeed, General Secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, issued this statement on October 31, 1939.

THE UNSATISFACTORY DECLARATION OF THE VICEROY (October 17, 1939) and the comment of the Secretary of State on it has wounded the hearts of freedom-loving persons all over India The manner in which the Congress has responded to this statement is appropriately in accord with its 50 years' tradition.....

The Muslim community is not prepared to allow itself to be sold at the price at which Mr. Jinnah wants to sell it. I want to clear up this point very frankly : that if Mr. Jinnah assured the Viceroy of co-operation and help in the war on behalf of Muslims, he would not only deceive himself but also put the Viceroy in a false position.

VICEROY'S SPEECH AT ORIENT CLUB

" REMOVES SUSPICIONS TO SOME EXTENT "

Maulana Ahmad Saeed, General Secretary, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, issued this statement on January 16, 1940.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE ORIENT Club, Bombay (January 10, 1940), removes the suspicions and doubts of Indians to some extent. This speech is clearer than all the previous declarations and statements which have been made on behalf of the Government.....

Had the Viceroy clarified the so-called ' minimum interval ' he would have helped very much in solving the Indian deadlock and it would have become easier for the

Congress Working Committee to discuss His Excellency's speech.....

It is my firm belief that the very day the British Government sincerely tries to free India, the minorities wil secure the confidence of the majority and the majority wil secure the confidence of the minorities.



PAKISTAN SCHEME OPPOSED

CONTEXT.

Summary of a report of a speech delivered by Maulana Ahmad Saeed, Secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, to a meeting of Delhi Muslims, under the auspices of the Anjuman Saif-ul-Islam.

REFERRING TO THE PAKISTAN SCHEME, THE MAULANA said that in the Punjab and Bengal, Hindus were politically far more conscious; economically, socially and in other respects far stronger; and contributed more than half the total revenues of the two provinces. " With their support withdrawn, the provinces would become bankrupt."

Further, the Muslim minority in certain Hindu provinces were almost microscopic and they would be in danger of being wiped out in the event of purely communal rule. The Maulana Saheb strongly condemned the Pakistan proposal.

" COMPOSITE GOVERNMENT ", A WORKABLE SOLUTION

The Working Committee of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind met in Delhi on July 14, 1940. In a comprehensive resolution it characterised the tone of Mr. Jinnah's letter to Maulana Azad as " against all standards of public decency." (Mr. Jinnah had called Maulana Azad, the Congress President, a " Congress play boy ".)

The Committee considered that a composite Government " commanding the confidence of the Muslim League and other parties in the Central Assembly " provided a " workable solution of the present difficulty." Muslim India " had complete confidence " in the leadership and political sagacity of Maulana Azad.



" COMPLETE DENIAL OF INDIA'S BIRTHRIGHT "

Extract from a report from Delhi, dated August 17, 1940, in the " Hindustan Times " of the same date.

MAULANA SAYED HUSSAIN AHMED MADNI, PRESIDENT of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, interviewed, said that the Viceroy's statement, read with the speech of the Secretary of State, was a complete denial of India's birthright of freedom

and a repudiation of the pledges given to India by responsible British statesmen.....

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

INDIVIDUAL CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Extract from Associated Press report from Sylhet (Assam), dated October 22, 1940.

" ON THE QUESTION OF INDIVIDUAL CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE we must have full confidence in the commands of Mahatma Gandhi," observes Maulana Syed Hussain Ahmed Madni, President of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, in a statement to the Press.

◆◆

MOMINS

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ALL-INDIA MOMINS' CONFERENCE

" MUSLIM DEPRESSED CLASSES "

Extract from an Associated Press report from Gorakhpur, dated December 27, 1939.

PRESIDING OVER THE SESSION OF THE ALL-INDIA MOMIN Conference held in Ismail Park, Mr. Zahir-ud-Din, an advocate of Ambala, declared that the Jamiat-ul-Momineen aimed at winning for the Muslim depressed classes at least the same privileged treatment which would flow from such recognition and status, as (so grudgingly and in such miserly measure) had been conceded to the scheduled castes among the Hindus.....

The president asked the Government to give them recognition as one of the major sub-communities of the Muslim community, and to provide for their representation in all spheres of administration and thus make sure of their willing and full co-operation at all times.

To the Congress they would say that they did not lay an interdict against any members of their community joining the Congress, but the Congress must, in turn stipulate that in the future constitution of the country their community would be granted fair and proper representation in all branches of administration.....

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CONTEXT.

SHIA GRIEVANCES AGAINST MUSLIM LEAGUE

Mirza Mahomed Jafer Husain, Honorary Secretary of the All-India Shia Political Conference, issued this statement on October 25, 1939.

I AM REALLY SURPRISED TO FIND THAT THE MUSLIM LEAGUE is indulging in the fanciful claim of representing the entire Muslim community. I challenge this position taken by the League. The Shias are the most important minority amongst Muslims and the League has so far failed to redress their legitimate grievances and to inspire confidence in them. The League has no right to speak in the name of the entire Muslim population in the country.

The resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is, no doubt, a fitting reply to the challenge thrown by British Imperialism to India's self-respect. However, the struggle is now forced upon us and we must, with all the power at our command, prepare ourselves to save our country's honour.

I regret I cannot see eye to eye with the Congress in so far as the minorities' question is concerned. It is a genuine question; but I maintain that it should be decided amongst ourselves and by us. British statesmanship should in no way be allowed to exploit the situation for its own end.

" SHIA MINORITY IGNORED "

The Central Standing Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference, at a meeting held on October 29, 1939, passed this resolution unanimously.

THE SHIA CONFERENCE DENIES THE RIGHT OF THE MUSLIM League to represent the entire body of Muslims in India. Although the League has been claiming protection for minorities, and especially for the Muslims, it has ignored the Shia minority among Muslims and has failed to protect the rights of the Shias.

The attitude of the League during recent tribulations has been that, instead of admitting the just claims of the Shias, it ignored them to appease and please the majority sect among Muslims.

SHIA ALL-PARTIES' CONFERENCE

The Shia All Parties' Conference, Sir Sultan Ahmed presiding, adopted a resolution (at Lucknow on April 15, 1940,) demanding, among other rights, suitable and adequate representation in the legislatures and local bodies.

NON-PARTY LEADERS

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DR. ARUNDALE

CONTEXT.

"DELIVERANCE DAY"

DR. ARUNDALE CONDEMNS MR. JINNAH'S APPEAL

Extract from a Madras report dated December 7, 1939.

NO DECENT-MINDED CITIZEN OF INDIA CAN READ OTHERwise than with shame and with abhorrence Mr. Jinnah's call to the members of the Muslim League to celebrate December 22 as Thanksgiving Day (or Deliverance Day) for the resignation of the Congress Ministries. It is a stab in the back of India, says Dr. G. S. Arundale, President of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, in a Press statement.....

NAWAB OF CHHATTARI

SUSPENSION OF FEDERATION

Extract from a Simla report, dated Sept. 13, 1939.

THE NAWAB OF CHHATARI IN AN INTERVIEW SAID THAT the Viceroy's announcement of his decision to hold in suspense the work in connection with the preparations for Federation was very appropriate indeed. The Nawab hoped that if Indians took advantage of this opportunity and got united, this unity might become a permanent feature in our politics in future, and we would be able to solve India's problems, national as well as communal in a spirit of harmony and brotherliness.....

RECONSTRUCTION AT THE CENTRE

SIR JAGADISH PRASAD'S SUGGESTION

CONTEXT.

The formation of a small committee of distinguished non-party men to recommend the lines on which the Central Government should be reconstructed was suggested by Kunwar Sir Jagadish Prasad in this statement issued on Nov. 29, 1940.

The fears of some of us have only come too true. Political disagreements have ended in open conflict between Congress and Government. Those who not long ago were governing large provinces, with publicly acknowledged success, are already in prison or will soon be there. An attempt to fix responsibility for this deplorable outcome will only renew barren controversy.

But it is idle to conceal that the preposterous sentence of four years' rigorous imprisonment on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has envenomed feeling beyond the Congress pale and has made the task of reconciliation ever so much more difficult. And the Secretary of State's recent utterances have done little to ease the tension.

At the moment, both sides appear to be in an unbending mood. The Congressmen were deeply hurt that their offer of a National Government was rejected out of hand without any serious attempt to examine whether it could form the basis of a workable scheme. They are sore that their self-imposed restraint during the last twelve months was ascribed to fear of Muslim League hostility, to dread of the rigours of repression during war time and to the supposed weakening of their influence in the country.

"MOOD OF DESPARATION"

In a mood of desparation they have begun to argue that, when Englishmen and women are fighting with such fortitude and heroism for the sake of preserving their freedom, they too must not hope to achieve the liberty of their country without sacrifice and suffering, however intense. The conviction is rapidly growing among them that the British Government do not mean to part with real power, that when at a time of grave crisis, their attitude appears to be so haughty and unbending, it would be the merest self-delusion to hope for more generous treatment at the end of the war.

The British Government, on the other hand, feel that Congressmen are hypocrites, if not worse, when they profess that they do not wish to embarrass them ; that they ran away from their responsibilities when they gave up their Ministries soon after the outbreak of war ; that non-co-operation, how-

ever limited and conditional, is nothing less than a stab in the back when England is fighting for her very existence.

" GROWING DANGER "

Feelings are running high on both sides much to the grief of those—and they are a considerable body—who hate Germany's savage doctrines, who sincerely believe that whatever may be the faults of the British Government—and they are many—a German victory would bring in a welter of anarchy, followed by a ruthless military despotism and will, for centuries, throw back the possibility of a self-governing India.

A large body of thoughtful Indian opinion feels that in face of the growing dangers on our north-west and north-east frontiers, India must become a strong military power and its people reaccustomed to the profession of arms on a wide and national scale. The people must perforce get military minded if they are to preserve their homes and to guard India against the horrors of a decisive military defeat.

It, therefore, seems to be the duty of every patriotic Indian to be ceaseless in his effort to bring about a state of public feeling where our best men would devote their talents, their energies and their burning patriotism to making India a military power so strong that no power dare invade India without peril.

NEW CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Has the last word been spoken on either side ? Must the political conflict continue throughout the indefinite period of the war with all the dangers of the movement passing into hands that have no faith in non-violence and great faith in Red revolution ?

It is now generally admitted that the Central Government must be recast. Defence and its prerequisite, modern industry, are the two pressing problems. Is it beyond statesmanship, to reconstruct the Government of India—by whatever name the reconstruction be called—so that no political party may predominate and yet men who command the confidence and allegiance of great political parties may be given real power and responsibility, to give a much-needed impetus to organized industry and to bring home to the people in a way that they alone can, that this is as much their war as that of the British people and that their fate depends as decisively on victory as that of England ?

The idea must not gain ground that India is meant only to supply men, materials and money, as if it were a conquered country—for in the difficult days that lie ahead the goodwill of the Indian people will be a factor of immense power.

NON-PARTY COMMITTEE

I suggest, tentatively, that His Excellency the Viceroy may appoint a small committee of non-party men from among persons of the eminence and competence, say, Sir Maurice Gwyer, Dr. Jayakar, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir N. N. Sircar, Sir Abdur Rahim, Sir Sultan Ahmed, and Mr. Justice Sir Narsingha Rao to examine and report, after preliminary consultations with political leaders, including the Congress leaders now in jail as to how the Central Government can be reconstructed so that it can evoke the willing co-operation and energetic effort of the whole Indian people to one supreme task—the defeat of Germany.

It is, however, clear that political leaders will not be willing to come into the Government unless they are satisfied that they will be given an effective voice in vital questions of policy, specially defence and industry, and will not be merely very subordinate heads of departments, unaware of each other's activities and with hardly any influence on general policy.

Even if the Committee's effort end in failure, it is worthwhile making an attempt now than to wait till the war is over.

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SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN

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CONTEXT.

"REORGANISE WORLD ON A JUST BASIS"

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN'S APPEAL

Extracts from a Bombay report, dated June 30, 1939.

"THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IS UNCERTAIN AND anarchical," said Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics, Oxford University, who arrived in Bombay yesterday from England.

"Sparks are flying in the Far East, in Danzig, and elsewhere and any moment the world may be on fire. The leading statesmen of all the nations are aware *that a war between the Great Powers would mean the obliteration of civilised values for many decades.* Fear of the tremendous consequences of war is acting as a deterrent. The one passion of a disinterested soul is for peace.

" But the determining factor is the negative fear of war and not the positive love of peace. If the race for armaments is not to end in disaster, an attempt should be made to correct crying injustices, even though it may mean the sacrifice of national interests. If we do not reorganise the world on a just basis but persist in maintaining the *status quo* simply because it is to our advantage, we will only postpone conflicts, but cannot prevent them ".

THE 1935 ACT

" I am sorry to say ", Sir S. Radhakrishnan proceeded, " that the British are not showing great wisdom or statesmanship in regard to India..... The scheme of 1935, with its enormous safeguards and restrictions intended to ensure stability, with no real parliamentary responsibility at the Centre and with a miscellany of partly democratic and partly autocratic units, is not what one would call a democratic constitution.

" India is the acid test of British honesty. It will not do to profess faith in democracy and practise undemocratic methods. Reports reach us of the increasing influence of the Axis Powers in India and the only way to terminate it effectively is to make India feel that England is earnest about the setting up of a self-governing India.

" In these two years of Provincial Autonomy, Congress Governments had shown that they could tackle social, economic and industrial problems with a general fairness and sympathy, striving wholeheartedly towards the goal of the establishment of happier conditions of life.....

Unfortunately, there was an increasing feeling that the Congress leaders did not brook opposition, were impatient of criticism, and were intoxicated with political power."

Sir S. Radhakrishnan did not say that this impression was justified, but it was one of the powerful factors that determined the last Congress Presidential election.

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CONTEXT.

Extract from an Associated Press report, dated October 3, 1939, of a speech by Sir S. Radhakrishnan presiding over a meeting of students and professors of Calcutta University.

INDIA'S FUTURE AT STAKE

" .....THE CONGRESS DESIRE FOR A CLEAR STATEment of the British objective in regard to India," he added, " is not to be confused with a demand for implementing it in the present crisis.

" India realises the gravity of the issues involved and feels that her political future is bound up with the victory of the ideals of freedom and democracy.

"The longer the war lasts, the greater will be its surprises.....

"If only Britain would realise the magnitude of the opportunity facing her, she would strengthen the hands of Mahatma Gandhi and his fellow workers, who are engaged in a supreme effort to clarify and sweeten the popular mind and bind India and England together in an abiding loyalty to common ideals of political life and common principles of Government."



CONTEXT.

SMALL STATES TRAMPLED UNDER FOOT

"ATTACH YOURSELF TO SOME LARGE BLOC"

Extract from a United Press report, of a speech delivered by Sir S. Radhakrishnan at a public meeting at the Ramakrishna Institute of Culture, Calcutta, on Oct. 9, 1939.

"..... ESPECIALLY NOW, YOU WILL FIND SMALL STATES have no reason to be proud of, and have no hope of, surviving. The way in which Abyssinia, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, have been trampled under foot by the strong Powers, filled with imperialist ambitions, will indicate to you that you cannot any more depend on the reign of law or justice. Therefore, it is essential for you to attach yourself to some large *bloc*. That has become inevitable.

"We have the League of Nations, which made an experiment in that particular manner. My feeling is, the League of Nations failed on account of the conflict between the imperialist Powers who were wedded to the static pattern and aggressive Powers who were filled with dynamic rhythm.....

THREE VENTURES

"....With regard to these three ventures to embody the world under a general union—Sovietism or Nazi dictatorship or Anglo-American co-operation—what is it that can be regarded as the most in sympathy with this ideal that I have just enunciated ? We do not want a state of police regimentation, we do want to be members of a state which stands up for personal liberty, which secures for us political, constitutional, social and legal freedom.

"True, but there are not today statesmen who have the vision and the courage to discover the soul of what is yet to be, and to fashion the world according to that light. There are no people who can do that in our own country, the colonies etc. They happen to be rigid frozen blocks in the way of the flowing stream and we cannot get up and say that this Anglo-American co-operation stands up for freedom in the sense in which I have indicated.

"It is time for people of vision to get up and present to the world the real ideal of cultural, economic, political and social freedom. If that is not done, the world will become a cockpit of strife between these three competing attempts at world union."



CONTEXT.

VIEWS ON POLITICAL DEADLOCK

Summary of Sir S. Radhakrishnan's comment on Lord Zetland's speech of April 17, 1940.

POSTPONEMENT OF DOMINION STATUS "TO AN UNDATED future" is not helpful. Mr. Gandhi "admits that a Constituent Assembly may vote for Dominion Status or something less than that even."

Mr. Gandhi states that any constitution must protect minority interests and aspirations. . "It will be a failure of Britain's task in India if the unity of the country is disrupted in any way."

Sir S. Radhakrishnan hopes that Britain will not consider it unjust to grant "full self-determination" to India in regard to domestic matters and agree to "joint determination by British and Indian leaders" on defence, foreign affairs, and the Indian States. There may be temporary reservations regarding the latter.

The ways and means by which a representative assembly may be convened, may be left to a small executive consisting of one representative of each province, elected by the Legislature, and four representatives of the Indian States.



VICEROY'S STATEMENT OF AUG. 8, 1940

"A DECIDED ADVANCE"

Extract from a Calcutta report, in the "Hindustan Times" of Aug. 9, 1940.

"THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT (AUGUST 8, 1940) DESERVES serious consideration; it represents a decided advance on the previous British attitude", says Sir Sarvapalli, Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, in a statement to the Press.

"On the fundamental question of a Constituent Assembly, continues Sir Sarvapalli, "it accepts the Congress position....

"On the question of safeguarding the interests of the minorities, all political parties are agreed.....By negotiation and reshuffling at the Centre, the elected representatives may even now be given a majority of seats and assured

that the nominated section will gradually disappear and the Central Government will become truly national in a very short time—say, a year or two.

" With a majority of elected representatives at the Centre, even the nominated Indians may be trusted to work in co-operation with them."



CONTEXT.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

" WILL HURT PRESTIGE OF BRITAIN AND INDIA "

Extracts from a Calcutta report, dated Sept. 17, 1940.

" THOSE WHO HAVE READ THE DISCUSSIONS AND DECISIONS of the All-India Congress Committee (September 16, 1940) will deplore the course of events leading up to them," said Sir S. Radhakrishnan, presiding over the first anniversary of the Indo-Polish Association this evening.

" We all know ," he added, " that it goes against Gandhiji's grain to launch a movement likely to increase the trouble of Britain at this most critical hour and add to the bitterness between the two countries.

" Any such movement will hurt the prestige not only of Britain, but of India. He will be the last man to do it.

" On the other hand, acquiescence in the halting and ambiguous statements of British statesmen is likely to weaken the national movement. I still hope that a reconciliation, which requires goodwill on both sides, is possible.

" Gandhiji is ready for it. Will Britain rise to the great opportunity awaiting her in regard to India and impress the world about her adherence to the ideals of freedom and democracy, which she professes ?"

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

" COMMON PLATFORM FOR UNITED EFFORTS "

SIR T. B. SAPRU'S APPEAL

Extract from the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur

THE VICEROY HAS THROWN NO LIGHT ON THE QUESTION as to what is to happen in the meantime to the Centre, as it is

Sapru's comment (September 15) on H. E. the Viceroy's speech of September 11, 1939.

constituted at present, particularly in its relation to the autonomous provinces.....

The situation created by the war seems to me to present a platform for a united effort. Once a common platform has been created, even for a limited purpose, it may pave the way for a better understanding among the different sections of the community all round. There is nothing which can unite the people more than a sense of the common peril and a joint effort made to meet it.



CONTEXT.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEFENCE OF INDIA

Extract from an Associated Press report, (Oct 21, 1939) of a statement by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on the Viceroy's announcement of Oct. 17, 1939.

"IF THE DOMINION STATUS CARRIES WITH IT, AMONG other things, responsibility for defence of the country more or less on the lines suggested by the recent report of the Chatfield Committee, then it cannot be very long delayed," says Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Referring to the proposed consultative Committee, Sir Tej says, "I welcome it as I do not think that the questions of defence and industrial organization, particularly the industries connected with war in which India is interested, can be or should be excluded from its purview."

He concludes; "A settlement with Great Britain must be preceded by, or at least be simultaneous with, the settlement of our internal differences and the establishment of a general atmosphere of confidence as to the future of the country as a whole.....

"I do not suggest or say that any minority has got the right to hold up the progress of the country as a whole."



NEED FOR NATIONAL UNITY STRESSED

Extracts from an Associated Press report (Aug. 12, 1940) of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's statement on H. E. the Viceroy's announcement of Aug. 8, 1940.

"I ALSO FEEL THAT A STATEMENT LIKE THIS, IF ISSUED, say, eight months ago, might have made a great deal of difference in the situation.... The outstanding fact, however, remains, as stated by His Excellency—and that dominates the whole situation—that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain unbridged. It is against this background that the proposals of the Viceroy should be examined.

"**.....If by independence is meant a complete severance of the political and constitutional ties that have hitherto united India to England, then I have at no time**

thought that it could form the basis of a settlement between India and England ".

Sir Tej continues that, even assuming that such independence is worth having in these days.....he does not see how one country can confer upon another such independence, and he has never thought it within the range of practical politics that England would, at any time, agree to a settlement the basis of which is severance of all connection with India..

Coming to the positive proposals of the Viceroy, especially with regard to the expansion of the Governor-General's Council, Sir Tej says: " I would give this proposal a fair trial, though personally I think that in actual working the official members, who under the law will be constitutionally responsible to the Secretary of State, and the non-official members, who, though equally responsible to the Secretary of State, will look up to their respective bodies for their guidance and support, may find it somewhat difficult to work as a harmonious whole.

" OPENS A NEW VISTA "

" Personally I should have been glad if a truly National Government could be established at present, but I realize the truth and the force of the Viceroy's statement that differences remain unbridged....

The basis of a National Government, in times of emergency in particular, is the sinking of party differences and the readiness to co-operate with each other on vital issues affecting the safety, security and material interests of the country. This basis is lacking at present and I think that the proposal to expand the Governor-General's Council is the only proposal which was possible under the circumstances.

" On the whole, the Viceroy's statement is one which opens a new vista and the larger interests of the country and particularly the immediate question of the safety of the country require that it should meet with a helpful response from the country ".

SIR N. N. SIRCAR

CONTEXT.

Extracts from a Calcutta report, dated Aug. 8, 1940.

SIR N. N. SIRCAR WELCOMES VICEROY'S STATEMENT

SIR N. N. SIRCAR, A FORMER LAW MEMBER OF THE Government of India, welcomes as most valuable three features of the Viceroy's statement, namely, that communal unity has

not been made a condition precedent to constitutional advance, a War Advisory Council is now to be set up and that the forum to be established for helping in the decision of constitutional issues will be a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life.

Having regard to the direction of world forces, and the strength of the ruthless aggressors, he considers it extremely lucky that India is part of a strong Empire.

He contends that if India desires severance from the Empire she will have the means and opportunity of attaining complete independence, while a mere pious declaration of right in no way helps in reaching this goal....

IYENGAR, SRINIVASA

CONTEXT.

Extract from a report of an address delivered by Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, ex-President of the Congress, at a meeting held under the auspices of the Lakshmipuram Young Men's Association, Madras, on July 12, 1939.

EX-PRESIDENT CRITICISES CONGRESS

MR. SRINIVASA IYENGAR SAID THAT EVERYBODY KNEW that though for a time everything might appear quiet, there was no communal harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims in North India.

In spite of what the Congress Governments were trying to do, the two communities stood apart. When bureaucracy was in full operation and when they had not got the partial Swaraj that was enshrined in Provincial Autonomy, the unity which always existed was not clear to them. Subsequently, there was far more unity.

But this unity was not the result of the Congress taking up offices; it was this unity, which enabled the Congress to succeed at the polls and to take up office. He did not know whether the Congress had disturbed the unity afterwards. But incessant talk of unity was preventing the expression of honest differences of opinion that should be allowed if party government were to be carried on.

CONTEXT.

NON-VIOLENCE IN POLITICS

Extracts from a report of a speech by Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar at Madras on July 12, 1939.

MR. SRINIVASA IYENGAR SAID THEY WERE PERFECTLY aware that he differed from Mahatma Gandhi and others on certain matters. They must accept his view on those matters, subject to that limitation. What he has said years ago was becoming more and more true to-day. It was a melancholy satisfaction to him to find that his predictions were being fulfilled to the letter.

Mahatma Gandhi had recently made the significant statement that the non-violent movement in the past had not been always genuine and successful. Though the activities were predominantly non-violent, Gandhiji thought he had been mistaken. The speaker had differed from Gandhiji as to this philosophy altogether.

If it were a political activity or philosophy, he would take it up. If it were a religious thing, he would not.... Physical violence could be easily detected. But it was very difficult indeed to fathom the workings of the heart.

He disagreed with the view that a new band of prophets had arisen in this country or that a new religion of any permanence or validity had been founded.

MIXING UP RELIGION AND POLITICS

Extracts from a report of a speech delivered by Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar to Madras Christian College Union Society on July 29, 1939.

PROCEEDING, MR. SRINIVASA IYENGAR REFERRED TO THE habit of mixing up religion and politics. Experience of the world and the history of mankind showed that almost invariably such mixing up had unfortunate results. It was not that politics alone suffered. His great complaint was that religion and morality suffered by their admixture with politics.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar again emphasised that they must avoid mixing up religion and politics. Those who had real religion would not parade it. Religion was safeguarded and was, indeed, all the better for being kept aloof from politics. Their self-discipline might be brought into politics but they should not bring any formal spiritual discipline, religious belief or dogma into it.

Experience and the laws of humanity would tell them that they could be reputable political beings, successful and decent beings—they could have character and a measure of truthfulness—provided they did not mix religion, morals and politics.

NON-VIOLENCE AND DEFENCE

"WE CANNOT AFFORD TO BE HYPOCRITICAL"

Extract from a report of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar's inaugural address to the Loyola College Tamil Districts Association, Madras, on Aug. 2, 1939.

FALSE PHILOSOPHY, MR. SRINIVASA IYENGAR PROCEEDED, led to perdition in modern days. Mahatma Gandhi expected the Congress Governments to be managed on a non-violent basis. They were aware of the speaker's views on this matter.

With Japan on one side and the European turmoil on the other, they could not afford to be hypocritical. They should be prepared to defend India...

The Chinese people had adopted a wrong philosophy. They had treated soldiering with contempt and, consequently, they were now suffering. No miracle would happen in India and unless they were prepared to defend themselves, they would be nowhere. The Satyagraha campaign, no doubt, had given them to some extent mental and moral courage; but it had not given them the physical courage which was also necessary.

He would recall Sardar Patel's statement that the lathi beating was the reason for the collapse of the old Civil Disobedience movement. The Hindu tradition of making only the military class responsible for the defence of the country was wrong. Every citizen must become responsible for the defence of his country.

The use of the police force had been found to be "not inconsistent with the doctrine of *Ahimsa* even for the purpose of enabling worshippers to worship in the temples". Hindu *Ahimsa* did not mean the "Bodhisatva" doctrine. Disciplined use of force, properly and within the limits allowed by disciplined people on the right occasion was *Ahimsa* in Hindu religion".

[redacted]

THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

IMPOSSIBLE IN INDIA, SAYS MR. IYENGAR

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar delivered the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Endowment Lecture ("Problems of Democracy with special reference to India") at the Madras University, on Aug. 9, 1939. These are extracts.

IN EFFECT A PARTY GOVERNMENT SUPERSEDES DEMOCRACY. And the more rigid and the more disciplined it is the more of a dictatorship it becomes, as the recent experience of Europe has shown....

The evils of Party will be greatly intensified in Indian conditions. A healthy two-party system appears to be almost impossible in this country. Nor will it be of any use if Party is allowed to divide the people as well as the legislature. The existing communal divisions will tend to become the starting points of a party system

Parties based upon caste, creed or race, on provincialism or linguistic differences will only deepen the communal divisions such as, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian; and will make them even more rigid than they are to-day. The staggering success of the Congress at the last election, though in part due to its popularity in having fought the prior bureaucratic regime, was principally due to the dissatisfaction with the system of parties as it was functioning under the Montague-Chelmsford reforms.

It was returned as a National party intended to liquidate all party differences.

HONEST DIFFERENCES NECESSARY

In some provinces communalism is still the basis of party and in others, though it may be veiled for the moment, its dangerous potentialities cannot be overlooked. For a party system, it is necessary to have clear and honest differences on great questions. The disintegration of parties in England is due to the absence of any such differences in these days. In India, Prohibition, Swadeshi, reduction of land assessment and even temple-entry apart from methods of implementing it, are common to all parties and communities.

Even on such a controversial question as Education, which acutely divided political parties in England, we have no such firm convictions as would compel us to divide into parties. No genuine divisions of Conservative, Liberal and Radical are possible in India. The Congress and the Muslim League are agreed as to India's final goal. There is no active section or effective party which holds a different view. Nor are economic interests likely to afford a stable basis for the division of parties in India.

Neither zamindars and landholders, nor merchants and bankers, nor the professional classes can form distinct parties which could be both stable and effective. The overwhelmingly large agricultural population in the country makes it impossible for the emergence of any party permanently opposed to it. Nor is there any new serious antagonism between the agricultural community and labour.

The issue of socialism will perhaps divide the people in the future; if it does, it will be either ineffective as in England or it will destroy the present structure of society in India and replace it by a new one where there will be no party.

ENGLAND AND INDIA : A CONTRAST

The evils of the party system in England have been mitigated by their strong sense of racial identity and an active public

opinion. In India, the former is still in the making and the latter exists only when there is no party government.

The common tendency to follow the opinion of a majority party and the dearth of minority courage make it difficult to create or maintain a large middle opinion, which would be strong and effective enough to restrain a majority party from an unfair assertion of its strength, heedless of criticism or opposition.

While the spirit of accommodation and compromise is the keynote of English political life, a strong majority party in India can seldom be expected to show accommodation and a minority party, instead of fighting, will start with a compromise and end with a surrender. These features, which are due to India's long subjection to indigenous autocracy and foreign rule, cannot be obliterated without a long spell of a non-party democracy. We should also remember that, thanks to centuries of religious zeal, we are apt to import into public affairs what would be a virtue in the domain of religion; any political party in India will probably tend to assimilate itself to a religious sect and to be intolerant of opposition and criticism.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

CONGRESS SUPPRESSION OF CRITICISM

EX-PRESIDENT RESIGNS FROM PARTY

Extracts from a statement issued by Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, on Aug. 28, 1939, when he resigned his membership of the Congress, of which he was once President.

FROM THE REACTIONS TO THE SPEECHES THAT I HAVE BEEN making since last December, I feel I must discharge my duty to the people of this Province by continuing to be in the public life as actively as I can.

That duty itself requires that I should mark my protest against the recent trends in the Congress: its complete identification with its Ministerial parties so as to consolidate power rather than to resolve differences or to march forward, its making the Provincial Congress Committees subordinate to the Ministerial parties, *its iron resolve to suppress all public criticism of Ministerial activities by Congressmen*, its most recent action consisting of the series of expulsions for two or three years from Congress Committees of radical and ardent Congressmen, who did not submit to the will of the majority, its long vacillation and final abandonment of the cause of the people of the Indian States, its refusal to instruct the Provincial Cabinets to enlarge the limits of the constitution by bringing about open constitutional conflicts and *its failure to insist upon the Congress Cabinet in this Province not to apply the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, but to repeal it.*

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

ADVICE TO CONGRESS

Extract from a Madras report dated Nov. 28, 1939.

THE CONGRESS MUST MAKE UP ITS MIND TO DISCARD FROM its official programme office acceptance till independence is obtained, and must seek to plan rationally a secular democratic Government on non-party and non-sectarian lines, devoted primarily to direct economic and political improvement in the country", observes Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, in a statement to the Press on the present situation.

Mr. Iyengar says: "Congratulations are due to the Working Committee, the centre group in the Congress, as well as to the Leftists, on having brought about the resignation of the Congress from office....."

MR. IYENGAR'S SCHEME FOR COMMUNAL SETTLEMENT

A United Press report from Wardha, dated June 19, 1940, stated that Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, ex-Congress President had prepared a scheme for a Hindu-Muslim settlement, the chief features of which were:—

1. Equal proportion of Hindus in the Central and Provincial Ministries, additional special minority (Parsis, Sikhs, etc.) representatives on certain Provincial Ministries. Cabinets removeable by a two-thirds vote of the legislature.
2. Equal number of Hindu and Muslim officers and men in Indian Army regiments. Regiments to be constituted on a regional basis.
3. Guarantee for freedom of religious observance and personal laws.



NON-VIOLENCE: "GOSPEL OF COWARDICE"

Extracts from an Associated Press report (Oct. 7, 1940) of a speech delivered by Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar to a literary union in Madras.

THE GOSPEL OF NON-VIOLENCE (SAID MR. SRINIVASA Iyengar) was a good one only for a *sanyasi*, a man who had renounced the world and who found happiness in surrender. But this would not do for one who wanted to live an active. life, much less for a nation.....

It was a gospel of cowardice. If some brave men could be non-violent many more people, who were cowards, could take shelter under it. To accept this creed was not patriotism



It was a direct invitation to other countries to invade India and plunder the country, as had happened in the past.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

"MR. AMERY'S CHALLENGE"

Extracts from a United Press report (Nov. 15, 1940) of a statement issued by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar.

....MR. AMERY'S CHALLENGE THAT WE SHOULD COME together and settle our affairs is one we should readily agree to, if we are self-respecting and patriotic people. The time is now most opportune for the Congress and the Muslim League to act together as one body.... I would earnestly appeal to them both to agree upon a joint plan of action for the establishment of National Governments at the Centre and in the provinces.....

If we falter now we will be storing trouble for the future and will prove unfaithful to our patriotic impulse.

◆◆◆

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CONTEXT.

SIR JOGINDRA SINGH'S VIEWS

" NOT THE TIME TO BARGAIN "

Extracts from an Associated Press report from Simla dated Aug. 16, 1939.

NO REAL OPPOSITION TO FEDERATION WAS FOUND BY him anywhere, said Sir Jogindra Singh, former Punjab Minister and a member of the Army Indianisation Committee, speaking on his visits to Bombay, Poona, Bangalore, Mysore and Hyderabad.

Sir Jogindra was convinced that if Federation was jettisoned through the selfish and shortsighted policy of some Princes and their Ministers, who were carrying on active propaganda against it, it would create a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction in British India and the States.

> " The Indian National Congress resolution on the international situation is like a wraith rising out of a political soiree, " said Sir Jogindra. " It declares its opposition to Nazi aggrandisement, but refuses to make this position effective, it talks of protecting India and yet disapproves of Indian forces going abroad to guard our farflung frontiers so that war clouds may not even appear on our borders. The Congress seems convinced that British arms are strong enough to ensure security.

" In this matter, the Government of India is no less to blame. It has done nothing to bring home to the people the perils of war or to clarify the problems of defence.... Why cannot the Government of India associate Indians with the Defence Department, so that the country may become aware of the dangers and prepare itself to protect its vital interests ?

" Above all, the war clouds are gathering and the storm may burst at any moment. This is not the time to barter and bargain, but to unite first in a federation and then in a larger federation of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

" SIKHS WILL FLOCK TO THE COLOURS "

INDIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE SUGGESTED

Extracts from a joint statement issued by Raja Sir Daljeet Singh and Sir Jogindra Singh on Aug. 28, 1939.

AN EARTHQUAKE IS ABOUT TO SHAKE THE WORLD. SOME of our leaders are so sure of internal and external security that they wish to use this opportunity to bargain and plan a new structure. They do not realise that even the existing

structure may begin to topple over...This faith in British power to control the future has its value, but it indicates cowardly acquiescence of utter dependence....

" His Excellency the Viceroy, however, can speak in the name of India. He can safely assure His Majesty's Government that India will play a part worthy of her past and worthy of the self-governing India of the future....

" The aristocracy of the Punjab will not fail or falter in doing their duty and upholding their traditions of loyalty and devotion. We are confident that our community, the Sikhs, will march in their thousands to the colours."

Sir Daljeet Singh and Sir Jogindra Singh suggest that H. E. the Viceroy should create a Committee of Defence and thus associate enlightened opinion in shaping policy relating to war and peace.

" An Indian Ministry of Defence is likely to receive universal approval."



CONTEXT.

" WIN THE WAR " PARTY SUGGESTED

Extracts from a statement issued by Sir Jogindra Singh on Sept. 23, 1939.

THE CONGRESS AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE HAVE BEEN brooding and bargaining, while men from all classes and communities have been flocking to the Colours. Princes and the people have been anxious to take their share in the war.

> Why cannot we organize, with the support of this vast majority, a ' Win the War ' party, in every pargana, tahsil and district headquarters, with a representative board at the provincial headquarters ?

Every province could form a War Cabinet, either by reconstruction of its existing Cabinet, or by forming a new Cabinet. Then the Government of India could have a Central War Cabinet, with representatives of the Princes and people, composed of Indians and Britishers, capable of raising India to a position to defend herself by organizing her man-power and other resources.

A Central War Cabinet, linked with Provincial War Cabinets supported by a ' Win the War ' party and its war boards would unite the people of India as no political party can. If power is transferred to the Cabinet, it would meet the Indian demand for a National Government.

> **His Majesty's Government should give the ' Win the War ' party a charter guaranteeing : Freedom from fear, freedom of information, freedom of religion, freedom of expression and freedom from want, with an offer of union on the same basis as was offered to the French.**

SANT SINGH

CONTEXT.

WAR AND THE INDIAN DEMAND

SARDAR SANT SINGH'S VIEWS

Sardar Sant Singh, M. L. A. (Central) presided at the Akali Shahidi Conference held at Lahore on June 8, 1940.

" IT IS NOT OUR DESIRE TO EMBARRASS ENGLAND IN her hour of trouble. But human nature being what it is England's persistence in a policy of drift with regard to India is bound to have reactions in India. Indians are now becoming sullen and the best minds of India refuse to speak...

" It would be madness to divide India into small portions (the Pakistan scheme) when the war has made it clear that small countries cannot defend their independence against the aggressiveness of strong nations...If any such fantastic scheme is sought to be given practical shape in the Punjab, with their gurdwaras, every Sikh, man, woman or child, will fight to the last to oppose that scheme.

Sardar Sant Singh said that Indians should be satisfied if England conceded in principle the right of India to frame her own Constitution within a year of the conclusion of the war. It was not their desire to embarrass Britain, but Britain must immediately adopt a new policy, trusting Indians. He suggested the reorganisation of the Defence Department under a Minister assisted by a strong Advisory Board.

TARA SINGH

" NON-VIOLENCE OBSESSION SHED "

SIKH LEADER WELCOMES CHANGE IN CONGRESS ATTITUDE

Summary of an Associated Press report from Peshawar, dated July 13, 1940.

REITERATING HIS " OFFER TO OBTAIN ONE MILLION SIKH to fight for Britain in the present war, if the British Goverment accept the Congress demand", Master Tara Singh

President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, addressing a Khalsa Diwan at Peshawar said he was glad that the Congress had " shed its old obsession of non-violence". He did not think it sound advice that England should lay down arms before Hitler, " as has been suggested by Mahatma Gandhi."

He hoped that Indians would soon forget to talk of such absurd and dangerous schemes as Khalistan and Pakistan...

TEJA SINGH

THE " SPORTING OFFER "

SIKH LEADERS RESIGN FROM CONGRESS

APPEALING TO AKALI SIKHS NOT TO RESIGN FROM THE Congress,* Jathedar Teja Singh, president of the Shiromani Akali Dal, wrote on September 22, 1940:

" There is no question of a final break with the Congress unless it refuses to declare in unequivocal terms that it will not submit to the Muslim League demand of Pakistan under any circumstances whatsoever and unless it refuses to dissociate itself from the ' sporting offer ' of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar."

SIKH LEADERS

SIKH LEADERS CONDEMN PAKISTAN SCHEME

" THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE'S DEMAND TO TRANSform the Punjab into Pakistan ignores completely the position of non-Muslims who have a greater claim to the Punjab

* Following the resignation of Master Tara Singh from the Congress " on personal grounds ", a number of Sikh Congressmen in the Punjab resigned, including the president and General Secretary of the Lyallpur District Congress Committee and some members of the Gujranwala District and City Congress Committees.

as their Homeland ", said a joint statement issued at Lahore on April 12, 1940, by a dozen prominent Sikh leaders, including Master Tara Singh, Sir Jogindra Singh, ex-Minister of the Punjab, and Sardar Teja Singh Akarpuri, President of the Shiromani Akali Dal.

The signatories declared that the scheme was, " wholly unacceptable " to the Sikhs.

ALL-INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE RESOLUTION

The All-India Sikh Conference, Baba Kharak Singh presiding, adopted a resolution at Lahore on June, 9, 1940, characterising the Pakistan scheme as " thoroughly misconceived and mischievous " and recording the determination of Sikhs to resist it with all their might, adding that if the Muslim League insisted on the scheme " the Sikhs would demand Sikh Raj in the Punjab. "



CONTEXT.

SIKH ORGANISATIONS SUPPORT CONGRESS DEMAND

Extract from a report in the " National Herald " of Oct. 3, 1939, from the paper's Lahore correspondent.

A STATEMENT OF OVER 1,000 WORDS, ENDORSING THE Congress statement on India's attitude to the war, and authorising the executive of the Shiromani Akali Dal to set up a war sub-committee to watch the course of events and give a clear lead to the community regarding the war, has been issued by a conference of Sikhs of all parties, held today in Amritsar, under the auspices of the Shiromani Akali Dal.

The conference was attended by representatives of the Shiromani Akali Dal, Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, District Akali Jathas' Gurdwara Committee, Singh Sabhas and other Sikh organisations, including Namdharis and Nirmalas. Over 500 prominent Sikhs, among whom were Sardar Sant Singh, M. L. A. (Central), Giani Kartar Singh, Sardars Partap Singh, Santokh Singh, Sampuran Singh, and Harnam Singh were present at the conference, and Master Tara Singh, President of the Sikh Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, presided.

The statement says : " The Indian National Congress has examined the war situation in the widest perspective and has asked for a declaration of the British Government's present and further intentions with regard to India. This Conference, while not expressing any opinion upon the incidence of responsibility of the present war, wholeheartedly supports the Congress demand with regard to the political status of India, as set out in the statement of the Congress Working Committee."

The statement also stresses that " honour, liberty, life and property ", which have hitherto been in constant danger, should be guaranteed.

A resolution expressing no-confidence in Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and strongly repudiating his claim to represent the martial classes was also passed unanimously...

SIKH WAR SUB-COMMITTEE

CONTEXT.

SIKH WAR SUB-COMMITTEE

Extract from a Lahore report in the " National Herald " of Nov. 2, 1939.

A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE SIKH WAR SUB-COMMITTEE was held on October 29 at the residence of Sardar Harnam Singh, Advocate, with Master Tara Singh, president of the S. G. P. C., in the chair. Among those present were : Sir Jogindra Singh, Sardar Sant Singh, M.L.A. (Central), Giani Kartar Singh, M.L.A., Sardar Pratap Singh, M.L.A., the General Secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal and Atma Singh Namdhari.

The following resolutions, among others, were adopted by the committee :—

" The Sikh War Sub-Committee is of the opinion that any decisions on the Indian constitutional question that may be arrived at as a result of consultations, to which the Sikhs are not an effective party, will not be acceptable to them.

" The Sikh War Sub-Committee declares its determination to resist all attempts to transform the Punjab into a ' Pakistan ' and strongly repudiates all assertions that it is a Muslim province....."

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CONTEXT.

DEMOCRATIC SWARAJ PARTY

DOMINION STATUS: "SOMEWHAT VAGUE PROMISE"

Extracts from a Bombay report dated August 8, 1940.

THE OPINION THAT WHILE THE EXPANSION OF THE Governor-General's Executive Council and the setting up of a War Consultative Committee would be welcomed, the rest of the statement was no advance on His Excellency's speech at the Orient Club in Bombay last January, was expressed by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Leader of the Democratic Swaraj Party, commenting on the Viceregal statement (of August, 8, 1940).

Mr. Mehta added that the promise about Dominion Status was somewhat vague, both in its contents and in its time-limit.

> **"The Viceroy's statement is, however, unfortunately open to the interpretation that vested interests will continue to block India's advance even towards Dominion Status....."**

■ ■ ■

MACHINERY TO DRAFT NEW CONSTITUTION

A SELECT COMMITTEE SUGGESTED

Summary of resolution passed by the Democratic Swaraj Party at Poona, on August 2, 1940.

1. IMMEDIATE DECLARATION OF DOMINION STATUS OF the Statute of Westminster variety within a year after the end of the war.

2. Enlargement of the Executive Council of the Governor-General so as to include an adequate number of representatives of the various political parties.

3. Provincial and Central Legislatures to be dissolved at the end of 1940. Elections to be held on the understanding that the newly-elected legislatures shall, immediately on meeting, be called upon to elect from among themselves, in such manner as may be determined by them, a Select Committee with plenary powers to draft, within a time-limit, a constitution for the future government of India. The Select Committee's report should be accepted as the basis

for an agreement between India and the British Government, the agreement to be implemented by a Parliamentary Act.

Any differences among the Select Committee members to be placed before the various legislatures for decision separately—the British Government to determine the provisions of the new Act relating to these particular matters in the light of the majority view of such Legislatures and of provisions obtaining in the Dominion Constitutions, as also in the light of principles laid down by the League of Nations.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

CONTEXT

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

CO-OPERATION WITH BRITAIN

Extract from a Bombay report dated Oct. 23, 1939.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR Party of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has passed a resolution declaring the Viceroy's proposal regarding the formation of a consultative committee as unsatisfactory, as it will have no power to take decisions or give directions and will be composed of a fluctuating body of people. In the opinion of the Council, the panel system is its most objectionable feature.

By another resolution the Council welcomes the assurance of the Viceroy regarding post-war consultations with representatives of the Indian people in framing modifications in the constitution of India, and says that the present is not the occasion for withholding its co-operation from Britain in the prosecution of war."

CONTEXT.

Extract from a resolution passed at its 14th session by the All-India Trade Union Congress at Calcutta on April 21, 1935.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS

ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

THE CONGRESS FURTHER DECLARES THAT ANY CONSTITUTION, worked out by the spokesmen of the British Raj and their allies in India, will not be acceptable to the Indian people. This Congress maintains that none but the Indian people have the right to frame the future constitution of free India and the fundamental laws of a free National State can only be formulated through the National Constituent Assembly, the only democratic organ of power of the oppressed Indian masses.

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JAPAN'S " EXPANSIONIST DESIGNS "

ARREST OF BRITISH SUBJECTS IN JULY, 1940

The " Hindustan Times " (Pro-Congress), August 1, 1940 :— " They show that the Japanese Government are anxious to *pick quarrels* with the British Government with a view to furthering their expansionist designs in China and the South Seas."

" *The Mail* " (*Independent*), *July 29, 1940* :—" Japan has few friends who can help her now. Her Axis partners, Italy, and Germany, are deeply involved in the West..... Russia remains watchful on her Manchukuon border, and Japan cannot afford to engage in further adventures calculated to involve her more deeply with another Power."

" *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 1, 1940* :—" The arrest of eleven British subjects.....is further evidence of the *rising tide of antagonism* against Britain in Japan..... Japan's adventures in the Far East will not be viewed entirely without misgivings by countries in Asia."

" *Pioneer* " (*Independent*), *August 1, 1940* :—" Let us keep *an open mind* on the subject, fortified by the thought that Mr. Churchill and his colleagues in the Cabinet will stand for no nonsense if Japan is unable to justify the arrests."

" *Statesman* " (*Independent*), *August 2, 1940* :—" Comment *must be reserved* on events in Japan until more is known."

" *Bombay Chronicle* " (*Pro-Congress*), *July 31, 1940* :— " It is likely that.....the Japanese Cabinet.....is seeking by these arrests to test tentatively the lengths to which it will be able safely to go in bullying Britain. "

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 1, 1940* :— " The war party is now in power in Japan. Is this how they have chosen to begin their offensive ? "

" *Times of India* " (*Independent*), *August 1, 1940* :— " Unless the Japanese Government order the immediate release of the arrested men and agree to an impartial investigation of the charges brought against them and of the circumstances that led to Mr. Cox's death, the British Government should institute immediate reprisals..... The Japanese, like all bullies, need a taste of their own medicine."

" *Indian Affairs* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 1, 1940* :—" To upset foreign powers over there is not the way to win friends and Britain may be led to think that it is a

mistake to make concessions. Russia's intentions are unknown and the U. S. A. still thinks that China must not be sacrificed to Japanese imperialism."

" *Indian Express* " (*Pro-Congress*), *July 31, 1940* :— " Behind it can be traced the hand of Hitler instigating the Japanese to draw the British into a conflict in the Far East. . . . .But the British are careful ."

" *Hindu* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *July 31, 1940* :— " It certainly indicates that Japan does not share Mr. Churchill's anxiety for an improvement in Anglo-Japanese relations. . . .It may be that the arrests and the press campaign are a prelude to a closer alliance with the Axis."

" OPPORTUNISM ALL OVER "

JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY

" *National Herald* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 3, 1940* :— " Mr. Matsuoka, the new Japanese Foreign Minister, has left nothing unsaid in his Government's statement of policy— Fascism at home, imperialism abroad, opportunism all over."

" *Civil & Military Gazette* " (*Independent*), *August 3, 1940* :—" In view of the impossibility of effective intervention by Britain and the continued lack of preparedness in the United States, it is difficult to visualise opposition to Japan."

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 3, 1940* :—" In other words, *goondaraj* having been established in Europe and much loot going for the mere picking, Japan is out to secure her share of it in the Far East and the South Seas."

" *Statesman* " (*Independent*), *August 3, 1940* :—" The Japanese spokesman. . . . . .is in a hurry, full of threats and prophecies. He wants the Axis to win in Europe and Japan and Japan to revolve beautifully with it as the winner in Asia."

" *Pioneer* " (*Independent*), *August 3, 1940* :—" If the latest manifestation of Japanese acquisitiveness persuades the U. S. A. to take a firmer stand—in which case British co-operation will be readily forthcoming—it should prove an effective check to Tokio's designs. Washington's action in respect of petrol exports from the U. S. A. may have greater significance than is at present apparent."

" NAKED AGGRESSION "

" *Indian Express* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 3, 1940* :— " Both to Britain and America the programme comes as an unconcealed challenge. It is aggression, naked aggression, that is threatened. Will the white nations think of rallying together ?"

" *Sind Observer* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 3, 1940* :— " Externally, there is not much change in Japan's traditional approach to problems. It is in the internal sphere, however, that a serious attempt is to be made towards the Totalitarian conception of State.....In a way India's destiny is indirectly linked with the powers in Asia and Japan is indeed the most formidable power."

" *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 4, 1940* :—" Japan, taking advantage of the collapse of France and Holland in Europe, is making an attempt to grab their colonies in the Far East."

ARREST OF JAPANESE

" *National Herald* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 6, 1940* :— " The British Government have retaliated promptly..... Serious repercussions should be expected, but strong action has a tendency to diminish, rather than increase, hysteria and enemy-baiting..... If the powers are wise and honest, they should at once declare home rule for the French and Dutch possessions in the East and make a popular upheaval worthwhile and a foreign conquest unfruitful."

WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH BATTALIONS FROM SHANGHAI

" *Leader* " (*Independent*), *August 7* :—" The position in which Britain finds itself as a result of Germany's threat to its very existence prevents it from acting as a brake to the vaulting ambition of the Japanese militarists, and the United States is not prepared to cross single-handed Japan's foreign policy."

" *Hindusthan Standard* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August, 7* :— " The British action in London indicates a departure, however mild, from the British policy with regard to Japan..... The U. S. A. is stopping the export of iron and aviation petrol... The storm may burst at least, but Britain may not be alone against Japan, in the Pacific."

" *Free Press Journal* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 8* :— " London borrowed something of Japan's diplomatic politeness and arrested some Japanese.....Japan screamed... The arrested Britishers are being released. America has countered Japanese bluster with an effective embargo on aviation spirit and even France offers to fight things out if they are pushed to the extreme..... Not only are the Pacific Powers taking a more stiffened attitude but Hitler is not making sufficient progress to justify Japan taking a definite plunge."

" NOT APPEASEMENT "

" *Indian Affairs* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 8* :— " The aggravation of the original dispute by the arrest of more persons on both sides points to a desire to burn the boats..... Assured of U. S. support, Britain is not likely to waver or weaken, but Japan's readiness to go to the limit is not so certain. "

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 8* :— " There is little room for the hope that Japan will.....stop her expansion voluntarily..... The attitude that Britain has taken with regard to.....the Burma Road scarcely encourages the belief that she would care to come to grips with Japan till she settles the German affairs to her satisfaction."

" *Statesman* " (*Independent*), *August 11* :—" The decision to remove from Shanghai the two British battalions which have been centred, with small detachments elsewhere, is eminently wise. It is a military measure, not a measure of appeasement..... The gravity of the whole situation is recognized and appropriate measures are being taken. Concentration, not dispersal of force, is appropriate....."

Again on August 13 :—" American comments on Britain's Far Eastern Policy begin to show a welcome change....there are growing and cheerful indications that the obligations (to give practical support to Britain) is in larger measure understood."

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 11* :— " The British withdrawal from Shanghai, at this particular moment, comes to us as a reminder that Britain is in no position to obstruct the Japanese march towards the south. America today is so obsessed with the German menace that it looks as though she will allow Japan to have her own way in Asia."

" *Pioneer* " (*Independent*), *August 13* :—" In withdrawing her troops from Shanghai, Britain has given further evidence of her anxiety to avoid unpleasantness with Japan....if she decides on a policy of compromise in respect of certain ' sideshows ' there will be time enough for her to seek re-adjustment when the Nazi menace has been eliminated....."

JAPAN " DEFINITELY HOSTILE "

" *National Herald* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 13* :—" China's position is clear. It is immaterial for her whether she fights the Japanese invaders on her own soil or in neighbouring territory..... There is perfect rhythm and synthesis in the simultaneous movement of the Axis powers against the British Empire..... The withdrawal of British troops, numbering 1,500 from the Shanghai Concession to Hong Kong must be considered to be a wise move..... The United States, which has picked her latest quarrel with Japan over her

banning of exports of aviation petrol to Japan, will be compelled soon to declare herself in the matter of Japanese aggression in Indo-China..... Nor do we feel fully convinced that.....Britain is prepared for a show-down in the south."

" Tribune " (Pro-Congress), August 12 : " Japan has taken up a definitely hostile attitude towards Britain and no amount of ' concessions ' will satisfy her."

" *Civil & Military Gazette* " (*Independent*), *August 13* :— " It is the conviction that the United States and Great Britain were not likely to act together to defend their admittedly large interests in the Far East that has given rein to Japanese chauvinism....."

" .....There is a wealth of evidence that the United States is preparing to defend its interests (and, incidentally, those of Britain) in the Far East....."

" *Bombay Chronicle* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 12* :— "....A clash means far-reaching international repercussions. It would mean a challenge by Japan to America and to Herr Hitler!..... We do not think the Japanese Cabinet will take the fateful step unless it has gone collectively mad."

" *Sind Observer* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 11* :—".....the inference is inescapable that there is perfect understanding between Rome, Berlin and Tokio..... The peril is almost at our doorstep....."

TWO SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT IN JAPAN

" *Hindu* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 10* :— "...Indo-China is of great strategic importance, not only for the future domination of East Asia, but for tackling the present problem of assaulting the seat of Chiang kai-Shek's power in South-West China. Here then is the coalescing of two schools of thought in Japan, the Army, which believes in the domination of China, and the Navy, which has always agitated for a drive to the South Pacific..... The British forces in Shanghai and North China have been withdrawn..... It looks as if it is a move.....in the direction of appeasing Japan..... It is necessary to remember that Japan is functioning as an Axis member....."

" *The Mail* " (*Independent*), *August 10* :—".....Circumstances make it impossible for Britain to offer Indo-China the assistance she needs, and.....it is unlikely that, in her present state of unpreparedness, the United States, would actively interfere to thwart Japan's plans....Self-interest, if nothing more, may compel American intervention..... And India cannot afford to regard these developments with indifference...."

" *Indian Express* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 11* :— "...Their latest exhibition of bullying is a threat of invasion of

Indo-China. This, if accomplished will weaken Britain's position further, but Britain has offered a further measure of appeasement to Japan by withdrawing the British troops from the International Settlement in Shanghai..... Indian traders have a large stake in North China, and the withdrawal of British troops from Shanghai is likely to cause them some disquiet. This British move is a triumph for Japan. Will it be the last ?"

INDO-CHINA ACCEPTS JAPANESE DEMANDS

" OF GRAVE IMPORT TO INDIA AND BURMA "

" *Statesman* " (*Independent*), *September 24, 1940* :—" The news that French Indo-China has accepted Japan's demands is of grave import to Burma and India..... Yunnan leads nowhere except to Burma and India..... Simultaneously there is evidence of connivance with the Japanese in Siam, through which they can penetrate into the Bay of Bengal, southern Burma and Malaya."

In its issue of September 25, the paper observes : " Those who comfort themselves with the thought that with America in her present mood Japan would not dare to risk war, should also remember that for Japan it is now or never."

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 24, 1940* :— " The circumstances in which an agreement has been reached between Indo-China and Japan, including the clash on Sunday night on the Tongking-China border, and the terms of agreement itself are matters of grave concern not only to the whole world but also for us in India..... Not only in Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies but elsewhere too it is the peoples of these countries who must be made the rallying points of resistance against the Axis Powers and other aggressors.....

" Let us reconcile ourselves to Japan becoming Burma's next door neighbour, with all the strategic consequences which follow from such neighbourliness."

" *Civil & Military Gazette* " (*Independent*), *September 24, 1940* :—" These Japanese forces are so large that the establishment of Japanese naval and air bases in French Indo-China may faithfully be said to foreshadow the beginning of the end of French sovereignty in that region of Asia. Chiang kai-Shek and the Chinese forces.....however, may be relied upon to make it difficult for the Japanese forces either to consolidate their position in French Indo-China or to reap the other political advantages which their country apparently expects them to reap as a result of its violation of international law."

" *National Herald* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 24, 1940* :— " It is thus clear that surrender is not going to have the peace of the country, nor its independence."

" *Statesman* ", *September 27* :—".....French Indo-China's obvious helplessness before Japanese pressure certainly much aggravates the long-term difficulties of India's and Burma's defence.. ...."

" *Star of India* " (*Pro-Muslim League*) *September 25* :—".....there has always been comfort in the argument—by no means an unconvincing one—that Japan has her hands too full with China to contemplate fresh conquests..... In any case commonsense dictates precaution in defence and India at the moment is defenceless....."

" *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*) *September 25* :—" Japan has, as the result of her entry into Indo-China, been brought nearer to India. People in this country will not welcome this as Nippon has not shown that close proximity is a blessing."

" *The Mail* " (*Independent*), *September 24* :—".....Japan is so deeply involved in China, and now Indo-China, that she cannot afford to add to her commitments. Firm action, resolutely pursued by the United States now, may save the Far East, and India too, from developments which would bring to these areas the horrors which to-day afflict Europe."

" *Hindu* " (*Nationalist Independent*) *September 23* :—" Control of Indo-China and Thailand is the beginning of the ' South Seas ' drive of the Japanese militarists, who have their eyes on other important British, American and Dutch possessions..... Surely the basic policy of the Powers interested in ending aggression and preserving the *status quo* must be to help China to throw off the invader from her soil....."

" *Hindusthan Standard* " (*Pro-Congress*) *September 26* :—".. ...the French may allow the Japanese threat from the Burma-Yunnan side or down near Singapore to deepen into a menace for Burma and India or for the Dutch East Indies or even for Australia or New Zealand. In such an hour of far-reaching changes that may open now, the Soviet may prove decisive.....the plutocratic U. S. may find herself beaten in the game by the agile and alert Japanese, as the Allies were surprised in August, 1939. That would be a grave catastrophe for them....."

" *Nagpur Times* " (*Nationalist Independent*) *September 25* :—".....Japan would have been well advised to follow a more cautious policy in Indo-China..... The Anglo-American collaboration which today is a nightmare to her will soon make her find her own level....."

" INDIA HELPLESS "

" *Sind Observer* " (*Pro-Congress*) *September 25* :—" ....The British Empire is thus beset with dangers at the present

moment on all sides. And India has been kept in such a helpless position.....and the British Government and the Viceroy have been so ill-advised at a time like this that they are about to draw the sword against Indian Nationalism....".

" *Searchlight* " (*Pro-Congress*) *September 25* :—"....In the ultimate analysis, the situation is very far from re-assuring to us in India which has Japan on the east and Italy menacing her western gateway. But Nationalist India can but eat its heart out from a sense of frustration and helplessness, thanks to the determination of our British masters to have India's co-operation on their own terms and no other....."

" Free Press Journal " (Pro-Congress), September 25 : "....The puppets of Vichy have added another chapter of shame to the history of the French Empire."

" *Indian Affairs* " (*Nationalist Independent*) *September 26* :—" ....It is likely that Japan will soon try to go as far south as the Equator but circumstances are not exactly propitious, to judge by the many indications of Anglo-American accord in the Pacific....."

" *Eastern Times* " (*Pro-Muslim League*) *September 27* :—".....the consequence of a Japanese occupation of the country, which is now most likely, would be not only fatal to China but prove serious to Britain, Holland and the U. S. A. also....."

" *Leader* " (*Independent*) *September 30* :—".....What has happened and is happening should make America and Britain realise the urgent need of speeding up their plans for Anglo-American collaboration in the Pacific."

" *Daily Gazette* " (*Independent*) *September 27* :—"....It is, however, significant that the two Anglo-Saxon countries will co-operate in Pacific defence. This news has been received with justifiable pride all over the civilized world, not excluding India....."

" *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*) *September 29* :—"....it is doubtful if on the whole the Japanese determination to occupy French Indo-China.....is not a prelude to more ambitious projects further west. Particularly, if Japan is able to have an agreement with Thailand, the danger to Burma and India will become real....."

" Amrita Bazar Patrika " (Pro-Congress), September 28 : ....That Siam is already under Japanese influence is evident enough and if Japan succeeds in conquering the Yunnan province, Burma may also appear in the news....."

AXIS-JAPANESE PACT (SEPT. 27, 1940)

AGGRESSIVE DESIGNS IN THE EAST

" *Leader* " (*Independent*), *September 30* :—" The pact..... is not likely to affect the military situation as regards the war that is going on between Britain and the Axis powers.."

" *Daily Gazette* " (*Independent*) *September 28* :—".....Broadly speaking, it re-affirms the determination of Japan not to interfere in European affairs, while Germany and Italy will allow her a free hand in the Far East....."

" *Sind Observer* " (*Pro-Congress*) *September 28* :—".....It is another of Hitler's diplomatic coups to create more trouble for Great Britain in the east.....This agreement .....puts a new and fearful complexion on the aspect of things in the east. And yet Mr. Amery is indulging in stupid divide and rule speeches.... ."

" *The Mail* " (*Independent*) *September 28* :—".....Under it Japan is to serve the purpose which Italy served during the greater part of the German Army's campaign in Europe..... To this end she may be expected to pursue an actively aggressive and exceedingly provocative policy in ' the great Asiatic living space'.....The pact should not, therefore, be dismissed as ' a damp squib.'....."

" *Hindu* " (*Nationalist Independent*) *September 28* :—" Both the Axis and Japan are afraid of her (U. S. A.) intervention in either of their spheres of influence and the present move is designed to checkmate her by opening out the prospect of a ' war in two oceans '.....the surest way to check Japan and maintain security in Asia is by large-scale assistance to China. Such a policy will revolutionise.....also the war aims of the British. It will also lead to better relations with the Soviet."

" *Pioneer* " (*Independent*) *September 29* :—".....Hitler, Mussolini and Konoye, faced with the necessity of registering some spectacular achievement in order to bolster up the spirits of their peoples, and unable to visualise any impending military successes, have found a way-out in the diplomatic sphere that will mitigate their worries for a while...."

" *Civil & Military Gazette* " (*Independent*) *September 29* :—".....no amount of pin-pricking on the part of Japan....is likely to hasten any move by the United States, just as, later, no amount of Japanese conciliation will turn her from the determination to re-establish and maintain the *status quo* in the China Sea....."

" MOVEMENT TO CARVE UP GLOBE "

" *Times of India* " (*Independent*) *September 30* :—"..... the pact is, in effect , an open attempt to intimidate the American people and to keep them from action to protect their interests both East and West.....One good which the agreement does is to show America and the world that the European struggle is not an isolated event, but part of a world-wide aggressive movement by three countries to carve up the globe between them....."

"*Tribune*" (*Pro-Congress*) *September 30*:— ". . . .Whether the Nazis will succeed in the twin object of intimidating the United States and keeping Russia off the grass will depend upon the attitude of the United States. . . . . .the pact is the most telling argument against American isolation the potentiality of the pact for mischief. . . . . is terrible. . . ."

"*Hindustan Times*" (*Pro-Congress*) *September 29*:—"If we discount its immediate importance in advance, it is because firstly, so far as we can see, the United States are not likely to declare war either on Germany or Japan, and, secondly, if they are so minded, the Pact is not likely to deter America from doing so. . . . . But what of the ultimate consequences of the Pact ? If the two countries which can checkmate Japanese aggression in the Pacific are thus unwilling to play their part, what is there to prevent Japan from marching from aggression to aggression in the East ? Not Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies alone have cause to feel apprehensive. . . . ."

"*Amrita Bazar Patrika*" (*Pro-Congress*) *September 30*:— ". . . . . .the military pact now concluded between Germany, Italy and Japan may be regarded as being fraught with grave danger to the Democracies. . . . . .they now make a public declaration of their mutual military alliance, if not for anything else, at least, it seems, to frighten the U. S. A. and dissuade her from joining the war. . . . . ."

MR. CHURCHILL'S "INSPIRING CAPTAINCY"

"*Amrita Bazar Patrika*" (*Pro-Congress*), *August 23, 1940*: "If Hitler and his friends ever counted on the demoralisation of the British Government as a result of their recent tactics of lightning war, the speech of the British Premier is bound to disillusion them." (in the House of Commons on August 20)

"*Hindu*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 21, 1940*:— "This cheerful spirit of confidence and willingness to strive hard, the cool calculation of gains and losses, and the wisdom to formulate a bold policy for the future find expression in the leadership of Mr. Churchill, whose restless energy and inspiring captaincy are among the greatest of British assets today."

"*Mail*" (*Independent*), *August 21, 1940*:—"While refusing to belittle the dangers still confronting the Commonwealth, and especially Great Britain, Mr. Churchill gave solid ground for confidence."

"*Star of India*" (*Pro Muslim League*), *August 22, 1940*:— ". . . .he is no foolish optimist ; he believes in facing hard facts, the dangerous rocks that are ahead, and taking the nation into confidence so that the burden of danger, the burden of anxiety,

will be shared by every man and woman who today find pride in the fact that they are sons and daughters of Britain."

" *Daily Gazette* " (*Independent*), *August 22, 1940* :—" Showing both sides of the picture in his own inimitable fashion, Mr. Winston Churchill made a speech.....which will be received with satisfaction and relief not only throughout the Empire but in all Democratic countries."

" *Sind Observer* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 22, 1940* :—" But at the present moment, Mr. Churchill's ideas seem to be travelling in a direction in which the pooling of the resources of Britain, the United States, Canada, India and Africa would be the best solution to ward off the totalitarian menace that seems to be blanketing the world. In a gigantic Federation, there will be no necessity for huge armaments and forces will be needed only for policing purposes."

" *Searchlight* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 22, 1940* :—"..... he is able to speak after nearly a whole year of the war, with the ringing tone of confidence and determination..... So far as India is concerned, his policy is that virtually of a driver....."

" *National Herald* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 23, 1940* :—" The plainest fact is that the blitzkrieg has not succeeded..... It is easy—and Mr. Churchill also rather unwisely yielded to the temptation—to minimise the present strength of the slaveenemy....."

" *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 23, 1940* :—" It may thus be given to her (Britain) once again to save herself by her own exertion and to save Europe by her example. We hope with all our heart that it will be so..... Vigilant at home, it cannot be said that even now she has adapted herself to the requirements of the new situation abroad. In India, in particular, she is still following the old conservative policy of hastening slowly.....instead of.....a policy of bold and courageous advance....."

" *Nagpur Times* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 23, 1940* :—" He is as candid as he is confident....."

OFFER OF NAVAL BASES

" *Bombay Chronicle* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 23, 1940* :—" Mr. Winston Churchill's latest speech was more coolly confident than warmly eloquent. And rightly so..... Britain's offer of naval bases to U. S. A.....marks the beginning not of a London-New York Axis but of an Anglo-American Union—with the U. S. A. as the senior partner."

" *Hindusthan Standard* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 23, 1940* :—"As the position is today, the German *Luftwaffe* is not trying its whole strength and it may be taken for granted that the war will be prolonged as Mr. Churchill has said..... Enemies in other quarters of the globe are rearing their heads

to question British domination, and British imperial resources have to be diverted to those neighbouring theatres of war."

" *Civil & Military Gazette* " (*Independent*), *August 22, 1940* :—" . . . . . he once more demonstrated his determination to face facts and to eschew wishful thinking . . . . . If Mr. Churchill was matter-of-fact as he told of past losses, he was no less conservative and no more exuberant in his estimate of the future possibilities."

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 22, 1940* :— " The tactics which Hitler pursued in turning the Maginot Line, making its strongest fortifications practically useless, raises the suspicion that he may follow some such tactics in the invasion of Britain, though it is not clear how he can turn the flank of the British Navy . . . . . there was a somewhat ominous reference to India. A similar reference to Britain fighting ' if necessary alone, and if necessary for years ', in one of Mr. Churchill's earlier speeches has been proved by later events to be strangely prophetic . . . . . Mr. Churchill also referred . . . . . to . . . Britain fighting to defend herself and her ' possessions ' and to themselves as ' the sole champions of the freedom of all Europe '.

> " **If this war is a fight for the preservation of the Empire and the freedom of Europe, other parts of the world, and especially India, are not likely to be interested in it . . . .**

" *Eastern Times* " (*Pro-Muslim League*), *August 23, 1940* : " The whole speech breathed a quiet confidence in the British Government's ability to meet the German threat . . . . . "

" *Leader* " (*Independent*), *August 23, 1940* :—" . . . . . the time is coming when the entire economic and scientific apparatus of Germany will be pulverised . . . . . "

" *Free Press Journal* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 23, 1940* :— " Britain's optimism and confidence are well-founded and the plans for carrying the war into next year and the next spell the inescapable doom of the Dictatorships . . . . . "

PRIME MINISTER'S WARNING ON SEPTEMBER 11, 1940

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 13, 1940* :— " . . . . . it is discouraging to hear that the Germans have been steadily moving convoys through the Straits of Dover into the Channel without the British Navy being in a position to prevent it. British convoys also have been able to do so, hugging the English coast, which seems to indicate difficulties in the way of either side preventing the other from using the Straits in spite of the narrowness of the waters at this point . . .

> " **With so may difficulties to face, invasion may be a desperate job and Hitler may even now be bluffing about it, intending nothing more than a series of air attacks.** "

" *Searchlight* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 15, 1940* :—" The British Navy is intact and so is British morale. Hitler will find England a hard nut to crack ."

" *Times of India* " (*Independent*), *September 13, 1940* :— ".....If Hitler attacks, he will be up against something, even more formidable than armed resistance—the blazing anger of every man and woman in the British Isles, which have not been successfully invaded for nine centuries and will not submit as long as there is a single person left to fire a gun."

" *Hindu* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *September 12, 1940* :— " These preparations point to a Nazi plan to make a supreme onslaught on all fronts.....London's ordeal draws our most sincere and profound sympathy."

" *The Mail* " (*Independent*), *September 12, 1940* :— " Mr. Churchill's call for alertness is timely.....men and women in Great Britain were in danger of forgetting the main purpose of the enemy.....Has not the time come to abandon these quarrels over secondary issues and to fight unflinchingly unconditionally, for the victory that will bring the ' better days that are to come '? "

" HEROISM OF THE COMMON MAN."

" *Hindusthan Standard* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 14, 1940* :—" What actual shape the challenge to British liberty would take, it is difficult to know.....the heroism of the common man was never so discovered, never revealed to such an extent."

" *Pioneer* " (*Independent*), *September 14, 1940* :— " Mr. Churchill's surprise broadcast leads us to presume that Zero Hour is at hand..... Thank God that it finds a valiant nation ready for the worst that is to come....."

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 16, 1940* :—" There can be no doubt that Englishmen will die, if necessary, for their liberty in the last ditch."

" *Bombay Chronicle* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 17, 1940* :— " It may well be that the Nazi plans have been seriously disorganised by R. A. F. raids, but the invasion still remains a strong possibility during the next week or so."

" *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 15, 1940* :— " No one can predict the fortunes of war, especially when one of the belligerents is capable of the most unexpected strategems. The invasion, should it be launched, would be the most hazardous undertaking in Hitler's stormy career of awe and deathly ambition."

" *Statesman* " (*Independent*), *September 16, 1940* :—" The Royal Air Force set out on the night of the thirteenth to deliver what it was hoped might be a knock-out blow.....it

seems clear that the enemy's plans and organisation must have been seriously disturbed. His never very rosy prospect of succeeding must seem to himself considerably dimmed."

" *Nagpur Times* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *September 14, 1940* :—" In Britain there is no chance for any surprise attack.... .This talk about man's freedom is bound to have a jarring effect on Indian ears, however much they may sympathise with Mr. Churchill in the plight that Britain finds herself."

SEPTEMBER AIR RAIDS ON BRITAIN

" *Leader* " (*Independent*), *September 6, 1940* :—".....the smallness of the damage caused (on Monday, September 2), is explained by the fact that the German pilots, frightened by tremendous anti-aircraft barrages and concentrated attacks of British fighters, were compelled to unload their bombs indiscriminately and fly at top speed."

" *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 4, 1940* :—" What is of still greater significance is the fact that while the R. A. F. has battered aerodromes, factories and other military objectives in Germany, the Nazi Air Force has not been able seriously to interfere with Britain's war effort.

> **" It does not seem unlikely that the R. A. F. will soon improve on the German methods and beat the Nazis at their own game."**

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 3, 1940* :—" The fortitude with which Britons are meeting the situation cannot but draw the admiration of their worst detractors."

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF LEGISLATORS

H. H. THE AGA KHAN'S SUGGESTION

Press comment on statement issued by His Highness the Aga Khan on February 8, 1940, at Bombay.

" *Hindustan Times* ", *New Delhi*, (*Pro Congress*), *Feb. 10, 1940* :—His Highness the Aga Khan occupies a somewhat detached position in the public life of this country. But he is, undoubtedly, one of the most influential Muslim leaders, and Indian Muslims have, before now, shown a desire to listen to his wise counsel and be guided by it..... It is not enough for him to say, as he is reported to have said, that, if any responsible body calls for his opinion or advice, he will be ready to place his services at their disposal. He must take the initiative. His responsibility is all the greater in that he has seen in a Congress leader's speech a way out of the present impasse.

"*Amrita Bazar Patrika*" *Calcutta, (Pro-Congress) Feb. 11, 1940*:—His Highness did not say definitely, if the report before is us complete, that the British Government should accept the decision of that Conference or Assembly. If the British Government does it, it will have acceded to the demand that India must have self-determination in the framing of her Constitution. This, as we pointed out in a previous article, is really Independence. It does not follow that the Conference will hold no negotiation with the Princes or the British Government or with the minorities who will, of course, be fully represented on it. It will undoubtedly hold preliminary discussions and try to reach an agreement with all of these parties.... ....

There can be no question that all the interests concerned will not only be consulted but will also contribute to the determination of the final solution. The British Government, indeed, will have no final say, as has been claimed for it, but its legitimate interests, as the interests of European trade and commerce in this country, will be fully safeguarded. The Princes will have also their independence protected, as it is with their consent that the constitution will be finally drawn up, so far as they will be concerned in it.... It may be contended that an arrangement like this will take away the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly. Our idea, however, of such an Assembly is not that of a despotic body that goes only by majority rule. It will be largely a negotiating body but vested with the final authority of framing the Constitution, subject only to the modification that major disputes will have to be referred to arbitration. The arbitrators may be the Court of International Justice appointed by the League of Nations. It is, however, our firm conviction that when once the task is begun such a reference will not be necessary.

CONFERENCE OF EXPERTS

"*Hindu*" *Madras, (Nationalist Independent), Feb. 9, 1940*:—We are glad to note that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's suggestion has met with the enthusiastic approval of H. H. the Aga Khan.....In view of the fact that Sardar Patel envisages also a small and compact body for hammering proposals into shape and promoting agreement on basic issues, there is no inherent irreconcilability between the Congress proposal and such suggestions as the one that Sir Mirza Ismail makes, that a small conference of experts should draft a constitution for India, in consultation with leaders of public opinion.

If it is borne in mind that agreement on crucial questions of a political character can be brought about only by political leaders who enjoy the country's confidence and do not fall within the province of the expert, Sir Mirza's proposal, it will be seen, boils down to this that a small conference of leaders should be set up to achieve the basic agreement on which the Constitution must be based

What better method could there be of getting an authoritative body of this description together and of securing finality for their decisions than by having them selected by a a plenary assembly and getting their agreed conclusions ratified by that body ?

Be that as it may, it will be noticed that all suggestions made in India by Indian leaders agree on this point that India's constitution must be framed by her own accredited leaders, not by a body hand-picked by the British Government ; even Mr. Jinnah does not say that Britain must decide. This has a moral which, it is to be hoped, will not be lost on that country.

"*Indian Express*", *Madras*, (*Pro-Congress*), *Feb. 9, 1940* :— His Highness the Aga Khan approves of it and what are politely called equivalents of a Constituent Assembly now really mean " feasible propositions " in present day politics, not any gargantuan bolstering of an academic idea. .... We have no doubt that if a positive step is taken in the present welter of conflict, Great Britain would resile from the ambiguous stand where she maintains that she should have the last word in India's constitution-making. No Indian Constitution can last without the imprimatur of the Indians themselves. Sardar Vallabhbhai and the Aga Khan cannot leave their joint proposal in the air, since it is up to them to bring it to fruition if they are equally in earnest.

AGA KHAN OR MR. JINNAH ?

" *Hindusthan Standard,* " *Calcutta*, (*Pro-Congress*) *Feb. 11 1940* :—Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League do not approve of the demand for a Constituent Assembly ; His Highness the Aga Khan maintains that the summoning of a Constituent Assembly ' is the most practical step towards the final settlement of all the problems before us.' Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League do not admit the right of India to frame her Constitution without outside interference ; His Highness the Aga Khan points out that that way and no other leads to an effective solution of the issues which confront the country.....

Will the British Government still continue to spread the lie that they cannot accept the Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly on account of acute Hindu-Muslim differences in regard to that demand ?.....

But before we close we must point out that there is no substance in Sardar Patel's suggestion that a Constituent Assembly elected on adult suffrage is ' impracticable ' and that his specific formula in that behalf is one which is not in accord with the resolutions of the Congress Working Committee. We do not know how far the Sardar carries the Working Committee, or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, or Mahatma Gandhi, with him in the view he has expressed, but there is no doubt that the franchise he has proposed for the Constituent Assembly

will not meet the requirements of the situation as excluding from the right to self-determination the vast majority of the Indian people.

Meanwhile, however, we must ask His Excellency the Viceroy and the British Government to declare in unambiguous language whether it is Mr. Jinnah or His Highness the Aga Khan on whom they count for Muslim support to the policy to which they are committed.

TRIBUTE TO AGA KHAN

"*Tribune,*" *Lahore* (*Pro-Congress*), *Feb. 11, 1940* :—The suggestion has not only met with approval in Congress circles, but, as the speech of Sardar Patel at Surat and the statement of Mahatma Gandhi in the *Daily Herald* indicate, it may be officially adopted by the Congress, if the British Government show any inclination to restart the negotiations on its basis.

What earthly objection can be raised to the tackling of the Indian problem by a body composed of men and women who have a representative character under the present constitution? The idea is so sound that a man of such perspicacity and experience as the Aga Khan has accorded his enthusiastic support to it..... The influence of the Aga Khan on the British Government and on his co-religionists is tremendous. If he uses that influence, the situation may be saved.

SARDAR PATEL'S SUGGESTION

"*Bombay Chronicle*", *Bombay*, (*Pro-Congress*), *Feb. 12, 1940* :—Ever ready to meet any practical difficulty, the Congress has agreed to accept any workable substitute for a Constituent Assembly, so long as its representative character is not questioned.

> **It is in this spirit that Sardar Vallabhbhai suggested the other day that..... an immediately practicable substitute could be found in the shape of a conference of all elected members of the provincial legislatures to frame a constitution for the country.**

It is encouraging to note that H. H. the Aga Khan has wholeheartedly supported the Sardar's suggestion..... There may be some accommodation and compromise on matters of procedure. But there can be no compromise on the main demand of complete independence.

"IMMORAL HOLD" ON INDIA

"*Nagpur Times*", *Nagpur*, (*Nationalist Independent*), *Feb. 13, 1940* :—Practical proposals are put forward to solve the political deadlock. One such comes from Sardar Vallabh-

bhai Patel which has the approval of no less a weighty personage than H. H. the Aga Khan. . . . He (the Sardar) prefaced it all by saying : ' What the Congress wants is the undiluted right for Indians to frame their own Constitution through a Constituent Assembly.' It is this proposal that the Aga Khan has hailed ' as the most practical step towards a final settlement.'

All leaders and shades of opinion agree that India's constitution must be framed by her own accredited leaders. Britain must accept the position and release her ' immoral hold ' on India.

NO SUPPORT IN NON-CONGRESS CIRCLES

" *Leader* ", *Allahabad*, (*Independent*), *Feb. 15, 1940* :— His Highness the Aga Khan seems to have misunderstood this suggestion (Sardar Patel's) as being one ' of a constituent assembly composed of members of the central and provincial legislatures '. Neither the actual suggestion of the Sardar nor the Aga Khan's understanding of it can, we surmise, evoke enthusiasm in non-Congress minds.

" *Sind Observer* ", *Karachi*, (*Pro-Congress*), *February 13, 1940* :—The Aga Khan welcomes the idea of forming into a constituent assembly the members of all the legislatures of India to frame a constitution ; and probably the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have kept this as a card for a last minute concession to the Congress.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS OF JULY 28, 1940

" *Statesman* " (*Independent*), *July 29, 1940* :—Now that the largest Party has at last disassociated itself from suicidal national pacifism and has proclaimed the right and the necessity of national defence and of taking part in the world struggle against Hitlerism, what is wanted is internal unity."

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *July 30, 1940* :— The Congress does not want to make the offer of co-operation something in the nature of an ultimatum. But it cannot indefinitely wait, hat in hand, at the entrance to the Viceregal Lodge.

" *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*), *July 31, 1940* :—It is a direct consequence of this freedom (from Mr. Gandhi's influence, restricting Congress help in the war to moral support) that its help should be active.

> **This was an inescapable conclusion, and we have not the slightest hesitation in saying that in endorsing this conclusion the All-India Congress Committee has the whole of political India behind it."**

"*Leader*" (*Independent*), *July 31, 1940* :—The position is that while the Mahatma wants the British to surrender to the enemy and vacate their country, the Congress High Command wants them to make up their mind to clear out of India if they want the Congress to co-operate in the prosecution of the war.

WARNING TO BRITAIN

"*The Pioneer*" (*Independent*), *July 30 1940* :—The paper refers to "the unscrupulous philosophy which animates Congress leaders" and says that the organisation stands by its decision to withhold support from Britain in the war against Nazism unless its demands are conceded. "It would be a criminal folly for Britain to concede to the Congress" its claim for a national government, for such a government dominated by the Congress may pursue an anti-British policy.

"*National Herald*" (*Pro-Congress*), *July 30, 1940* :—Does the resolution carried by the All-India Congress Committee at Poona contain the necessary ingredients that can make the British Government think that the time for action has come in India, and that, if they do not act in the manner indicated, the Congress will consider itself free to follow its own programme of action ?

Does not the resolution tend to diminish the emphasis on the struggle to come when, as a matter of fact, it should have been increasingly emphasised ?

"*Searchlight*" (*Pro-Congress*), *July 30, 1940* :—While many will regret that it has not been possible for the Congress to stick to non-violence in all matters, it cannot be stated that the members of the Committee have done anything which runs wholly counter to the wishes and sentiments of the people in general.

"*Amrita Bazar Patrika*" (*Pro-Congress*), *July 30, 1940* :—The main question is : why did the Committee consider it necessary at all to break with the past when the question of armed resistance to the foreign aggressor could only arise after India had attained her freedom ? Was there any reasonable ground for believing that India would attain her independence in the near future ?

APPEAL TO BRITAIN

"*Times of India*" (*Independent*), *July 30, 1940* :—For some time past Congress discussions and resolutions have been invested with an air of strange unreality.... In the present state of uncertainty, a clear declaration of the intentions of the British Government is essential.

"*Free Press Journal*" (*Pro-Congress*), *July 29, 1940* :—The dynamic factor behind all these declarations is the desire to end the political deadlock.....

Judging from present indications the authorities in Britain are not willing to recognise India's freedom as a reality.

The task of National leaders is limited to organise the nation for the attainment of that freedom. On this there is no difference of opinion.

"*Hindusthan Standard*" (*Pro-Congress*), *July 30, 1940*:—What is of practical and vital importance is what the Congress would do if its demand was not accepted by the British Government and a National Government was not formed in a reasonable time, and this is just the question that does not appear to have attracted any attention at the A.-I. C. C. meeting.....

"*Nagpur Times*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *July 30, 1940*:—If the anxiety to end the deadlock forms the inspiration behind the Poona decisions, embodying an eminently reasonable proposition, a determination to continue the struggle for independence unabated peeps through every word of the resolution.

"*Bombay Chronicle*" (*Pro-Congress*), *July 30, 1940*:—Gandhiji agrees with Pandit Jawaharlal that the Congress offer of friendship cannot be holding the field indefinitely but he rightly does not like to lay down any particular time limit. We trust the British Government will not reject Gandhiji's advice..... If, however, the offer is spurned, the country may rest satisfied with the Congress President's assurance that he and his colleagues will see that the present state of suspense will not be allowed to continue much longer.

FULL PARTICIPATION IN WAR?

"*Daily Gazette*" (*Independent*), *August 4*, concludes that if the resolution means India's full participation in the War it is fair to assume that Maulana Azad and his colleagues mean to be participants in the voluntary federation, and that they are aware of the dangers of absolute Independence.

"*Tribune*" (*Pro-Congress*), *August 7*:—In reality, as Mr. Rajagopalachariar points out, no practical dispute has yet arisen between the ideals of independence and Dominion status; that dispute can only arise when Britain makes up her mind to offer Dominion status immediately instead of at some future undefined date; when that stage is reached, it is certain that the Congress will readily agree to assume responsibility in the central sphere.

"*Times of India*" (*Independent*), *August 8*, referring to Mr. Rajagopalachariar's speech says: "It would seem, therefore, that the principal Congress demand is the immediate formation of a 'National Government' at the Centre. But even if this is not granted in as complete a form as the Congress wish, does it provide justification for the Congress refusal to co-operate?

"*Indian Affairs*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 8* opines that the Congress will find its hands forced by the logic of events and the logic of its successive resolutions. It did not occur to them earlier that the authorities might " get on as best as they can without either placating or provoking the Congress."

Referring to the " break " on the question of non-violence in all circumstances the *Indian Express* (*Pro-Congress*). *August 6*, " would point out that such differences of opinion about conduct in certain remote contingent circumstances, is apt to shake the public confidence."

" REVERSION TO SANITY "

"*The Mail*" (*Independent*), *July 29, 1940* :—The complete transfer of the administration waits upon the solution of problems which the people of India must tackle . . . . . The Committee was, therefore, wise not to place a time limit upon its demand.

"*Hindu*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *July 29, 1940* :—Britain may be assured that the Congress will, in future, as faithfully perform what it promises, if only Britain will play her part worthily.

"*Sind Observer*" (*Pro-Congress*), *July 30, 1940* :—The resolution offers an opportunity to enlist Indian co-operation in winning the war, not for the purpose of perpetuating Imperialism but to create a new human society.

"*Indian Express*" (*Pro-Congress*), *July 30, 1940*, says that the " protagonists of the resolution " are between two fires : the influence of Mr. Gandhi which may at any time be re-exerted on the side of absolute pacifism, and the unceasing fusillade " from Leftists denouncing the Delhi resolution as a weak and tame surrender to British Imperialism."

"*Daily Gazette*" (*Independent*), *August 1, 1940* :—It means also willingness and anxiety to revert to the sanity which used to characterise it (Congress) when it was dominated by such stalwarts as Dadabhoy Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Gopala Krishna Gokhale.

" *Civil & Military Gazette* " (*Independent*), *July 30, 1940* :—We are convinced that, in ' side-tracking ' Mr. Gandhi . . . . the Congress has done itself irreparable harm. In seeking to stress its readiness to face realities, the ' High Command ' has incorrectly weighed the very real worth of Mr. Gandhi's encouragement and patronage. Without these, the Congress becomes just another political party . . . . It may even be that the Working Committee has become more capable of ' delivering the goods '. . . . . The ' wilder ' elements are from now on going to have a bigger say in Congress affairs than ever before."

" *Indian Affairs* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 1, 1940*, says the Working Committee " have wobbled during

all these months of the war." They turned down Gandhiji's idea of unconditional support." They talked of civil disobedience, but repressed every sign of insurgence in their followers. " And now when the question is clear-cut between tame acquiescence in the inaction of the British Government and launching a spirited movement, they are confronted with an All-India Congress Committee that is content to be no better than a rubber stamp ! "

" RUDE SHOCK FOR THE MAHATMA "

" *Indian Social Reformer* " (*Independent*), *August 3, 1940* :—An undertaking similar to that of the United States in regard to the Philippines, should not be impossible though it might require some emergency legislation. But the Congress need not wait for it but may proceed on the assumption that, with or without it, India's Freedom cannot be withheld if with her co-operation the Empire emerges victorious out of the War. We trust that some understanding on this matter will be reached without undue delay.

The resolution, however, is a patent derogation from the high moral standard associated in the public mind with the Gandhian Congress. The Congress now and henceforth is just a political movement like many others bent on gaining political ends by political methods.

The Congress has thrown away Mr. Gandhi like a squeezed orange, after exploiting his name and prestige to the full. India can best help Britain by throwing the full weight of her influence on the pacific conduct of international relations.

The " Tribune " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 1, 1940*, says that " the Mahatma was not entirely without hope that Poona might undo what Wardha and Delhi had done..... The result must have given a rude shock to the Mahatma. "

It adds that the British Government's policy in the matter of the Congress demand is " wholly and dangerously mistaken."

" OUTSTRETCHED HAND "

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 2, 1940* :—Hard pressed as Britain is, she is not likely to surrender to anything in the nature of a threat..... But if a time limit was undesirable, it is obvious that the outstretched hand will not remain always outstretched, although there is no one to grasp it.

" *Bombay Chronicle* "' (*Pro-Congress*), *August 1, 1940* :— If Britain is really prepared to shed her imperialism and give genuine self-government to India and if only the misunderstanding of these terms (" full Dominion Status " and " complete independence ") stands in the way of a settlement, the best way out of the difficulty is to define the freedom of

India on the one hand and the transitional safeguards for Britain on the other without any reference to these terms. The precise details of a settlement must be left to negotiations with the accredited representatives of the Congress.

" *Sind Observer* " (*Pro-Congress*), *July 31, 1940* :—" India is bound to get Swaraj after this war, and it is, therefore, wise to give it away into a friend's hands here and now, thereby cementing the bonds of goodwill and solidarity."

The " *Indian Express* " (*Pro-Congress*), *July 31, 1940*, charges Mr. Rajagopalachariar with " fulsome flattery of British character " and adds : " Every day adds to the weight of data revealing the continual growth of truculence in the seats of authority throughout the country..... Yet this is the moment chosen by C. R. and his colleagues for overthrowing Gandhiji's lead."

" *The Mail* " (*Independent*), *July 31, 1940* :—The breach (between Mr. Gandhi and the Congress) is material. It cannot be ignored."

" *Times of India* " (*Independent*), *August 3, 1940* :—We suggest that the British Government should clearly specify the time within which India will attain Dominion Status..... We urge the British Government to declare that the Indian people should be given the right to produce an agreed constitution for submission to Parliament.....

" *Searchlight* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 3, 1940* :—The issue (of non-violence) need not have been raised now. Independence is yet far off..... The tragedy that thus looms ahead is truly appalling, in view, particularly, of the vast possibilities inherent in the undoubted detestation of Nazism by Nationalist India....."

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 6, 1940* :— The demand for a declaration of independence and the demand for a National Government can be put aside, if Britain is prepared to hand over power to the people of this country in some other way....we have our fears that the Government are hoping to tide over the present crisis exploiting to the utmost the Congress desire not to create embarrassment so that in the end they may continue to retain their stranglehold on this country as ever before.....once the flood-gates are opened, the flood-waters will not be controlled.

CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON VICEROY'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 8, 1940

" *National Herald* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 24, 1940* :— The Delhi resolution of the Committee....goes out and none should shed tears for it..... The consequential direction for a nation-wide protest....might, in the present temper of the bureaucracy, provoke conflict and commence hostilities. If it is to be a fight, the Congress would cheerfully have it...

"*Hindu*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 22, 1940* :—As India's co-operation in the present crisis could be wholehearted and effective only on the terms which Britain has thus implicitly rejected, the Congress could not very well decide otherwise.

"*The Mail*" (*Independent*), *August 22* :—The Congress decision to non-co-operate at this most critical moment in India's history is a grave misfortune. It will hamper the efforts of honest men and women of all communities to help to save India from the terrors, the misery, and the destruction that have laid waste great areas in Europe.....and threaten, if unchecked, to rob India of all the blessings she now enjoys.

"*Statesman*" (*Independent*), *August 24, 1940* :—As admittedly it (Congress) has been pursuing a double and contradictory policy for nearly twenty years.....it is still increasing its own difficulties.

"*Leader*" (*Independent*), *August 25, 1940* :—The Working Committee may be right in its conclusion that the British Government is unwilling to part with power and authority at present..... But the difficulties and dangers of a sudden transfer to power during a very uncertain international situation ought not to be ignored.....

"*Pioneer*" (*Independent*), *August 24, 1940* :—There must be no wavering, no half-hearted measures to deal with men who would throw the country into turmoil, especially when the Empire is waging a life-and-death struggle elsewhere.

"TROUBLE AHEAD"

"*Searchlight*" (*Pro-Congress*), *August 24, 1940* :—Trouble ahead would seem to be the clear import of the decision..... The fundamental position that while very willing to share in the holy cause of resisting the Nazi terror as free men and equal partners in a common undertaking, they declined to be party to their people being driven like slaves, did them honour.

"*Tribune*" (*Pro-Congress*), *August 24, 1940* :—There is no question of imputing to anyone the deliberate intention of adding fuel to the communal fire, but there is little doubt that the recent official declarations instead of pouring oil on the troubled waters will make the intransigent elements in the minority communities more intransigent. At the same time the Working Committee has not allowed itself to be stampeded into taking any hasty action, and has thereby maintained its reputation for sobriety and statesmanship.

PLEA FOR UNITY

"*Daily Gazette*" (*Independent*), *August 24, 1940* :—There is only one way out. That way is unity. The only way

to secure that unity in the present circumstances is to seize power and office and utilise such opportunities as may lie that way to secure a full measure of unity, and Swaraj through that unity A welcome feature of the resolution is that it has explained, in however indirect a manner, that the Congress is not averse to Dominion Status of the Westminster brand.

" *Sind Observer* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 23, 1940* :—The dynamic forces let loose by the war have set all classes of Indian feeling, thinking and speaking to one another in the common conviction that there is for the present only one issue—the fight for our interests The time has come when the nation cannot stand still. It must either advance or degenerate.

" *Times of India* " (*Independent*), *August 24, 1940* :—The disappointment will be all the greater because between His Excellency the Viceroy's offer and the Congress point of view there does not exist the wide gap which the Working Committee suggests if the Congress cannot join with other parties in co-operation at the Centre, we trust that for the sake of democracy and world freedom it will do nothing to hamper Britain in her struggle—in India's interests as well as her own .....

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 25, 1940* : —It now remains for the Congress to ask Mahatmaji to resume his leadership, make the organisation internally strong and get ready for eventualities.

" APPROACHING STRUGGLE "

" *Nagpur Times* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 24, 1940* :—Without precipitating a crisis the Committee has done well in taking the first step to regain the initiative in the sphere of Indian politics..... laying the ears to the ground one can hear the distant rumbling of the approaching struggle.

" *Bombay Chronicle* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 24, 1940* :—The Committee has done well to expose the deplorable and objectionable features of the proposals with regard to the minorities in India and to explain the Congress attitude towards this problem..... In the meanwhile we trust the Congress Working Committee will take immediate practical steps to hasten a satisfactory settlement of the problem of minorities... .we can only hope that Government may yet reconsider their decision.

" *Hindusthan Standard* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 24, 1940* :—There is not an iota of reason in the Viceregal statement and the country is relieved that the Working Committee have rejected it *in toto*.

" Civil & Military Gazette " (Independent), August 23 : The Congress project of a national Government at the Centre was intended to place the Congress in the centre of the picture : it was actually a claim for supreme power in India for the Congress.....

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 23* :—" The break has come not over this issue (Dominion Status versus Independence) but over the unequivocal rejection of the demand for the formation of a National Government... ... That is a fact which cannot be too often emphasised....one thing is unthinkable, that the cause of freedom should triumph in Europe but suffer a disastrous reverse in this country ...

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR'S "SPORTING OFFER"

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 25, 1940* :— If the concern for minorities, implicit in the declaration of August 8.. . .is honest and real, then His Majesty's Government can have no shadow of excuse for rejecting this offer.

" *The Mail* " (*Independent*), *August 22, 1940* :—He knows that neither Mr. Amery nor His Majesty's Government as a whole, can accept his offer until Mr. Jinnah and other interests have made known their mind, without running the risk of causing civil war in this country.

" *Star of India* " (*Pro-Muslim League*), *August 27, 1940* :— The " sporting offer " has, to say the least, somewhat electrified the political atmosphere in India, thus once again re-creating definite hopes for an early settlement of the existing differences between the various political parties on the one side and the British Government on the other, over the issue of the present war.

The ' offer ' is interpreted in responsible political and official circles as having placed the entire future of India in the hands of the minorities thus even cutting the ground from under the feet of the British Government who declared that the minorities question should be settled satisfactorily.....

All eyes are now cast on Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League with anxious expectation.

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 26, 1940* :—" British ingenuity will surely know how to invent other difficulties equally formidable..... If the Muslim League authorities jump at the offer, they will only prove that they were not at all serious in their previous contention (' two-nation theory ') and that all that they wanted was really political power.

" *Sind Observer* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 25, 1940* :—" He wants to expose the hypocrisy of Britain's alleged solicitude for the minorities. Secondly, he wants to offer a blank cheque to Mr. Jinnah.....here is a postcript to the Wardha decision.....

" *Nagpur Times* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 25, 1940* :—The suggestion underlying the apparently astounding offer is that the key to the house of Indian freedom which is now with Britain should be sent back to India.

" *Bombay Chronicle* " (*Pro-Congress*) *August 26, 1940* :— For reason other than minority difficulties Mr. Amery may not accept the offer but it will certainly not bring him to the end of his resources in imagining, and thereby creating difficulties, if he continues to indulge in that habit.

CONGRESS RESOLUTION OF SEPT. 16, 1940

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 18, 1940* :—If there is any inconsistency in the present Congress position, it is because there cannot be any compromise between Freedom and Slavery.

" *Pioneer* " (*Independent*), *September 17, 1940* :—Is he (Mr. Gandhi) merely manoeuvring for a position from which he can justify the launching of a civil disobedience campaign at a not distant date ?.....

" *National Herald* "(*Pro-Congress*), *September 18, 1940* :— It will, in fact, be a struggle between Nazism and democracy... So the struggle for which the country has been clamouring for the last twelve months is now clearly visible on the horizon.

"*Nagpur Times*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *September 17, 1940* : The A.-I. C. C. resolution....has outlined the wisest course of benevolent neutrality. It represents the high water mark of practical statesmanship brought into play at a time of severe test.....

" *The Times of India* " (*Independent*), *September 17, 1940*, says that the " tribute and assurance " contained in the resolution " will be widely welcomed," that there will " also be relief among all classes of the people," that whatever action Mr. Gandhi may take, " it will not involve mass lawlessness." But the paper observes :

" Mr. Gandhi professes his desire not to embarrass the British Government in any way, yet in the same breath he suggests that he should be allowed to do something which will hamper India's war effort and thus aid the enemy.....

> **" This amazing proposal is both impracticable and completely illogical. We sincerely trust that he will reconsider his position before approaching the Viceroy."**

" *Free Press Journal* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 16, 1940* :—The Congress bangs the door on all negotiations with Britain for a settlement..... Gandhiji, it must be remembered, if he resumes the leadership, will be doing so to lead a struggle. Rallying round the Congress and Gandhiji is the best course for the nation.

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 17, 1940* :—Sick of intransigence on the part of the British authorities,.....Congress, under the leadership of Gandhiji, is about to take a momentous step. But has it not been forced on it by the powers that be ?

" PARTING OF THE WAYS "

" *Searchlight* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 17, 1940* :—In plain words, the parting of ways has come....some form of individual disobedience is clearly indicated.

" *Statesman* " (*Independent*), *September 17, 1940* :—Our first reaction to this was to wonder why the Congress must always be asking for difficult statements and cannot leave well alone. The Government has never prohibited the conscientious teaching of pacifism in India any more than the British Government has interfered with it in Britain.... But the man who preaches non-resistance and surrender in war-time, whatever his motives, is weakening a nation's will to survive and is helping to destroy it and to deliver it to the enemy.

Under this leadership, the Congress has nothing to offer India. At the same time, there is not sufficient assurance that the authorities everywhere—and the doubt is perhaps strongest in regard to the United Provinces—are acting intelligently in regard to the arrests of Congressmen.....

" *Star of India* " (*Pro-Muslim League*), *September 18, 1940* :—The Congress has failed in statesmanship. Contrast their attitude to that of the Muslim League. The Muslim League, it is true, is non-co-operating in war effort but with an open front.....

" *Leader* " (*Independent*), *September 19, 1940* :—It is just possible that behind all this avalanche of rhetoric there may be a lurking desire to come to terms, terms which will enable the Congress to hold office without losing its face. We shall not object to this, for it is much better that they should have the liberty of going about in the country and saying to the people, ' Do not help in the prosecution of the war '.

" *Daily Gazette* " (*Independent*), *September 17, 1940* :—Given goodwill on both sides, it should lead to a better understanding between the two parties to the controversy.

" *Hindu* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *September 16, 1940* :—The resolution.....was the inevitable consequence of Britain's persistent refusal to grasp India's proffered hand and to give her a fair deal...What is permissible to Ireland (neutrality) cannot be other than permissible to India which, be it remembered, has been promised Dominion Status of the Westminster variety.

" CONGRESS MUST ACT "

" *Searchlight* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 18, 1940* :—After all that has happened and the way in which the demands of the Congress have been repeatedly treated, it would appear, indeed, surprising to many that such restraint could still be maintained..... The Congress, however, cannot exercise self-extinction..... Therefore it must act.

" *Hindusthan Standard* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 18, 1940* :—As the British Government has made no response to the Poona resolution it is not surprising that it has been withdrawn . . . but this does not mean that the Congress is entirely free from the confusion that seized it. Mahatma Gandhi, for instance, as for the moment laid aside the bigger issue of independence and confined his entire attention to the question of freedom of opinion, but it goes without saying that even if the latter question is satisfactorily tackled the former question will still remain to be fought out.

" Mail " (Independent), September 17, 1940 : Can the true cause of India's freedom be advanced if Nazism is assisted ? To that question there is only one answer, and, happily, millions in India are giving it.

" *Sind Observer* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 17, 1940* :—The Congress by its Bombay Resolution has done nothing to incense the rulers of this land. It is still in a conciliatory and not an intransigent mood.

" *Eastern Times* " (*Pro-Muslim League*), *September 20*, 1940 : A close study of these pronouncements leaves no room for doubt that the Congress is out to precipitate a crisis in India when England is at death grips with the Axis Powers.

" *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 19, 1940* :—During wartime the exercise of the right of free speech should be confined to the passing of resolutions by public bodies and the issuing of literature explaining the Congress point of view. And all this should be accompanied by a reiteration of the conditional offer of co-operation in the British Government's war effort, contained in the Poona resolution.

" AGREEMENT POSSIBLE "

" *Indian Social Reformer* " (*Independent*), *September 21, 1940* :—Stripped of all its superfluities, the Congress resolution is tantamount to an offer to the Viceroy to stand aside and allow those who are prepared to co-operate, to carry on their task unhampered, if there is no persecution of Congress workers launched by the Government, whether the Central Government continues as at present or is remodelled on the lines of the Viceroy's scheme. True, the resolution might have been more clearly worded. But it should be read in the light of Gandhiji's high sense of chivalry and his obvious desire to suspend all controversy until Britain emerges out of the war. It should not be difficult for Lord Linlithgow and Gandhiji to come to an agreement on this basis.

" *Indian Affairs* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *September 19, 1940*, under the caption " Do-Nothing Dictatorship " : Either it (Congress) must believe in the efficacy of a genuine popular movement for building up national character and realising national aims or it must make the most of every concession which the Government offers from time to time

....But the Congress under the Mahatma would pursue the mirage of absolute non-violence."

NEED FOR "VIGOROUS POLICY"

"*Times of India*" (*Independent*), *September 19, 1940* :—Nobody protested more vigorously against the totalitarian menace than the Congress ; nobody more strongly demanded violent action by Great Britain to stop that menace. The Congress Working Committee even broke with Mr. Gandhi to support (on certain terms) India's war effort. Why, it may be asked, has it now gone back to Mr. Gandhi's non-violent lead ? The answer obviously is that its terms for co-operation landed the Committee in an untenable position.

The remedy for the trouble diagnosed by Mr. Gandhi is to put India on her feet. That can be done only on a vigorous policy of arming the country and taking advantage of the war to extend war and other industries wherever possible. Who is better fitted to advocate and pursue this course than non-official Indians in the Central Government ?

"*Daily Gazette*" (*Independent*), *September 19, 1940* :—Whenever a war threatens the safety and freedom of a country, either directly or indirectly, it would be preposterous to claim that any party or organisation has a prescriptive right to ask the Government and the people of that country that they should exert no effort to safeguard those larger human interests without the preservation of which there can be no national existence and no progress."

"*National Herald*" (*Pro-Congress*), *September 21, 1940* :—If we simply choose to go into a fit of somnolence, on the ground that we have no desire to embarrass Britain, we shall be committing a grave wrong which will prove irreparable. In fact, the deliberate restraint the Congress has exercised on itself has been thoroughly misunderstood and, instead of warding off, has invited an unscrupulous and systematic attack on its existence and working.

"*Nagpur Times*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *September 19, 1940* :—This demand for freedom of expression is necessary because the Congress is faced with the alternative of existence or extinction. Exist it must and extinction it will resist.

"SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE"

"*Amrita Bazar Patrika*" (*Pro-Congress*), *September 20, 1940* :—If the statesmen of Great Britain have eyes to see, they may easily perceive in the resolution of the Congress and the speeches of Mahatmaji a spirit of compromise and moderation to a degree hitherto unknown.

"*Tribune*" (*Pro-Congress*), *September 21, 1940* :—If ever there was a case in which a public body bought peace

with its leader at too dear a price, the Working Committee has done so in this case.

"The Mail" (Independent), September 21, 1940:—To demand the right to indulge in anti-war propaganda at this crisis in the history of India .. is to desire to destroy the Motherland ...

" Free Press Journal" (Pro-Congress), September 21, 1940 :- The Congress policy of non-embarrassment is given effect to by the withdrawal of all political demands..... The Congress propaganda will be in effect a pacifist propaganda....Britain should welcome Gandhiji's stand.

" Bombay Chronicle " (Pro-Congress), September 21, 1940 : Congress then went much farther than Gandhiji would go and offered both moral and material help, in return for modest constitutional demands. And in doing so it even parted company with Gandhiji. But Britain remained obdurate as ever. She asked for everything, but would give nothing.

" Leader " (Independent), September 22, 1940 :—The Congress attitude towards the war does not represent the attitude of the overwhelming section of the people who consider that their duty, as well as the interests of the country, require wholehearted co-operation in the vigorous prosecution of the war.

" Searchlight " (Pro-Congress), September 22, 1940 :— One marvels at a bankruptcy that seriously imagines that Indian nationalism can be baulked of its due, or even side-tracked for long, by a manipulation of loyalist and communalist forces..... It does not require very superior intelligence to assert that British miscalculation in India today will prove to be a blunder as colossal as those that made Hitler possible, that made the war practicable by alienating Russia and that made Spain a virtual appendage of the Axis powers and a menace to Gibraltar.

" Pioneer " (Independent), September 2, 1940 :—Congress is at liberty to withhold its help in the prosecution of the war. ....But what moral justification can there be for the triumph of Hitler ?

CONTEXT.

LEAGUE RESOLUTION ON AUG. 8, 1940,

ANNOUNCEMENT

Comments on the resolutions adopted on September 2, by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on H. E. the Viceroy's statement of August 8, 1940.

" Star of India " (Pro-Muslim League), September 4, 1940 :—The door is not yet closed..... Muslims today are chary of pitfalls, of which they have found so many in the working of the India Act. In Bombay they have approached the Viceroy's offer in a cautious spirit.

" Bombay Chronicle " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 4, 1940* :— If the League is earnest about real power, it can secure it only by confronting Government with a joint Congress-League demand, more or less on the basis of Mr. Rajagopalachariar's offer..... If the League is punctilious about procedure, Mr. Rajagopalachariar may well convey his offer to it, promising to clarify it further, if desired.

" Pioneer " (*Independent*), *September 5, 1940* :—We are frankly mystified. On the surface of things it looks as if the Working Committee has been unduly cautious or unjustifiably dilatory. After all, there *is* a war on.....

" Sind Observer " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 3, 1940* :— Mr. Jinnah may feel a momentary satisfaction and pride in pulling the rotten chestnuts out of the fire for Mr. Amery but when the real time comes for settling the Indian issues, he will find that it is only a sullen and resentful nationalist India that can deliver the goods."

" Searchlight " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 4, 1940* :— Mr. Jinnah and his friends have risen beautifully to the bait. We are aware that they will indignantly dispute the proposition holding that, far from having been baited, it is they who have baited the British Government..... Britishers are proving themselves so utterly impervious to the lessons of history that there is hardly any wonder that they should delude themselves with the hope that their alliance with the Muslims will be their bulwark against the ever-advancing tide of Indian Nationalism.

" Nagpur Times " (*Nationalist Independent*), *September 4, 1940* :—To the extent that the League has not accepted the Viceregal offer right away....by whatever reasons inspired, has strengthened the Congress stand of rejection of a few seats on the Executive Council..... Appetite grows on what it feeds and Mr. Jinnah will never be satisfied..... There should be a limit to pampering the minorities—else you will be consumed by the flame you yourself lit.

" Eastern Times " (*Pro-Muslim League*), *September 6, 1940* :—The League having accepted the Viceroy's offer in principle, it is now for His Majesty's Government to meet it at least halfway and secure the wholehearted co-operation of Muslims in India's war effort."

" QUISLINGS ALL "

" Free Press Journal " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 4, 1940* :—The role of the Muslim League is unmistakable. It is the unabashed Accomplice of Imperialism..... Call these estimable men by any names they choose—it is a case of Quislings all.

" Leader " (*Independent*), *September 5, 1940* :—It may be broadly stated that the greater the concessions that are made to unreasonable, selfish and unjust communal and minority

claims, the more dissatisfied will be the Indian nationalists and the majority community. The Government....ought not to ignore the principles of justice and equity.

"*The Mail*" (*Independent*), *September 2, 1940* :—For, insistence upon the partition of India demonstrates once more the complexity of the whole Indian problem. There are politicians who say that the League demand is the result of British encouragement, but they are wrong ..... Where the League errs is in its failure to see that its own solution of the problem would, if adopted, create new problems as grave and as difficult of solution as any it seeks to solve by the creation of a Muslim India.

"Amrita Bazar Patrika" (Pro-Congress), September 5, 1940 : For ourselves, we shall scarcely be surprised if the history of Palestine repeats itself in India on a bigger scale.

"*Hindusthan Standard*" (*Pro-Congress*), *September 4, 1940* :—The sole consideration of the Committee has been, not the interests of Britain or the British Empire, not certainly the prosecution of the war to a successful end, but merely the scoring of points by the League in terms of its own partisan demands.

"*Hindu*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *September 3, 1940* :—The fact is the Muslim League's resolutions are directly the result of Mr. Amery's truckling under to the League's intransigence from considerations of mere expediency.

"*Times of India*" (*Independent*), *September 4, 1940* :—All those who have the Allied cause at heart will welcome the extremely helpful attitude of the All-India Muslim League ; so far as we can see Muslim League co-operation with the Viceroy may be taken for granted in the near future....the adjustment of minor points of difference need not take long.

"SITTING ON THE FENCE"

"*Indian Affairs*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *of September 5, 1940*, writing under the caption "The League on the Fence" says : While the Congress lost no time in jumping on the wrong side, the League has found a wide and comfortable berth on the fence, from which it can survey the happenings on either side and particularly on the side of the Government. It is conscious now of its vantage.... if, as is not unlikely, there should be a wrangle over the appointment of seats, the whole show would be shown up ; and the Muslim League will have been instrumental, even more than the Congress, in defeating the aims of the Government.

"*Indian Social Reformer*" (*Independent*), *September 7, 1940* :—The resolution.....is a lengthy paraphrase of the resolution of the Liberal Federation..... It is only by a stretch of imagination that Government can find comfort in the League's attitude.

" *National Herald* " (*Pro-Congress*), *October 1* :—He (Mr. Jinnah) wants to turn the present opportunity to dictate to the British Government the conditions of Muslim League co-operation in future and to make sure that his community will have the power of veto over Indian constitutional progress..... The engineer is hoist with his own petard..... What the Viceroy would be pleased with is not a group of animate politicians, but a set of human packages on whom we can lean for the prosecution of the war in the prevended interest of India but for the real good of the empire..... It would be a constitutional abomination, shocking even to the elastic conscience of the imperialist, that a small minority of legislators should be entrusted with power in the provinces when the constitution has been suspended, when the legislature does not meet, when the majority party has been sent into exile.... However, to Mr. Jinnah danger lurks in his own camp.

" *Star of India* " (*Pro-Muslim League*), *October 1* :—Taking it from any point of view, the Muslim League cannot be blamed for turning down the offer which is so nebulous as to its eventual shape....we refuse to believe that His Excellency's offer....is the final word and it is for this reason we neither confess disappointment nor pessimism at the rejection of the Viceroy's offer to Mr. Jinnah *as it stands to-day*.....

" *Pioneer* " (*Independent*), *October 1* :— "..... His (Mr. Jinnah's) claim all along has been for justice and fair treatment and he must be careful not to exploit his present advantageous position as to give the impression that he would deny justice and fair treatment to the rest of India.... Any exacerbation of communal feeling in the provinces must surely impede India's war effort, and though we would welcome the inclusion of non-officials in the provincial administrations it must be admitted that there are serious practical difficulties in the way of bringing this about....."

MR. JINNAH'S " BLUFF "

" *Civil & Military Gazette* " (*Independent*), *October 1* :—Lord Linlithgow could not vest in Mr. Jinnah the responsibilities and powers of himself, the Secretary of State for India and the King-Emperor. The real truth is that, in the absence of Congress co-operation, Mr. Jinnah sought to invest the possibility of full League co-operation with a tremendously enhanced value ; but his bluff failed against the statesmanship of Lord Linlithgow.....

" *Times of India* " (*Independent*), *September 30* :—The most disquieting aspect of the League's attitude is that it seems to show complete unwillingness to work with the majority community in any shape or form.....

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *October 1* :—Imperialism is ever willing to oblige communalism, provided it

works as a disruptive force in our national life, dividing instead of uniting, and thus making the task of holding the country easier for the foreigner. But once it leaves this path and wants to assert itself against Imperialism itself, it is sure to get short shrift His Excellency the Viceroy deserves to be complimented on preserving his equanimity in the face of claims so preposterous .. ..

These misleaders of Muslims may contrast the position as it would have been if they had supported the Congress claim for a National Government, coupled with Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's sporting offer, and the position in which they find themselves today.. The agreement, moreover, would have implied agreed coalitions in the provinces and satisfaction of Muslim claims in this sphere also.....



HINDU MAHASABHA'S RESOLUTION OF SEPTEMBER 22, 1940

" *National Herald* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 25* :— The resolution....reveals that it is not much behind the Congress except that instead of being firm it wobbles quite a lot.....

" *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 25* :—While the individual demands of the Hindu Mahasabha are right and proper, provided communal representation is accepted as the basis of the constitution of the State, we see no justification whatever for the Working Committee of the Mahasabha discarding the principle of democracy and national freedom and expressing its readiness to work out the scheme of an expanded Executive Council, provided it is given its due share of representation in it..... If both bodies stick to their position, the scheme of an expanded Executive Council must be regarded as already dead and only waiting for a decent burial.

" *Pioneer* " (*Independent*), *September 25* :—"....These demands and counter-demands by the premier communal organisations in the country constitute a problem more complex than that created for Lord Linlithgow by the Congress.....The Muslim League has nothing to fear from the Mahasabha. Members of the two organisations are working together on war committees and their more extended co-operation at this time—and in so worthy a cause—may well form the basis of a lasting alliance. Will Mr. Jinnah rise to the occasion ?

" *Hindu* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *September 23* :—If the principle of composing the Government of the country on a communal basis is conceded, it will be very difficult indeed to resist the logic of the Mahasabha's demand. If it is

repudiated, the ground would be cut from under the feet of the Muslim League. Indeed, the entire administrative experience of the past quarter of a century cries out against the folly of imagining that anything like a stable, equitable and satisfactory Government can be established by converting the Executive Council into a communal bear-garden. .. So it looks as if the expanded Executive Council will go the way of all the ' settled facts ' with the wrecks of which India's political history is littered.

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 25* :—We find that already there is every prospect of an unpleasant situation arising on what may be termed a division of the spoils ..... Nobody can deny that the Hindu Mahasabha's claim is perfectly justified and the Mahasabha has been just and generous in according separate representation to the Sikhs and the Scheduled castes.....

COUNTERBLAST TO MUSLIM LEAGUE

" *Nagpur Times* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *September 24* :—The Hindu Mahasabha has given an effective counter-blast to the hyper-communal demands of the Muslim League with regard to the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the War Advisory Committee..... In the tidal waves of demands and counter-demands the scheme stands submerged and is in imminent danger of being ship-wrecked.

" *Searchlight* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 25* :—The pet schemes of the British Government and the Viceroy, to expand the Viceroy's Executive Council and to set up a War Advisory Council are not likely to have smooth sailing..... A solution on communal lines is an impossibility and any attempt to divide the people on a communal basis is bound ultimately to recoil on the heads of the very persons and bodies who seek to gain temporary advantage by exploiting communal differences.....

" *Leader* " (*Independent*), *September 25* :—While safe-guarding the legitimate interests of the Hindus they have evinced a spirit of broad nationalism.. ... If Congress intransigence has thrown the Government into the arms of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State by their pronouncements have succeeded, we would fain think without any such motive or intention, in widening the gulf that separates the two communities. We shall not be surprised if the outcome of the present confusion should be a decision by the Secretary of State and the Governor-General to let well alone lest it become worse .....

" *Indian Affairs* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *September 26* :—And the Government—which is perhaps the least unlikely—might see in these wrangles the best opportunity for indefinite postponement or virtual abandonment of the

whole scheme of expanding the Viceroy's Council. But whatever happens, the Mahasabha will have succeeded in its purpose. Either it will foil the whole plan, or enter the Council in reasonable strength. The consequences of the Congress policy will not be allowed to affect the Hindu community adversely.....

" *Indian Social Reformer* " (*Independent*), *September 28* :— We do not see anything wrong in the Mahasabha's insistence on representation in the Viceroy's Council and in the Advisory War Council on a population basis, once the Muslim League claim for equality has been raised. When every other community is pushing its claims and more than its claims it is absurd to expect the Hindu Mahasabha, which is pledged to safeguard Hindu interests, to adopt a self-denying attitude at this juncture....."

" **Eastern Times** " **(Pro-Muslim League), September 27 : It has formulated the most unreasonable demands as the basis of its co-operation..... Political effrontery could go no further.....**

" *Free Press Journal* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 30* :— As for the Mahasabha, their demands multiplied by three and shouted through a megaphone..... It is all Addition gone Awry and Multiplication gone Mad.....

VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF AUG. 8, 1940

" *Statesman* " (*Independent*), *August 8, 1940* :—It is now a programme not an offer. If men really representative of the great political forces can agree to work together in the Viceroy's Government it can be a National Government, free from Whitehall's control from the start..... There is not only willing acceptance of the idea of a Constituent Assembly to produce the future constitution, but there is acceptance in the purest form..... Let the boycotter boycott and the co-operator co-operate. The end will be the same.

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *Aug. 8, 1940* :—The original offer has been modified to a certain extent, but this is clearly a modification and in no sense an improvement. Not only to enable India to take a far more active part in the war but to ensure that, whatever course this war takes, there will be in India a Government based on the consent of the people and possessing their fullest confidence, makes a Provisional National Government imperative.

A Government which derives its authority from an outside source and whose very existence is dependent on the coercion of majority and minorities alike is to perpetuate its own rule on the specious plea that the authority of a Government broad-based on the will of the vast majority of the people of this country is likely to be challenged by vociferous and spurious sections of minorities. There is no promise anywhere that the conclusions of the body to be set up after the war

will be accepted by the Government..... The future is dark and uncertain, but who knows, out of the darkness of the night may emerge the dawn of our freedom.

" *Civil & Military Gazette* " (*Independent*), *Aug. 8, 1940* :—India is to be given concrete proof of the good intentions of the British Government . ... Those who withhold their help, must, however, be prevented from wrecking such advance as now becomes possible with the assistance of co-operating elements. It is likely that the very isolation of the declared wreckers, consequent on the implementation of the present scheme, will aggravate their bitterness and enhance their opposition.

The "Leader" (*Independent*), *Aug. 10, 1940*, opines that His Majesty's Government " should have immediately recognized the country's status as a dominion in respect of all international and inter-imperial matters, leaving the internal problem for settlement later on." But the paper points out that against the formation of a provisional national government at the centre, " there are weighty internal and external reasons of a very practical nature."

" The Viceroy has virtually conceded the principle of self-determination. There is evidence of His Majesty's Government's earnest desire to associate representative non-officials closely with the war effort of the Government."

" NO MENTION OF DOMINION STATUS "

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *Aug. 9, 1940* :—The British Government appear to be now anxious to enlist the support and sympathy of the Indian people over the head of India's greatest political organisation....nowhere is it indicated, by so much as even a word, that this new Constitution (to be drafted after the war) will embody Dominion Status..... The Congress demand for the installation of a national Government as much differs from it as a horse does from a donkey....." The paper sees in the part of the statement relating to large and powerful minorities "an attempt to placate the party that wants to break India's unity.... ."

" *Times of India* " (*Independent*), *Aug. 8, 1940* :—The statement " is designed to put India's political affairs on a practical basis....is primarily intended to give to India's war effort a unity of national purpose....." " A more complete minority safeguard could scarcely be desired " than that contained in the statement. The statement goes " far beyond the promises contained in the Viceroy's Orient Club speech."

The paper, however, regrets that there are " omissions from the statement; in some instances clarification is necessary."

" We still think that a specified time for the attainment of Dominion Status should have been given even if it is—strictly speaking—constitutionally unsound." But " taken as a whole, the statement concedes the essence of what even the Congress has in the past steadily demanded. "

" *National Herald* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 9, 1940* :—If even there was a chance of Soviet Russia joining forces with Britain, it will now completely disappear . . . The door has been banged, barred and bolted . If it is the supreme desire of His Majesty's Government to prosecute the war effort, without first fulfilling the demands of an overwhelming majority of the Indian people, it is the solemn duty of the latter to render it futile and impossible. The wilderness is calling, and we shall answer the call.

" *Eastern Times* " (*Pro-Muslim League*), *Aug. 9, 1940* :—So far as the interests of minorities are concerned, it is satisfactory to learn that they are not to be coerced by the British Government into submission to the majority. There is, however, no advance as regards the constitutional position of India. . . .

" *Searchlight* " (*Pro-Congress*), *Aug. 9, 1940* :—The Viceroy's statement, to tell the truth, gives us the impression that His Majesty's Government have at last mustered up courage to defy Indian opinion and sentiments.

" MAGINOT LINE OF IMPERIALISM "

The " Free Press Journal " (*Pro-Congress*), *Aug. 9, 1940*, says that the statement constitutes the minorities as the " Maginot Line of Imperialism—special fortifications against Nationalism. . . . . The tone, temper, and content of the statement constitute a concise reaffirmation of the old Imperialist claims."

" *Hindusthan Standard* " (*Pro-Congress*), *Aug. 9, 1940* :—Is has unceremoniously dismissed the demand of the Congrest practically for all time to come. . . . even Dominion Status is not pledged now or immediately after the war. . . . . By means of this statement the British Government have practically placed the veto in the hands of the Muslim League, the Princes and such other reactionary parties . . . . . Supposing, however, that the impossible is achieved and an agreement reached, that does not mean that the British Government will accept the scheme in full.

" *Bombay Chronicle* " (*Pro-Congress*), *Aug. 9, 1940* :—The Viceroy's offer could be said to have made some reasonable approach to the demand if he had fixed an agreed time limit for the inauguration of a free and equal partnership. . . . The third demand of the Congress for the immediate installation of a National Government of popular responsible Ministers at the Centre is a demonstrable test of Government's sincerity in promising free and equal partnership to India on the conclusion of the war. . . . .

The "Hindu" (*Nationalist Independent*), *Aug. 8, 1940*, asks whether the constitutional scheme after the war is to confer forthwith on India the functions, power, and status of a free Dominion and whether, if an agreement is found impossible, the whole question will be allowed to lapse indefinitely on this ground. No thought seems to have been given to the alternative that was urged, namely, that such matters as Defence, External Affairs, British commercial interests and the States "could best be dealt with by Britain and India entering into freely negotiated treaties on the Irish or the Egyptian model, which treaties could be incorporated into the Constitution framed by Indians themselves on the basis of Swaraj..... For the first time, in a considered statement of policy, His Majesty's Government speak as if it were axiomatic that the position not only of religious minorities but also of *political* minorities should be safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change.....

Would it be right and proper for the Government to coerce the vast majority of Indians . . . into acquiescing in their present subordination to Britain or accepting whatever the minorities choose to let them have ?

"MARKED PROGRESS ON TWO POINTS"

"*The Indian Social Reformer*" (*Independent*), *Aug. 10, 1940*, notes that on two points the Declaration indicates "marked progress." "The objective now declared is the more comprehensive, and to our mind more definite, concept of 'free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth'....

"But there is little to show whether this constitution is to be based on the ideas of equality and freedom in the Empire or whether it is entirely unconnected with the objective for the attainment of which no time limit is placed..... For our part, we fail to see why the discussion of the constitutional position should be deferred till the War ends....." The second important gain "is the shaking off of the Hoare incubus after five years of determined opposition....." Referring to the clause relating to Britain's "obligations" the paper remarks : "This unfortunate clause undoes any good effect which the statement as a whole might have had on the country....."

"*Daily Gazette*" (*Independent*), *Aug. 9, 1940* :—His Majesty's Government should also tell us that they mean to reach their objectives at the earliest feasible moment after the war. There is, however, no such pledge, no such prospect held out in the Viceregal statement. The Viceroy's pronouncement means that the British Government have decided to take a retrograde step instead of adapting themselves to the pressing needs of the present world situation..... The only redeeming feature of Lord Linlithgow's statement is the declaration that the Governor-General's Council will be ex-

panded.....and that an Advisory Committee will be set up.....

"*Nagpur Times*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 19, 1940*:—Those who claim to find the germs of a Constituent Assembly in this statement are incorrigible..... The "free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth" for which we have to wait till the Greek Calends is no proper response.... A pretence of association of popular leaders is badly needed, as a sop to satisfy American opinion. But Americans will certainly size up the situation by piercing through the facade.....

"*The Mail*" (*Independent*), *August 8, 1940*:—It contains the germ of a national government in the centre..... The War Advisory Committee can greatly influence, if not actually shape, the Central Government's war policy and programme.. Unity, based on mutual confidence, is the condition precedent to constitutional progress in India.... The goal is clearly stated. There is no ambiguity about it.....

"*Indian Express*" (*Pro-Congress*), *August 9*:—It amounts to a vain escapist effort to move past the Indian problem. The present announcement is aggressive in the sense that Britain appears as the champion of minorities in India.... Whether the war be long or short, the fateful decision has now to be taken, if not already taken by the Congress, whether pernicious substitutes should be allowed to wield power in the name of 'representative Indians.'

"GOVERNMENT OF THE MINORITY"

"*Tribune*" (*Pro-Congress*), *August 10, 1940*:—No part bears the hallmark of Mr. Churchill's genius..... The moral authority of the present system of government in India has been denied by the largest and most powerful elements in India's national life....but we are not aware that that fact ever prevented the British Government from continuing to function..... What is the Government that they are going to set up at the centre except the Government of the minority buttressed up by their own authority?

"*Statesman*" (*Independent*), *August 11, 1940*:—This is neither more nor less than a suggestion to Indians that here and now they should begin to create their own machinery for devising a Constituent Assembly, or whatever other agreed body they can produce, to draft a constitution for India.....

"*Bombay Chronicle*" (*Pro-Congress*), *August 10, 1940*:—There is room for compromise on details and Congress has shown itself ready for such. But there can be no talk of co-operation or compromise when Government's offer is nowhere near the Congress demand.

"*Sind Observer*" (*Pro-Congress*), *August 9, 1940*:—British statesmen have a talent for marrying morality with self-

interest and finding ethical justification for impossible attitudes they may be driven to adopt..... Let them say plainly that we shall be a free and equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations, at the conclusion of the war .....

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* "(*Pro-Congress*), *August 11, 1940* :— The proposed enlargement of the Viceroy's Executive Council can only be considered as nothing more or less than a more efficient machinery to exploit the resources of India for the purposes of the war.

CONTEXT.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE OF AUGUST 14, 1940

Comment on the debate held on August 14 in Parliament on His Excellency the Viceroy's statement of August 8, 1940.

" *Statesman* " (*Independent*), *August 16* :—We doubt if the Secretary of State has understood that the Congress, which for some years boycotted the whole Montagu-Chelmsford constitution and has at intervals renewed that boycott and of late again kept its members away from the Assembly, has now offered as a war measure of co-operation—provided responsibility is transferred from Westminster to India—to accept the central legislature provided under the 1919 Constitution minus the official element as the legislature to which the Government shall, in fact if not in law, be responsible.

That is a real concession on its part. The proposal, if we understand it right, is to use the present Houses without an Assembly general election ..... We see nothing rash or dangerous in such a war measure but, on the contrary, to reject such a solution would savour of timid and disastrous statesmanship unsuited to the times. A coalition Government resting on the present legislature is surely as reasonable a proposal as India is ever likely to see. If the official *bloc* of some 26 members were to disappear the present nominated unofficial members, numbering about 14, might in whole or in part also be asked to retire and their places given to representatives from the Indian States..... In this way in wartime a miniature of Federation might be obtained. .....

" *Times of India* " (*Independent*), *August 17* :—" It was hoped that a specific assurance would be given on the issue raised by Mr. Aney and others, namely, that a few disgruntled people among the minorities would not be allowed to block India's political progress. Emphasis should also have been laid on Parliament's duty generally to accept the constitution drawn up by a fully representative Indian Assembly, while fuller information about the enlargement of the Governor-General's Council and the temporary wartime arrangement at the Centre is eminently desirable.

" *Pioneer* " (*Independent*), *August 16* :—The Government must get on with the job of marshalling India's resources to the maximum extent possible, and make it clear to those who are not with it that unless they acquire, if they do not possess, the wisdom to stand aside, they choose the line of obstruction at their peril.

" ACCEPT BRITAIN'S OFFER "

" *Leader* " (*Independent*), *August 17* :—However one may deplore internal dissensions, one cannot shut one's eyes to their existence .. We do not deny that the past policy of the Government is responsible for the existence of some of these difficulties.. ... It is, in our view, sincerely seeking to find a way out. .... If Britain's victory is desirable in India's own interests, then Britain's offer ought to be accepted. .....

" *Free Press Journal* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 19* :—Parliament has come to be so stereotyped that no vital decision can spring from its debates on India..... .

The " *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 17*, says the tone of the debate was conciliatory but asserts that Mr. L. S. Amery exaggerated the strength of those who deny the claim of the Congress. " If British acknowledgement of India's right to frame her own constitution is contingent on Mr. Jinnah's support, then it will be franker and more straightforward on their part to declare publicly that it is impossible for India ever to attain Dominion status and that she shall never attain it. ."

" SUGGESTION EMANATED FROM MINORITIES "

The " *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 16*, explains why the Congress " asked for a National Government composed of all parties represented in the legislature as a whole," and says that " the suggestion emanated from the minorities and the Congress merely agreed to it, as it met the vital need for transfer of power.....

In its next issue the paper says that " the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards the question of minorities, if anything, deepens our suspicions about their real intentions." It supports Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's opinion that " British policy in this respect has definitely taken a line that is rapidly developing a permanent atmosphere for civil war.... The situation is so desperate that even if a catastrophe could stop the progress of this disastrous rot we should welcome it..... And now comes Amery....telling us that the Muslims are not a minority but an entity....."

In the Constituent Assembly, says the paper, the Congress is prepared to allow Muslim representatives to be elected by separate electorates and, in the event of differences as regards safeguards, has suggested arbitration .

The " *Bombay Chronicle* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 17*, says that Mr. Amery's clarification of some of the points of His Excellency the Viceroy's statement " gives one the impression that the offer has far more traps in it than one suspected at first." It asks : " Is it possible to get a whole nation to make all sorts of sacrifices for other men's freedom when its own freedom is at the mercy of an alien imperialist nation ?"

It asserts that " at every stage it is made possible either for the Government or the Princes or a few minority 'leaders' put up by Government to veto the decisions of the majority. Even if any decision should emerge from the body, subject to so many conditions, those decisions will be only " the main framework of the future constitution of India. No obligation is expressed to accept even this framework. "

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 18* :— Mr. Amery believes that " entirely novel departures " may have to be made from the existing scheme of democratic constitution " which is based on the traditions of India's administrative past and on our customary British constitutional conceptions." How strongly similar is this idea to that recently promulgated by Mr. Jinnah.

" *National Herald* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 17* :—The simple truth is that if popular support is wanted a popular Government alone would receive it.. .. The British Government are planning more superb strategy against India and the Congress than against Hitler. Only it might miscarry—like the Maginot Line, without the safety exit of Dunkirk... ...

" *Daily Gazette* " (*Independent*), *August 16* :—In emphasising the fact that India's national unity, or at least the substance of it, should precede India's national freedom Mr. Amery has merely expressed a truism writ large in the pages of history.....

" *Indian Express* " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 16* :—The Viceroy's offer is unsatisfactory, but all the same, the advantages of exploiting the opportunities implicit in it are considerable, especially with the present prospect of a long and protracted war throwing upon India responsibilities which, as a practical proposition, Indians cannot afford to ignore or expect to escape..... "

ADVICE TO CONGRESS

" *Hindu* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 15* :—It has, we are afraid, definitely worsened a situation which was already bad enough in all conscience..... If any one of the 'large and powerful elements in India's national life'... makes up its mind not to agree to the setting up of the Constitution-framing body, that body may not come into existence at all.... .His statement nowhere declares that the British Government will regard it as their responsibility to summon the Constitution-framing body....."

The paper further says that India " cannot acquiesce in what really amounts to an indefinite denial of that freedom.." It is up to the Congress to consider changes in strategy or tactics to show to the world unmistakably that it does voice the aspirations of the country. The need of the hour, the paper urges, " is a positive and constructive plan of action for making the public understand the issues involved, for

inducing the minorities to see that they can best serve their own future by throwing in their lot wholeheartedly with the majority, and for utilising every available opportunity by which the nation's energies may be mobilised in favour of the national demand. The Congress must at all costs gain the initiative once again in the sphere of Indian politics....."

" *Nagpur Times* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *August 17* :— There is a deliberate attempt to isolate the Congress and show it up to the world, especially American opinion..... The minority hare has been started; Simla and Whitehall will hunt it well and pretend that it is no fault of theirs if the Congress refuses co-operation. .... .

The " Hindusthan Standard " (*Pro-Congress*), *August 17*, while expressing its appreciation of the tone of the Secretary of State's speech, opines that " the offer of even Dominion Status is a mere make-believe, the unreality of which has only been made clearer."



CONTEXT.

MR. AMERY'S SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 25, 1940

Comments on the Secretary of State's speech at the Overseas League, London, on September 25, 1940.

" *Civil & Military Gazette* " (*Independent*), *September 27* :- -Mr. Amery has hit the nail on the head by pointing out the illogicality of the position which the Congress has now taken up in regard to the war. .. ..

" *National Herald* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 27* :— Mr. L. S. Amery would be saving his soul and serving the cause of truth and decency if he would but stop speaking on India.. Nowhere has the treacherous fabrication and multiplication of the difficulties of the Indian problems so violently recoiled on the head of the British Government than in the present instance of the Viceroy's Executive Council expansion. .....

" *Bombay Chronicle* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 28* :— Mr. Amery's latest speech practically vindicates the revocation of the Congress offer..... If there is any difference between Mr. Amery's latest speech and his previous ones, it is one of degree in his emphasis on, and exaggeration of the differences among Indians. .....

" *Free Press Journal* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 27* :— Mr. Amery has learnt to be more tactful..... Mental reservations, distrust, and unwillingness to part with power stand in the way. If Whitehall and Simla can free themselves from the clutches of these monsters, they will find in Gandhiji not a meticulous bargainer but a generous and enthusiastic collaborator.....

" *Sind Observer* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September, 27* :—" On the eve of Mahatma Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy there is no purpose in the speech made by Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, except it be to sabotage any

understanding that may be arrived at in advance, and to assure Mr. Jinnah that His Majesty's Government stand by the undertaking given to him and his League that they will be treated as the masters of India's destiny....."

"*The Mail*" (*Independent*), *September 26*:—To ourselves, Mr. Amery's exposition is very comforting for it justifies our expectation that the expanded Executive Council would have an important, we would even venture to say a deciding, influence upon the policy and practice of the Central Government.....

"*Hindu*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *September 26*:—The truth, of course, is that Britain has no intention of giving India's representatives anything like real power..... whatever happens Indian nationalism will not allow itself to be elbowed out of the way 'for the duration'. Britain must make terms with it and the earlier she does so the better for all concerned.

"PROPAGANDA"

"*Searchlight*" (*Pro-Congress*), *September 28*:—Mr. Amery is much too serious-minded and over-worked a statesman to waste time and energy over a purposeless bout of words.... The speech had a purpose and the purpose was propaganda.... Mr. Amery's thesis is the despair of those who have not yet given up hope of an enduring Indo-British understanding.... It is adding insult to injury to hold up Indians as their own worst enemies, indeed, as the proverbial villains of the piece...

"*Pioneer*" (*Independent*), *September 28*:—It will be read with interest (and relief) by the many who were anxious for further elucidation of the Viceroy's proposals, in order to learn when this country may expect to attain Dominion Status.

"*Star of India*" (*Pro-Muslim League*), *September 28*:—Mr. Amery said the 'great Muslim minority refuses to entrust its fate to the control of a permanent Hindu majority'..... It is gratifying to learn that the British Government have come to realise this fact. What is the alternative?....The admission made by the Secretary of State for India leaves only the *Pakistan* scheme as a solution.....

"*Hindusthan Standard*" (*Independent*), *September 29*:—We are somewhat tired of Mr. Amery's speeches. He has an unfortunate but a convenient knack of beating about the bush for an indefinite length of time and his latest speech is no exception to the rule.... It is highly significant that Mr. Amery is not willing to take the risk of a Constituent Assembly. And to empower a minority to veto a Constitution is no less significant than this, for it is obvious what the attitude of the Muslim League, for instance, would be in this circumstance. It is commonsense that it will simply refuse to come to an agreement unless its desire to divide the country is satisfied.

" *Times of India* " (*Independent*), *September 27* :— Mr. Amery has given a remarkably clear, reasonable and friendly exposition of the British Government's attitude towards India. . . .

" Hindustan Times " (Pro-Congress), September 28 : As for a Nazi victory meaning the end of our " cherished hopes of constitutional progress, " Mr. Amery has seen to it that India has not to worry much over it, by himself ending all our hopes. He has refused to leave for the Nazis what he himself could do so well. .

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 30* :— They must show the world—or rather that part of the world whose opinion they value—that, if the Congress is irreconcilable it is not due to any unreasonable attitude on the part of the British Government or any unwillingness of them ' to meet India's aspirations ' Mr. Amery will deserve the sincerest congratulations from all enemies of Great Britain for the vigour and plausibility with which he has employed these arguments in support of her present Indian policy. . . .

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *September 27* :—In spite of Mr. Amery's protestations, it is difficult to avoid the impression that the British Government are deliberately encouraging fissiparous tendencies. . . . with the background of our realities, this amounts to nothing more or less than an alien-cum-minority combination to crush the vast majority. This bowdlerized version of the Quisling technique will deceive neither India nor the world. . . . . .

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PRESS REACTIONS : EXPANSION OF INDIA'S ARMED FORCES

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CONTEXT.

Press comment on the communique (May 25, 1940) on the expansion of the Indian Army and the Indian Air Force.

EXPANSION OF INDIAN ARMY AND AIR FORCE

"*Hindustan Times*" (*Pro Congress*), *May 26*: Do they feel that in putting their pitiful plan into effect they have done their duty to this and their country—for we believe they are not only Imperialists but patriots as well?....If we tell the tin gods at Simla that they are not the people who can save India from the horrors of a totalitarian war and that the best and only way they can safeguard the security of the country is to sacrifice their seals of office and make way for a really National Government which will have the backing of the people, we shall be telling the bare truth.

"*National Herald*" (*Pro-Congress*), *May 28*: The loyalists who have been expecting the Government to launch a wide and imagination-striking scheme of Indian defence have received a cold douche. The week-end *communiqué*....is, frankly, a war measure, that is to say, it is necessarily limited and of a temporary character and, presumably, the wartime expansion will be cut down as soon as the hostilities are over. For aught we know, the strategic frontiers of India, according to British experts, may today be the shores of the Mediterranean and tomorrow the banks of the Maine...The country is to have not a democratic Indian army, but a mere expansion of the present Defence, Territorial and State forces under foreign control.

INDIANISATION

"*Bombay Chronicle*" (*Pro-Congress*), *May 29*: All this may mean much or little: it all depends upon the precise figures involved...The people's suspicion is inevitable that the Indianisation of the higher ranks of Defence is only a make-believe and the figures are withheld from the public just because they are too small to satisfy the people.

"*Amrita Bazar Patrika*" (*Pro-Congress*), *May 28*: All measures for the defence of India from outside aggression should be welcomed.

"*Civil & Military Gazette*" (*Independent*), *May 26*: The announcement indicates that at least some of the initial difficulties in the way of the expansion of the Army in India have been overcome, and there will be rejoicing in many quarters—particularly in the North—that at last an

opportunity may arise for the privilege of fighting against Hitlerism.

" *Pioneer* " (*Independent*), *May 28* : This is no time to criticise past omissions. The main thing is to get on with the defence preparations without a moment's delay. It is heartening to be told that orders have already been issued to implement the plans which aim at meeting external aggression... The only danger which threatens the success of the scheme comes from the Congress. Wishful thinking on the part of its leaders is the despair of all statesmen in the country.

NOT SUFFICIENTLY REASSURING

" *Statesman* " (*Independent*), *May 27 :* This is good, but not sufficiently reassuring... What matters is the pace and the determination. Does ' forthwith ' mean that each new air squadron will take several years to form and that only one at a time can be undertaken ? That was the view enunciated by the Defence Secretary six months after war had broken out. Moreover, it is not reassuring to be told that India's " maximum capacity " is in relation to " the limitations of her indigenous resources " and such assistance as can be obtained from overseas. It is not in that spirit that limitations are overcome, and while it is no doubt nice to know that the Government of India are glad to think the raising of these forces will give increased opportunity for the increased employment of Indians in commissioned and other ranks, this last seems singularly ill-chosen language in which to call upon Indians to help in making a national army to defend the country.

" *Hindusthan Standard* " (*Pro-Congress*), *May 29* : The paper remarks that " even the *Statesman* is not wholly satisfied " with the *communique.* It asks : " What hope is there for a substantial expansion of the air force in the immediate future " if the Defence Secretary's " plea ", made a few months ago, is still shared by the Government of India in the Army Department, namely, "that the formation of only one squadron could be undertaken at a time and that it would require several years to form each new air squadron "? In regard to the expansion of the defence forces depending on the limitations of indigenous resources in *material,* the paper asks the Government of India to " explain the situation fully and unreservedly to the country."

" *The Mail* " (*Independent*), *May 25* : The *communique*... indicates that the Government of India have at last awakened to the imperative need for mobilising the resources of the nation in its defence.

" FOLLOW EXAMPLE OF DOMINIONS "

" *Leader* " (*Independent*), *May 29*: We welcome the decision.... The future status of India depends more on her

preparedness than on more declarations of Secretaries of State regarding the goal of British policy in India. What plans the Government adopt to achieve preparedness remains to be seen... We suggest that in the new forces to be formed an adequate proportion of commissions should be reserved for Indians. It is also essential that the present classification of Indians into martial and non-martial communities should be abandoned. Australia will soon become self-sufficient in respect of the supply of war equipment. India cannot do better than follow the example of the Dominions. One important matter to which we should like to draw attention is that Indians occupy a very subordinate position in the Government ordnance factories.... It is to be hoped that the Government's proposed plan....will include some provision for the Indianisation of the ordnance services.

"*Nagpur Times*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *May 30*: The decision... will serve to allay in some measure the anxiety in the minds of the people regarding the defence of the country.... Unless in the new forces to be formed an adequate proportion of commissions is reserved for Indians, vague talk will carry us nowhere.... The classification of Indians into martial and non-martial must go....Another point that deserves emphasis is the manufacture of war materials in the country.

"*Indian Affairs*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *May 30*: The decision....will be universally welcomed....Vast leeway has to be made up overnight. It speaks volumes for the defence policy followed hitherto in India. It is clear that so gigantic an effort as the defence equipment of India to her uttermost can be accomplished much more easily than can be imagined, if political policy were not so tragically obsolete.

"*Times of India*" (*Independent*), *May 30*: The response will be all the more spontaneous since it will be required for a great step forward in meeting the need for India's relative self-dependence in defence which has long been demanded....The Government of India, we dare say, will be happily surprised at the readiness with which the Indian people will dig into their pockets to find the money for this purpose.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING

"*Tribune*" (*Pro-Congress*), *May 30*: "It is impossible for the British Government to take adequate steps in the matter (India's self-defence) unless and until they have made up their mind definitely to give India the independence she wants, not at some far-off day, but almost immediately....If the world situation deteriorates progressively, as it has been doing, then the safety both of India and Britain will lie in the acceptance of this suggestion (compulsory military training and service for all adults). But the gap between the pursuit of this policy and the present position is so big that the Government might well make a beginning with a less bold step-

But even such a step must far exceed the extremely halting measure now proposed by the Government of India, which gives no indication of an adequate realisation by them either of the needs of India herself or the gravity of the world situation.

"*Searchlight*" (*Pro-Congress*), *May 28*: The decision to expand and equip forces to the maximum capacity is, on the very face of it, an executive order and makes no pretence of having been the result of any consultation of Indian opinion. Even the *Statesman* is appalled by the language of the Government's *communique*. But this is the language of Imperialism—patronizing condescension is the spirit underlying it. Let us hope, however, things are not really what they seem to be and that the crust of official formalism of language conceals a new awakening and a newer approach. We will, however, sound a warning note. If they think they can presume upon and exploit India's forbearance and generosity for long, they are proving themselves to be simpletons too weak to carry on their shoulders the burdens and responsibilities of statesmanship.

DEFENCE EXPANSION

LEADERS' VIEWS ON COMMUNIQUE

SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Bombay Liberal, (May 27), complained that England "has in the past somehow discouraged the training of Indians for military services" and said that what they had been able to do in England since September last "ought to have been done in India even on a smaller scale." He urged "compulsory military training and service for all adults, as is the case in Japan."

Sir Henry Gidney, M.L.A. (Central) and Leader of the Anglo-Indian community, appealed to Anglo-Indians "to respond whole-heartedly and unconditionally to the Government of India's war defence scheme by joining up in every opportunity offered us."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, in an article in the "Indian Review" (reproduced in the Searchlight, Patna, June 5), observed: "If these orders are carried out in the spirit and for the purpose of arousing truly national feeling and producing a national army, navy and air force and ultimately of evolving a national spirit of resistance of the enemy and of comradeship and joint action for common purposes, then there is room for rejoining. But the fruition of the hope depends on the willingness of the British and the Indians to work against time, to work with will, and to work in union."

Mr. Bashir Ahmed Sayeed, Muslim M.L.A., thought that the scheme would afford "enough opportunities for all those loyal young men who want to serve their country in defending it against any aggressor." He added that it was the Government's duty "to make every Indian realise that the defence problem of India is his own affair" and, therefore, he urged the Government to work out its plans in conjunction with autonomous provincial governments.

EUROPEANS' APPEAL

At a "mass meeting of European British subjects," held in Bombay on May 28 under the auspices of the European Association, Mr. (now Sir) Frederick Stones, M. L. C., presiding, resolutions were passed recording the strong feeling of the community that "every European British subject who is able to undertake the obligation should enrol in the Auxiliary Force," and strongly recommending that European British subjects unable to undertake "regular military obligations" should be enabled to undertake some special form of training, to be arranged by the military authorities.

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CONTEXT.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S BROADCAST, MAY 31, 1940

PRESS COMMENT

Press comment on H. E. the Commander-in-Chief's broadcast from Simla on May 31, 1940.

"*Hindustan Times*" (*Pro-Congress*), *June 2:* India today is extremely vigilant and knows that against any totalitarian menace of the sort which faced Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Holland, her defences will crumble like a castle of cards. Writing with a full sense of responsibility to our people, we have to say that the persons on whose shoulders rests the burden today of safeguarding the safety and security of this country are tinkering with it in a way which does not bode good for our security. Can this Government who have squandered enormous funds in the past and yet have not made our defences even reasonably strong enough to meet the dangers which threaten us, call upon the people to pay more

money in order to carry on in the same old way? We are convinced that the defence of India is not a responsibility which the present Government can discharge with any success. The sooner they go and are replaced by a really National Government, the better it will be for the security of the country.

"*National Herald*" (*Pro-Congress*), *June 4, 1940*: The army authorities in India are still living in a land of unreality and illusions. Why is an army of millions not being raised? The obvious answer is the scheme is not related to genuine national defence. It is of an *ad hoc* character, intended more as an Imperial asset than as a vital factor for the external defence of the country. The Commander-in-Chief was not good enough to state in his broadcast whether the old sinister classification of martial and non-martial races will be retained or abolished. . . . The fear complex was worked up in the usual manner. There cannot be a worse approach to the problem of defence. India's security should be considered apart from the British Empire's.

"LEISURELY ATTITUDE"

"*Statesman*" (*Independent*), *June 4*: If this is to be the whole of our final war effort, however grim the struggle becomes and however long the war lasts, then not only are we shamed but we might be forgiven for thinking that in the swift moving conditions of modern war there is terrible danger for India in slow-moving minds..... If our authorities realise the importance of helping Britain as far as possible by relieving her in her effort to cover India from the Middle East, why is there this leisurely attitude towards the direct defence of India herself? Let the Army authorities take heart. Let them believe and assume that India is prepared to work and give with enthusiasm and in the spirit of sacrifice. Let them thank her for that with gratitude, and in return pledge their word that they will spare no efforts and, what is more, will set no limit to their efforts or to India's efforts.

"*Bombay Chronicle*" (*Pro-Congress*), *June 3, 1940*: The proposed expansion of the defence forces seems considerable and satisfactory, so far as it goes. But it does not go far enough. It is not the military machine that matters but national will, national cohesion, national unity and national integrity that today are throwing the challenge to the forces of International Fascism and the disintegration for which it furnishes stimuli.

AIRCRAFT FACTORIES

"*Leader*" (*Independent*), *June 5*: There is necessity of Government doing vastly more than it proposes to do, and this without avoidable waste of time, in co-operation with

Indians ready to co-operate... May it be hoped that the black units scheme has now been abandoned for ever? Is it impossible to establish a few aircraft factories in the country? Their establishment should not be difficult if the co-operation of the manufacturers of aircraft in Britain is secured. They may be asked to establish them in India and supply the necessary technical skill and knowledge....The Government should announce what the estimated expenditure (on the new defence measures) will be. Since the scheme is being undertaken in the interest of the country, the Indian States should be asked to contribute their quota to it. There is not much room for additional taxation, but it cannot be avoided. Other means should also be explored for raising the necessary funds, such as reasonable contributions by local bodies and provincial Governments. Large sums of money have been offered by a number of States for war purposes. With their consent they can be diverted to the measures for India's own defence....The appeal (to help the Allies) has our whole-hearted support. At the same time, let the Defence Department do nothing which will create dissatisfaction among the people. They have not followed in the past a very liberal policy in respect of the position of Indians in the defence services. We hope no occasion will be given for complaints on this score.

"TINKERING WITH PROBLEM"

"*Pioneer*" (*Independent*), *June 4*: Do the Commander-in-Chief's advisers seriously consider 100,000 men and four air squadrons an adequate reinforcement to meet the danger of a foreign invasion? The unimaginative Defence Department has failed to realise the gravity of the situation. It has merely tinkered with the problem. What stands in the way of building up, here and now, a defence force on which the country may really depend for protection? The Commander-in-Chief will not find them (Indian industrialists) wanting if they are asked to manufacture 'planes in the country in collaboration with the Government....The main thing is to build 'planes, more 'planes and still more 'planes, and to train their crews.

"*Nagpur Times*" (*Nationalist Independent*), *June 4*: The Government seems to be more concerned with having a smooth war machine in India than with conciliating the people. What a difference it would make and how much galvanised into activity the country will be, if, instead of the mechanical humdrum appeal, there is a clarion call by the leaders of the people who are promised Swaraj at the end of the war.

"*Hindusthan Standard*" (*Pro-Congress*), *June 2*: We have no desire to minimise the importance of what is contemplated in the present scheme; we welcome the proposal ....but only on the principle of welcoming something as better than nothing... There is no indication that the persistent demand of the Indian public for the Indianisation of the

Army is going to be recognised in its entirety. . . . It is not at all clear, again, if the most objectionable discrimination between the so-called martial and non-martial races is going still to be preserved. Bengal. . . will rise to a man in protest if the discrimination is persisted in against her, even at this hour of crisis. . . . A national army cannot be raised in India without national goodwill and we have yet to learn how far this fact has been recognised by the Government.

" SINGULARLY UNCONVINCING "

" *Times of India* " (*Independent*), *June 3* : . . . . While freely recognising the work done, by no means too soon, in the sphere of supply, the question must inevitably be asked as to whether it is nearly sufficient. . . . . At a rough computation it is now proposed to expand (the Indian Army) by approximately a further 33 1/3 per cent. Does this figure, large as it may appear in comparison with peacetime establishment, really promise to meet our potential needs ? In the Great War of 1914-18 nearly one-and-a-half million Indians were involved. . . By comparison the present plans are singularly unconvincing.

" *The Mail* " (*Independent*), *June 1* : This, we take it, is only a beginning. In itself it is not sufficient to make India the ' power she deserves to be '. Unless it be regarded as the first step towards giving India the great defence forces the size of her territory and the exposed condition of her coastline require, the increase indicated by the Commander-in-Chief is scarcely justified. . . The Government of India have, belatedly, initiated measures which will, we are sure, have the whole-hearted support of every section of the people of this great country. We see in the general demand for an increase in India's defence forces. . . a promise that there shall be no reluctance to meet the cost of the developments now demanded. This evidence is doubly welcome because it appears in quarters not usually sympathetic towards the Government of India, and severely critical of their general policies. That these critics should endorse this new step is an advantage of exceedingly great value.

" OUR FIGHTING MACHINE IS LOP-SIDED "

" *Hindu* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *June 1* : In regard to the other arms (Air and Sea) there appears to be some recognition that our fighting machine is lop-sided and not quite well-balanced. . . While these percentages (of I. A. F. and R. I. N.) are impressive, they lose something of their significance when actual figures are taken into consideration. . . Sir Robert Cassels has not stated how many of the new officers (of the R. I. N.) are Indians. . . . . the Commander-in-Chief states the number) of officers in the I. A. F. and R. I. N.) may soon be four times that, that is, considerably less than 100 officers and a little over 600 men. Contrast the position with

that in Canada . . . Lack of technicians is not peculiar to India. Other countries experienced it, Australia for instance. But they overcame it . . .

The absence of an aircraft industry in India is due, it is explained, to lack of trained personnel, and the lack of personnel is accounted for by lack of industrial establishments where training might be given ! It is time that His Excellency insisted on this vicious circle being done away with.

Anyway, if the improvements in the naval and air forces now effected or contemplated mean a change in the policy of the Defence Department, a determination to strengthen the air and naval arms, if necessary, by reducing the land army to its proper proportions, and make the defence machine a balanced one, then, they would be universally welcomed in the country."

" BRITAIN SHOULD BEAR COST "

" *Indian Express* " (*Pro-Congress*), *June 2* : The call of the Commander-in-Chief for enlistment in the Indian Army and the expansion of defence measures would be irresistible if, as in other countries at a crisis, it had come as an appeal endorsed by the leaders of the nation . . . The Government should realise the responsibility of furnishing conditions of goodwill that would enable the leaders of the country to give their blessing to the young men who naturally seek their guidance . . . Since fresh recruits are taken at an adverse turn, it is only fair that Britain should bear the cost of training and upkeep for the growing establishment that would eventually remain at the disposal of the War Office.

" *Sind Observer* " (*Pro-Congress*), *June 2* : How long it will take for the air machines to be delivered in India none can say, as the needs of Great Britain are to be served first and foremost in this gigantic war . . . The Commander-in-Chief's speech is on the whole good news. Whether the new armies will be kept within the country for its defence or sent abroad for imperial purposes will not be disclosed by the authorities at present. If there is any danger of invasion of India these troops will, of course, be kept in India, which is some assurance to the people that the Government is at long last thinking of internal and external safety . . . Nowhere did the Commander-in-Chief say who is going to officer this army ; and whether all the Indian provinces will be represented in its composition. This is a very sore point with all the provinces ; and all of them must be satisfied by being asked to contribute their quota of officers and men. There will be a furore in this country, unless it is made known that at least 80 per cent. of these troops will be commanded by Indian officers. If not it will be construed . . . . that what they require at this juncture is more money from the people and more sepoys and not officers to meet an imperial emergency.

" SCHEME TO PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT "

" *Searchlight* " (*Pro-Congress*), *June 5* :—There is one thing sadly lacking in the broadcast and that is the acknowledgment, even by implication, that the defence of India was an Indian responsibility primarily and that Indians were being given a position in defence matters suited to the discharge of that responsibility..... The old policy of distrust continues. So also, it is apparent, the policy of artificial divisions of Indians into martial and non-martial classes. .... . The only change..... is to be in respect of the practice of assigning Indian officers to the Indianised units alone. So far as this is concerned what His Excellency said amounted to a departure but whether permanent or only temporary on account of the exigencies of the war we cannot say ..... the whole scheme as envisaged and as expounded appears to be rather a scheme of promoting employment, however partial, than one of national defence.

" INDIANS MUST BE TREATED AS EQUALS "

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *June 5:*—There is no indication in the speech of the Commander-in-Chief that the distinction between the military and non-military classes will be made to disappear once and for all ..... The speech, again, does not throw much light on the question of the pace of Indianization of officers' ranks.....Indians feel that in the defence of their own country they ought to be allowed to take a predominant part. If, therefore, Great Britain is sincerely anxious for India's whole-hearted cooperation the old policy of opposition to the complete Indianisation of all ranks of the Indian Army will have to be abandoned. Indians must be treated as equals of the people of Great Britain in every sphere.

" *Free Press Journal* " (*Pro-Congress*), *June 5* :—It would be seen that in the absence of a settlement between popular representatives and the authorities, these big efforts will be lacking one essential element of success, namely, popular confidence.

" *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*), *June 3:*—It would be unfair to blame the Commander-in-Chief for the inadequacy of the arrangements. Adequate arrangements in this matter involve provision for military training for the entire youth and manhood of the country and also the placing of the entire resources of the people in case of need at the disposal of the Government. Neither of these things is possible until, at least for this particular purpose, a national Government has taken the place of the present Government. .....

We do wish success to the measures proposed by the Government. But we cannot deceive ourselves or the public into thinking that such measures can ever touch more than the fringe of the question of India's defence in modern warfare.

" FAR GREATER EXPANSION URGENTLY NEEDED "

" *Eastern Times* " (*Pro-Muslim League*), *June 6* :—A far greater expansion of the air force and the navy, recruitment for the Army on a much larger scale and a further speeding up of the manufacture of arms and ammunition are urgently needed if India is to protect herself against her potential enemies in the two continents.

" *Indian Affairs* " *of June 6* contains a special article on the subject by " M " who writes : The public of India will feel a grievance that the authorities have not gone far enough and that little amends have yet been made for the neglect of centuries.

It is a pity that political policy should be so far anachronistic as to assume that a huge war effort could be prosecuted while the whole country is sick at heart. .....

There is no sign in the C.-in-C.'s broadcast that the old and highly artificial divisions of Indians into martial and non-martial classes have been abandoned. Apparently, it still suits the authorities to persist with this joke, though it must cease to be so before long. Moreover, Sir Robert Cassels has not indicated the proportion in which British and Indian officers will be chosen. There is no valid reason why Indian officers should not be appointed to the fullest extent possible.

This necessarily cursory scrutiny of the new defence programme ..... should make it plain that in the new task the Government are not trying to harness the energies of all the people.

" BELATED BUT WELCOME "

" *Daily Gazette* " (*Independent*), *June 6* :—The announcement, although perhaps belated, is welcome, inasmuch as the Commander-in-Chief has responded to the popular demand. The new policy rather grudgingly admits the claims of India (Indianization).

A gesture in the right direction is the announcement by Sir Robert Cassels of the abandonment of the much-hated Eight Units Scheme, and the reference to the eligibility of Indians for appointment in all units.

Unless this restricted policy (distinction, between martial and non-martial classes) is abandoned, the defence of this country will not be placed on a sound footing. The first step in this direction should be to make military training compulsory in schools and colleges. The present is the most opportune time to inaugurate the much-needed reform.....

A far larger Air Force should be the aim of the Defence Department. The Empire Training Scheme, in our view, should be extended to India.

Comments of public men and others on H. E. the Commander-in-Chief's broadcast of May 31, 1940.

KHAN BAHADUR KHUSRO, MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS, Sind Government, addressing a Conference on June 4, welcomed the announcement but regretted that Sind " had been excluded from recruitment." Martial people like the Baluchis of Sind, he said, should be given a chance in the Army.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (Bombay, June 4), considered " the total ultimate enrolment of 100,000 " to be " hopelessly inadequate ", the promised quadrupling of the Indian Air Force " very insufficient ", and the proposed extent of expansion of the Royal Indian Navy also " not sufficient." He said it was difficult to understand why Indians were not allowed to participate in the Empire air training scheme. That Indian officers would be eligible for all units was " welcome though belated." It is also necessary that the recruitment to the defence services should be from all classes of Indians and not confined to the martial classes.

He concluded : " The real crux of the question is that England must be prepared fully to trust India and make Indians thoroughly equipped for the defence of the country. This will create an everlasting bond of genuine goodwill which will link India to the Commonwealth. Any other policy is bound to fail. "

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INCLUSION IN EMPIRE AIR TRAINING SCHEME

The Hon'ble Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Member of the Council of State and President of the Servants of India Society, expressed the opinion (June 2) that the " new policy announced by the C.-in-C." did not " seem to go far enough " and the Government had moved forward but " very grudgingly." The proposal regarding the I. A. F. was " inadequate for India's requirements at this juncture." He urged Government " to proceed at a faster pace with the development of the I. A. F." There was " no reason why Indians should not be allowed to participate in the Empire air training scheme." As regards the Army, " the most important point in the C.-in-C.'s statement is the abandonment of the eight units scheme ".

This reform would mean that Indian commissioned officers would no longer replace Viceroy's commissioned officers as platoon commanders.

" A definite statement to this effect, however, should be made by the Government immediately. British officers should be appointed only when Indian officers are not available. There is no indication as to the proportion of the non-martial classes to be recruited to the Indian Territorial Force. The old policy of confining recruitment to martial classes should be abandoned now and for ever even, in respect of the regular Army. There is no reason why the Government should

persist in the racial policy of giving only one of three vacancies among naval officers to Indians."

He appealed to the Government to give up their " present policy, based on the distrust of Indians, and to place India's defences on a much broader and stronger basis," so that " the enthusiasm of India will be roused to a high pitch which will enable England to draw on the inexhaustible supply of men in India and furnish India herself with highly trained personnel to defend her in her hour of need."

" BURNING WITH DESIRE TO DEFEND COUNTRY "

Mr. Asaf Ali, Secretary of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, said (June 2): It can scarcely be a consolation to those, who are burning with the desire to defend their country that the Defence force is going to be expanded by another 100,000 men and the Indian Air Force be raised from three to 12 flights and Indians will be given their full share in the scheme designed for the provision of officers.

..... The volume of spontaneous enthusiasm which is essential for the raising of a determined and patriotic defence force can scarcely be evoked by old logic.

DEARTH OF SKILLED MECHANICS

In a signed contribution published on the editorial page of the *Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore (June 6), Professor Gulshan Rai,* referring to the dearth of skilled mechanics, observes that it is necessary that the Provincial Industries Department " should at once take up the task of reorganising industrial education." On the proposal to raise 100,000 men, he observes : " It seems that the Government of India does not properly understand the responsibilities of this country in this war." He urges that arrangements be made for giving military training to as large a number of Indians as possible and to produce vast quantities of war material.

DR. MOONJE SUGGESTS WAR BOARD

Dr. B. S. Moonje, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, observes (Nasik, June 4) that the Commander-in-Chief " deserves our thanks for somewhat relaxing the ban on the so-called non-enlisted classes and allowing them to join the Territorial Forces and for dismantling the system of segregation of Indian King's Commissioned Officers being confined to only the Indianised Units ".

He complains that if " time had been taken by the forelock " the handicaps in organising India's defence referred to by His Excellency would not have existed now. He suggests the immediate setting up of a War Board, invested with " very wide powers " and composed of Britons and Indians " to give a stimulus and imagination to our war efforts."

He wants the Board to do the following immediately:

(1) training of a large number of pilots, say 25,000, for all branches of aerial warfare;

(2) removal for ever of the distinction between "enlisted and non-enlisted classes";

(3) an assurance that the "Viceroy's Commissioned Officers will not be dispensed with" in the new scheme of "dispersion of the Indian King's Commissioned Officers throughout the Army";

(4) Indianisation of the Indian Army within 10 or 15 years (maximum) and for this "larger and larger recruitment of Indians" for King's Commissions and arrangements on a "still wider scale for their efficient training."

"DEFENCE COUNCIL FOR EVERY PROVINCE"

Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee, in a speech on June 2 at the District Hindu Conference, Maldah (Bengal), said that the Indian Defence Policy (embodied in recent announcements) was "half-hearted and inadequate." He urged that the problem "should be examined both from the points of view of maintenance of internal order and participation in external defence." The Arms Act should be suspended and military training to be given should be "real and not faked. Special arrangements should be made for the training of Indian youths in mechanised warfare. The country wants an army, manned by Indians and controlled by Indians, which would follow a policy wholly consistent with Indian rights and liberties. ..... an extensive beginning on the right lines should be made with the full co-operation of the people without any delay."

He also suggested a Defence Council for every province. The co-operation of all sections of officials and non-officials with this Council should be invited.

"ENLIST MILLIONS OF MEN"

Sir Jogindra Singh, in a special article published in the *Civil and Military Gazette* on June 12, 1940, says: "By this time we should have trained 500,000 young men and be starting on the second batch of 500,000." He continues: "Our rulers uncover to the world our shame that, eight months after the outbreak of war, the sum total of our efforts is that we have some 50,000 men under training and have raised a paltry sum for war charities."

He adds: "Why are we not training 1,000 or more young Indians today for air service? Cannot our Government cease thinking in lakhs of rupees and in thousands of men and gird themselves up to spending hundreds of crores and enlisting millions of men? Defeated we die; if we conquer, what does a debt or expenditure of hundreds of crores matter?"

50,000 PILOTS AND 10 MILLION SOLDIERS

Lieut.-Colonel M. C. Coote Indian Army (Retired), who since 1933 has been Principal of an Indian military and public school, in a letter to the *Bombay Chronicle*, which has been reprinted in the *Hindustan Times* dated June 12, 1940, refers to " an extra paltry one hundred thousand men and a dozen or so extra squadrons for the Indian Air Force " to be raised, as announced by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

He urges : " For God's sake through your paper demand that India be given Dominion Status and ask that she raise an Indian National Defence Force of fifty thousand pilots and ten million men."

" I know ", he says, " that all classes and castes in India can be trained as good officers and soldiers."

He believes that " 5,000 pilots for the Air Force and a million men for the Indian National Army can be raised and trained each year."

GERMAN AND JAPANESE EXAMPLES QUOTED

Khan Sahib Maulvi Feroz-ud-Din writes in the " Eastern Times " of June 14 : " Does anyone honestly think that the raising of a hundred thousand men in the present circumstances is adequate protection ? Rather it is an insult to India at this juncture.

"Obviously, the Commander-in-Chief feels satisfied with the situation as regards the available man-power and the equipment necessary for the purpose. But it appears that the country does not share this complacency. What has been done to train the people in the use of arms, asks the public. What A. R. P. measures have they been taught ? Where are the gas masks to go round the civil population in an emergency? And so forth.

" As regards the question of funds . . . . . when the biggest political party, representing peoples who hold the purse-strings of the country, is non-co-operating with the Government, any great non-official financial help is difficult to secure.

" After all it is not money but its proper expenditure and husbanding that matters.

" How has an almost destitute nation (Germany) performed the miracle of producing the biggest army in the world and the best-equipped too ? Certainly by strict economy, efficiency and will power.

" I should be pardoned if I say that, in the first instance, the British Army in India is an unnecessary burden on the country and should be withdrawn for service in Great Britain.

" Secondly, the expenses of the Indian soldier should bear some relation to the average Indian income of six pice per day.

" It will be found that the Japanese Army is the cheapest and at the same time quite an efficient army.....

" These are long-range propositions. For the immediate purpose ..... salaries of over one hundred rupees should all be reduced from 10 per cent. to 50 per cent.

" The Viceroy, the Provincial Governors and all other higher officers should set an example by reducing their own salaries by 50 per cent.....

"The Government should frankly sell titles and honours and such like to those willing to pay for them. But, above all, the profiteers and all those who are fattening on the land due to the war conditions should be made to disgorge.

" If instead of Government or Government-controlled factories, private initiative is stimulated and private companies and firms, preferably on a small scale and co-operative basis, are given contracts for the production of military needs, a great deal can be done.

" In order to bring the Indian people on the side of the Allies once and for all, the British Government should fulfil their promises of political emancipation of the country now."

EUROPEANS SUGGEST EMERGENCY FORCE

At a general meeting of Europeans held in Calcutta on June 6, Mr. C. P. Lawson (Chairman of the European Association) presiding, resolutions were passed urging that, " consistent with the maintenance of essential commerce and industry, it was imperative that the maximum of their man-power should be placed at the disposal of the armed forces "; and that those whose retention in business was essential and who were not serving in the auxiliary forces should be organized to form an Emergency Auxiliary Force, to which end a register should at once be opened pending discussion with the authorities.

MUSLIM LEAGUE : " WHOLLY INADEQUATE "

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League at a meeting held in Bombay on June 16, passed a resolution which stated *inter alia* : " The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, as well as the statements of some provincial Governors, are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation."

SIKHS' APPEAL

A meeting of Sikhs in Khalsa College, Amritsar , on June 3, passed a resolution urging the Government to take steps to restore the strength of Sikhs in the Indian Army to what it was during the Great War, and expressing " dissatisfaction at the method of recruitment to the R. I. N. by which Sikhs are denied their share."

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CONTEXT.

COMMUNIQUE OF JUNE 17, 1940

PRESS COMMENTS

Press comments on the communique (on the " Expansion of India's Armed Forces ") issued on June 17, 1940.

" *Hindustan Times* " (*Pro-Congress*), *June 19 :* Nothing that the present Government have done or may do is likely to inspire confidence in the public that they are capable of making the efforts necessary to enable India to play her part in the prosecution of the war. The collapse of France throws a vast and terrible burden on the peoples of the British Empire, including the people of India. If India is to be called upon to face this burden, the appeal to the people must come from a Government responsible to the people of this country, and not one which derives its authority from London.

If the present Government are cautious about embarking on a large-scale programme of defence, it is because they realize that the country will naturally revolt against being called upon to find the funds necessary for such a programme for a government which is not national in composition. That consciousness imposes a strict limitation on their war efforts which will ultimately imperil the safety of the country and of the Empire, whose champions they profess themselves to be.....

If the war situation does grow worse and India is confronted with some sudden and awful crisis, do the British Government believe that they will be able to face it with a sullen and discontented, if not positively hostile, population behind them ?

" A WELCOME ASSURANCE "

" *Tribune* " (*Pro-Congress*), *June 20*: Unfavourable criticism ....appears to have made the Government of India realise the need for a bolder and more comprehensive defence policy.....

It is only right that the fact that the expansion only represents the first stage should have been made clear.....

" The people of India," says the present *communique*, " may rest assured that Government are fully alive to their responsibilities ..... the public can rest assured that the extent of the expansion now in view will be conditioned only by the requirements of the position and by India's own capacity."

The assurance is welcome, but it cannot blind the public to two obvious facts..... How easy it would have been for a free India, properly trained and equipped for the purpose, to put five times as many soldiers in the field as the Nazis. The other. and in a sense even more distressing, fact is..... Even now they are thinking more in terms of what can be done to increase the Regular Army and less in terms of the dynamic energy of a country of four hundred millions released by the concession to them of the fullest measure of freedom. Talk of India's capacity ? It is simply limitless in its potentiality. and in actual fact is circumscribed only by the Government's own policy and the continued withholding of freedom.

In some directions, such as the throwing open of all units of the Indian Army to Indian commissioned officers and the officering of the new formations to the fullest extent possible by Indians, the policy of the Government has changed in the right direction, but the Government have not yet realised the supreme necessity *of throwing upon India herself the duty and responsibility of organising her defence*. As long as this is not done, no efforts which they can make will ever be adequate.

" NO LIMIT TO THE SIZE OF A CITIZEN ARMY "

" *Leader* " (*Independent*), *June 21* : It is to be hoped that the Government, after completing the first stage of expansion of the armed forces, will at once proceed to the next. They cannot increase the Regular Army indefinitely. But there can be no limit to the size of a citizen army. It is such an army that India needs.....

The Government should abolish such distinctions (martial and non-martial). We know that ' non-martial ' communities are eligible for recruitment to the Territorial Force. But we are not quite sure that in practice they are not being discriminated against. We should like to know the proportion of the ' martial ' and ' non-martial ' communities in the Territorial Force.....

We are glad to learn that the Government's programme includes the manufacture of aircraft and other war equipment in India.

We realize that in the existing conditions of the industrial development of the country a programme for rapid expansion of the Army will be extremely difficult.....

But if supplies from the United States are available it should be possible to accelerate the present programme.....

We welcome the Government's decision to retain Viceroy's Commissioned Officers.....

We say plainly that we are not satisfied with mere assurances that the new formations will be officered to the fullest extent possible by Indians.....

EMERGENCY COMMISSIONS

The Government have made known the number of Europeans who have been given emergency commissions. Why do they not announce similarly the number of commissions given to Indians ? The silence of the Defence Department at the present moment and the statements made by them in the past that there was a lack of suitable Indians, cannot but lead people to conclude that the Europeans are are being given the lion's share of these emergency commissions....

Our information is that emissaries of the Defence Department who go to Dehra Dun to select candidates give preference to those belonging to the upper class of society..wealth and ability do not necessarily go together.

The Defence Department will be better advised to seek the help of the university authorities in the selection of candidates for commissions..... the period of training of cadets at the Military Academy has been reduced for the present from two years to six months. It is all the more necessary that commissions should be given to those who are well-educated, otherwise the efficiency of the army will be affected.....

It should be remembered that a great part of it (Rs. 20 crores) will be spent on forces raised and trained in India. Also there is hope of India becoming self-sufficient in respect of the supply of war equipment. There is no question, therefore, of what is called the drain of India's money increasing in future.

MILITARY SUPPLIES FROM AMERICA

" *Amrita Bazar Patrika* " (*Pro-Congress*), *June 20* : It is a relief to learn that the 100,000 men scheme.....is not to be the ultimate total.....

It is a matter of further gratification to know that in this scheme of expansion all units of the Indian Army will be thrown open to Indian commissioned officers....

It is also another piece of good news that an Indian representative is being sent to the United States of America to secure military supplies.....

Thus India is at last being recognised as worthy to be taken into confidence in at least certain military matters from which she was excluded. Yet something, and a great

thing, remains to be done. Is the artificial division between martial and non-martial classes to be abandoned ?

....is the privilege now accorded to Indian officers to command composite regiments (British and Indian) to be continued, or to be abandoned after the termination of the war ?

But the question of questions is : Is it in contemplation to appoint an Indian Defence Minister, and other Indian Ministers, to be in charge of allied departments ?

Will not the British exchequer meet some part of the cost of the expansion scheme having regard to the fact that there is a large British element in the Army ?

We know that these and similar questions may lose their meaning completely a few days hence.....

" *Bombay Chronicle* " (*Pro-Congress*), *June 20* : " The scheme is itself so inadequate for India's needs that mere explanations, however often repeated, cannot make it satisfactory.....

We would welcome precise figures about the Indian officers under training and those who will soon be trained for all the different departments of Defence. We would also like to know how many of these are " statutory Indians ."

Given their legitimate right, Indians will vote the necessary funds as readily as Britain and other free countries are doing.

INDIANISATION OF ARMY

" *Times of India* " (*Independent*), *June 20* : The Government of India announced on Monday a war effort by this country on a scale commensurate with capacity.....

We must have industries capable of equipping troops for armoured and motorised warfare..... No consideration other than physical impossibility should be allowed to stand in the way of making India as formidable an arsenal as its industrial potentialities permit. The despatch of a representative to the United States.....is timely, but the authorities should not await his report before mobilising our existing industrial resources to the fullest extent possible for war purposes.....

The most heartening news of all is the announcement that Indianisation, as it has been rather invidiously called, is now to be put on a basis whereby Indians will be given the opportunity—so long and vigorously demanded—to officer the Indian Army. This revolutionary step comes none too soon, but at a moment vital in human history.

NEED FOR POLITICAL GESTURE

" *Indian Affairs* " (*Nationalist Independent*), *June 20* :— But the wonder is that, on the political side, there is still

nothing happening. Because of the very unreal and illogical policy of Government, the defence expansion scheme has to go on, unaided by the enthusiastic support of millions, while one correct gesture would make of that arid waste a mountain of priceless helpfulness.

....apart from mechanisation problems, there would still be need to have a sufficiency of man-power for auxiliary forces;.....the defence of our land frontiers and coasts would require many more units of regulars, territorials, and garrison troops than have been or are going to be raised. Many, many more, will have to be called to the Colours.....

In regard to aviation, progress must necessarily be very slow, but even here the energetic measures that the authorities could take to train up more pilots, provide more landing grounds and, if possible, build more aircraft manufacturing plant will make a world of difference to the progress of the air arm in this country.....

The proposal to send an Indian representative or delegation to join the British Purchasing Commission for the purchase of military supplies will be generally commended. Our defence programme will progress much more speedily thereby, though there is the danger that this should be a deterrent to the starting of an armament industry in India....

The Indian taxpayer will foot most of this stunning bill... He will, even though he grumbles, if only because civilization and liberty are in peril. So they say—the incorruptibles who would not define war aims where it is a question of the freedom of the Indian people.

RESPONSIBLE POPULAR MINISTRIES WANTED

"Nagpur Times" (Nationalist Independent), June 21: If the defence expansion schemes are really intended to answer the needs of Indian defence and not merely to form a part of the war effort, then the question of Indian security should be tackled in a more liberal spirit. Much more mighty schemes are needed and a whole series of war industries to equip the army should be established. No factories have been opened for manufacturing planes or tanks.....

The war effort in the form of recruitment, finance and propaganda will be attended with real success only when it is associated with responsible popular ministries.

"STILL FAR FROM SATISFACTORY"

"Eastern Times" (Pro-Muslim League), June 21: All Indian public men, with the exception of those who still have their heads in the clouds, realize on the other hand that adequate efforts have not yet been made for the defence of India. The Government of India's programme for the purpose

is still far from satisfactory.....assurances must be supplemented by rousing the people to do their bit. What with the non-co-operation of the Congress and lack of the right lead to the masses the situation is not very hopeful as yet.

"NATIONAL ARMY"

"*Searchlight*" (*Pro-Congress*), *June 26*: We have, however, still our doubts that the change of policy indicated may be, after all, only eye-wash. The recruitment from all provinces may not mean recruitment from all classes. If the old policy is to be abandoned, it must be abandoned wholly and completely. No army in India can be a national army which is drawn only from specified classes. Every able-bodied man, who can satisfy the test of requirements for a military career, should be given a chance. And it is a national army that is needed for the defence of the country, for such an army alone can get the general support of the populace—which is an essential condition for its efficiency.

"AT LEAST ONE HUNDRED AIR SQUADRONS"

"*Sind Observer*" (*Pro-Congress*), *June 25*:—What India needs is not one or a couple of squadrons but at least a hundred of them and that quickly..... All men and material in the field of aviation in both British and Indian India should be immediately mobilised for purely Indian defence purposes.....there sould not be any glaring discrimination between Indian Air Force and R. A. F. officers. They must be encouraged to develop better social relations .....Indian pilots who got disgusted with the treatment accorded to them both in military and civil aviation, and left the service should be recalled....the Empire Air Training Scheme should be thrown open to Indian youths also....The fact of India being ignored in this scheme is in itself a terrible indictment of British defence policy in India.

"MUST BE PURSUED RELENTLESSLY"

"*Pioneer*" (*Independent*), *June 23*: Slowly—too slowly—the Government is waking up to India's need for self-sufficiency in the matter of defence.....We hope this will not be another of those schemes heralded with much flourish and fanfare, only to die an ignominious death soon after. It is a vital matter, not only for the present but for all time to come. A good beginning has been made and it will have to be pursued relentlessly if any good is to come out of it. So far as we know, the sending of a representative with the British Purchasing Commission is still in the proposal stage. Decisions in such matters will have to be taken quickly.

COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE

"*Indian Express*" (*Pro-Congress*), *June 21*: Out of evil cometh good; out of Hitler's savagery, many evils have afflicted mankind, but so far as we are immediately concerned, at least one good has arisen and that is the recognition of India's right—albeit under subjection—to defend herself with her own defence forces recruited on a national basis and equipped with modern armaments to meet the menace of 'blitzkrieg.' .....

This, however, is not enough. For a time at least, until our people have revived their interest in military affairs, it is necessary that the State should enforce compulsory military service.....



MR. ARTHUR MOORE'S VIEWS

CONTEXT.

Mr. Arthur Moore, Editor of the "Statesman," in an address to the Rotary Club of Calcutta on June 18, referred to the Communique.

THERE IS GOOD NEWS IN THE PAPERS THIS MORNING. The Government no longer speaks of the ultimate recruitment and equipment of 100,000 men as India's utmost possible maximum effort. It is now to be a case of the first hundred thousand, and let us recognize the Government's difficulties in the present situation.

It is no use talking idly of India turning out an army of several millions of men or producing in a year a vast air force.

....another item of good news.....India is to be represented on the Greenly Commission.....A powerful Indian delegation from a reconciled Indian Dominion, with orators of the calibre of Mr. Sastri and Pandit Nehru, pleading for the means of equipping India to take part in the struggle to save the world—that would have an immense effect on the generous mind of America. The Government of India is awake. But it needs a broader basis. Let the people of India come in of their own free will to the war.



PLEA FOR INDIAN MINISTER OF DEFENCE

The Hon'ble Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Member of the Council of State and President of the Servants of India Society, issued this statement on June 21, 1940.

THE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED SHOWS A GREATER REALISATION of the magnitude of the task that lies ahead of us than the Commander-in-Chief's disappointing broadcast did; but even now there is little to indicate that the mental outlook of the defence authorities has radically changed and that a clear, far-reaching policy based on complete trust in Indians has been formulated and will be vigorously pursued. The transformation of outlook which the present situation requires appears to be a task beyond the military mind.

A bold and comprehensive policy can be laid down only by an Indian Minister of Defence and the country can be called upon to make the necessary sacrifices for its execution only by a National Government. So long as the British Government do not learn this lesson India will neither be in a position to rely on herself for her defence nor to give England the help which she would enthusiastically give if she were free and better prepared to give military assistance than she is now.

EMERGENCY COMMISSIONS

In another statement (published in the *Leader* of June 28, 1940) Pandit Kunzru expresses " great relief " that the " unjust policy of appointing officers in place of the Viceroy's commissioned officers " has been given up, but complains that the number of Indian, Anglo-Indian and European officers who have been given emergency commissions has not been so far stated. He quotes the following figures. Some time ago it was stated that the European officers trained and under training at Belgaum was about 370. Only 80 Indians, including a fair number of Anglo-Indians (he understands), are under emergency training at Dehra Dun. About 40 officers of the Army in India Reserve of Officers are undergoing a short course of training there but (he gathers) almost all are Anglo-Indians.

" If this is true, it shows that under the official scheme Europeans come first, Anglo-Indians next and Indians last."

He calculates that 1,500 officers may be required for the new units. At the Bombay Europeans' meeting it was stated that, besides 225 Britishers who had gone to Belgaum, etc. Bombay could supply 300 more Britishers for combatant units and that of this the military authorities had been informed. Calcutta doubtless would supply a larger number. It is clear that from the whole of India the Government can, if they want, choose all or a large majority of officers for the new units from the British community, and that " unless the present policy is radically altered, Indians will have little chance of being appointed as officers."

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DR. DESHMUKH'S APPEAL TO MR. GANDHI

CONTEXT.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, M.L.A. (Central), sent this telegram to Mr. Gandhi and to the President and General Secretary of the Congress on June 19, 1940.

I SEE THE IDEA OF INDIANISING THE WHOLE ARMY WITH Indian officers has been taken up. For Defence all the resources of the country must be preserved. The drain from India must stop. Please urge on the Government to stop the home charges and to reduce the higher salaries in India by at least half during the period of war. Please impress on the Viceroy that to make India defence-minded the Arms Act should be

repealed in the case of Indians who have at least educational and property qualifications.

CONSCRIPTION SUGGESTED

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, former President of the Indian National Congress, in a lecture on " Will India be armed ? " at Mylapore, Madras, on June 19, 1940, said " compulsory military training and service is absolutely essential for India." If necessary, the burden of universal conscription could be minimised by making it " reasonable and practicable. "

" It might, for example, be laid down that at least one member from every family or a group of ten men from every village should be conscripted." The University Training Corps should be compelled to undergo training in a broader sense. Military units should be organised on a regimental basis and not on a communal basis.

SIR A. P. PATRO'S VIEWS

Sir A. P. Patro, who presided, said : " Young men in India should take to the artillery since it is going to play a very prominent part in internal defence in future. If Indians got the control of the artillery section along with control over the aeroplane section they would be very powerful in the country.

MR. K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri in a letter to the *Indian Express*, Madras, says that, in view of India's mountain passes in the North-West and long coastline, " a very much more abundant army and navy and air force " is required than that envisaged in the Government proposals. University students must undergo compulsory military training.

SIR N. N. SIRCAR

Sir N. N. Sircar, former Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, in a statement issued on June 29, 1940, says that " India is eager to share the burden of war, industrially as well as economically." Most Indian technicians, he believes, probably feel that " far more than 4,000 skilled workers will be required for the necessary expansion of India's war production.

" Compulsion is merely the mechanism for determining how and where a particular person can best be employed—a great majority of technicians will welcome this guidance and will be volunteers in spirit."

SIND PREMIER

Mir Bundeh Ali Khan, Premier of Sind, urged the people of the province to subscribe liberally in both men and material for the successful prosecution of the war, at a public meeting

held at Karachi on June 28, H. E. the Governor presiding. A resolution of heartfelt loyalty to the King and readiness to place the entire resources of the province at the disposal of the Government was passed.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH MAN

Sardar Jagjit Singh Man, M.L.A., in a statement complained that Government were moving slowly in the matter of national defence. He said that " schemes have not been prepared to manufacture modern war equipments. Recruitment is very slow." He urged the speeding up of war preparations to enable India to be of real help in the war.

" It is clear that a declaration by the British Government about India getting Dominion status within a fixed period after the successful conclusion of the war would encourage her people to intensify the war effort."

ALL-INDIA HINDU LEAGUE

A resolution asking that India be equipped " adequately on land, air and sea to meet any possible contingency " and that the status of an equal partner in the Commonwealth be conferred on India as early as possible, was passed at a meeting of the Reception Committee of the All-India Hindu League at Lucknow on June 27.

Adequate modernisation and mechanisation of the army, creation of a powerful navy " worthy " of India's long coast-line, and of a powerful air force, and arrangements for building warships, airships, tanks, armoured cars and all other sinews of war, were urged by Kunwar Guru Narain, a Taluqdar of the United Provinces in a speech at the meeting.

GAUR BRAHMINS

A special War Council to help in the defence of the Empire and a deputation to urge on H. E. the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor -General the claims of the community to recruitment in all branches of the army, were appointed at a conference of Gaur Brahmins held on June 30, in Delhi under the auspices of the All-India Gaur Brahmin Mahasabha. Raja Dhyan Singh of Sheikhupura presided.

On June 5, the Raja, in a statement issued to the Press, asked that a reasonable share in the recruitment of the first 100,000 men be allotted to Brahmins.

S. I. LIBERAL FEDERATION

Sir A. P. Patro, in his presidential address at the annual meeting of the South Indian Liberal Federation, Amanpet, Salem (on June 28) said that the present defence proposals when carried out, would materially alter the position of the

Indian Army and expand defence to the limit of India's capacity. This was a move of far-reaching consequences. Sir A. P. Patro hoped that the Government of India would take immediately such measures as would help to constitute a national army or dominion army on the most suitable lines.

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India at a meeting in Poona on June 23, Dr. R. P. Paranjpey, President, presiding, passed a resolution stating that the new proposals, though "moves in the right direction", are "far too inadequate to meet the defence needs of India." Indianisation "in the fullest measure", manufacture of aeroplanes, tanks and other equipment "without avoidable delay" in this country, extension of military training "to all classes so as to provide a second line of defence", and in other ways immediate action on a "much bolder policy", and "unrestricted admission of Indian pilots to the R.A.F., on the same basis as applies to Dominion pilots", were urged by the Council. Further, India's war efforts, as elaborated, "will not be sufficiently effective unless an Indian Defence Minister commanding the confidence of the people is appointed."

SIR A. H. GHUZNAVI

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, M.L.A. (Central) and President of the Central National Mohammedan Association, in a statement to the Press (June 22) expressed the opinion that "recent official statements indicate that Government is waking up to the necessity of the expansion of armed forces and their adequate equipment in India."

PUNJAB INDIAN CHRISTIANS

The Punjab Indian Christian Association passed a resolution at their annual meeting on June 29 at Lahore drawing attention to their grievance "that at present the Indian Christians are debarred from serving H. M. the King and the country in the Fghtıng Services" and urging "immediate steps" to form two companies of Indian Christians "with a view to forming a Battalion ultimately, as soon as circumstances permit."

Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha in a message tc the Association asked them to demand a recognised place in the Regular Army.

EUROPEANS' SUGGESTIONS

A meeting of Europeans, held in Madras on June 26 under the presidentship of Mr. F.G. Luker, Chairman of the Madras

City Circle of the European Association, resolved " willingly to bear such increased taxation as it may be necessary to impose in the interest of security and liberty."

Other points urged in the resolution were (1) immediate steps to render every male European British subject in India liable to compulsory national service; (2) an immediate increase in the recruitment programme already announced; and (3) the marshalling of industry for the production of arms and ammunition.

THE "PIONEER"

WAR CLOUDS

"How near the storm clouds are to breaking over the Mediterranean (says the *Pioneer* of Oct. 5, 1935) is shown by the confirmation of the report that Great Britain has asked France what would be her attitude in the event of a sudden attack by Italy upon the British Fleet." The paper, however, regards this as "only the last of a series of unmistakable signs" of the nearness of war, and details other signs. It mentions battle practice off Alexandria, the arrival of the "Queen Elizabeth" at Gibraltar, the evacuation of civilians from Malta, etc., and concludes :—

"If war comes, the British Government cannot avoid its share of responsibility for it.

It is right that Great Britain should have made a stand, it is a thousand pities that she did not make it earlier."

■ ■ ■

THE ITALO-ABYSSINIAN WAR

CONTEXT.

On Oct 2, 1935, three separate Italian columns totalling 20,000 men crossed the Abyssinian frontier.

The League, through many months, has announced that it will treat an act of unprovoked aggression in terms of the Covenant. Great Britain has declared that she will stand by the League ; France, after natural hesitation, has declared that she will stand by Britain. Italy, which faces the world red-handed, still a member of the League but guilty of as barbarous a piece of brigandage as history can show, will tolerate, she says, no interference. The bombing of Adowa destroys the last hope of compromise, though hope had actually been abandoned long ago by all competent observers.

Is Signor Mussolini to be allowed to "get away with it" or is he to be stopped, even at the cost of an extension of the war to the Mediterranean? That is the real 'news' for which the world is waiting.

■ ■ ■

THE FALLACY OF SANCTIONS WITHOUT PROVOCATION

October 13, 1935.

The Franco-British experts have agreed, says Reuter, that the sanctions which are to be applied against

Italy shall combine ' the maximum of efficiency with the minimum of provocation.' This is one of those specious, high-sounding diplomatic phrases which, when analysed in the light of commonsense, mean either nothing at all or the exact antithesis of what they say. If the sanctions are efficient they will be provocative and the more efficient they are made the more provocative they will become..We have never made any secret of our opinion that, in the words of Signor Mussolini himself, ' sanctions mean war '—if they are to be effective sanctions. That is the issue which Parliament will have to face when it assembles and no talk of "the minimum of provocation " should be permitted to cloud it.



GERMANY COMES IN

CONTEXT.

November 9, 1935.

THE REPORTED DECISION OF GERMANY TO PREVENT dealings above the normal in commodities affected by the sanctions, and particularly in arms and munitions, is, if confirmed, of considerable practical importance, for Germany, the United States and Japan were the three main sources to which Italy might have looked for supplies. But the moral value of such a declaration is greater still. Participation in the League measures, is, indeed, expressly repudiated. Nevertheless that is what it amounts to. Germany has, therefore, ranged herself with the 53 nations which have condemned Italian aggression, even if she has not done so in so many words....Within the League it should not be impossible to bring pressure to bear upon nations which are within the sphere of British and French financial influence. In the long run, therefore, sanctions are likely to have some effect. But whether they will be effective in time to save Abyssinia and what will happen when Italy begins to be seriously embarrassed by them is quite another story.



FRANCE'S PERFIDY

Comment on the House of Commons debate on December 19, 1935, on Britain's part in the Anglo-French peace plan.

THURSDAY'S DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS PRODUCED one satisfactory result: the monstrous peace proposals to which Sir Samuel Hoare was so ill-advised as to set his name are " completely and absolutely dead " and the National Government is pledged to make no attempt to resurrect them. But that was the only satisfactory thing about it. The handling of the whole matter reveals a disloyalty on the French side and an ineptness on the British which would be incredible if they had not been publicly admitted....

....Signor Mussolini has apparently got away with the bluff that an oil embargo means war. That it is bluff we have very little doubt, for, unless Il Duce is actually insane, he cannot seriously contemplate attacking even Great Britain alone except as a final act of defiance to the world....In other words, as we have said already, sanctions must either be ineffective or dangerous.

If Britain did not count the cost and was not prepared to face it, allowing for the almost inevitable betrayal by France, then she should have kept out and left the Abyssinians to fend for themselves, which they seem quite capable of doing.

"We have passed," says Mr. Baldwin, "from platitudes to stark realities." It is a pity he and his Government did not do so as early as last January, when there still remained nine months in which to negotiate before hostilities were possible. As it is, they have landed themselves in such a position that their prestige has gone and their difficulties are doubled.

CONTEXT.

Comment on the announcement (December 2, 1935) of the appointment of Mr. Anthony Eden as Foreign Secretary.

CHALLENGE MUST BE ACCEPTED

THE FIRST QUESTION WHICH HE HAS TO FACE, AS WE SEE it, is that of the consequences of sanctions. There is a strong school of thought which reads Mr. Baldwin's pledge that Britain will not act alone as an undertaking that she will retreat if Italy threatens her alone with war. That seems to us a mistaken and, indeed, an untenable view which has already caused infinite trouble and led directly to the downfall of Sir Samuel Hoare. So long as sanctions and the oil embargo are imposed by common consent, then Britain must stand by them until, by common consent, they are removed. If the Italians choose to regard her, as they already do, as their only enemy and the sole begetter of all their misfortunes, that cannot be helped. And if they are mad enough to attack her alone, or to threaten to do so, then the challenge must be accepted, whether the rest of the nations in the League are willing to play their part or not. By no other means can it be made clear to the world that war as an instrument of policy does not pay: by no other means can the League be kept in being and a world armament race and a general European war be avoided. Admittedly Great Britain will be running an appalling risk. But if her policy is clear and consistent and in firm hands, as we now believe it to be, then the risk is probably not quite so great as many imagine.

IL DUCE'S OIL BLUFF

December 28, 1935.

IN HIS *apologia* IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS SIR SAMUEL Hoare announced that the British Government had received reports from all sides that Italy would regard the imposition of an oil embargo as a ' military ' sanction against her—in other words, as an act of war. This was sufficient to scare, not only Mr. Laval, who was anxious to be scared, but also the late Foreign Secretary and it still continues to alarm a section of the British Press. But is there, in fact, anything to be frightened about ? We may assume that when Signor Mussolini refers to an oil embargo he means an effective embargo which would almost at once embarrass him and impede his military operations. If he could be sure of getting supplies from the United States or some other source he would not be such a fool as to treat the embargo as an act of war and deliberately to embroil himself with Great Britain. But is it not obvious that if such an effective embargo were to be imposed he would be quite incapable of launching an attack either upon the Mediterranean Fleet or upon Egypt ?....

ITALIAN BOMBING OF SWEDISH RED CROSS

January 7, 1936.

THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT GIVEN BY DR. HYLANDER of the bombing of the Swedish Red Cross unit near Dolo makes it clear that not only did the incident occur, which is more than can be said of many other incidents reported during this confusing campaign, but that it was, in his words ' an utterly deliberate act '....Defending ' ruthlessness ', the Fascists declare that Italy must employ the most effective and pitiless means of destruction " to show the utmost contempt for the criticism and protests made against them." To show contempt for criticism by justifying it up to the hilt reveals a curious mentality. If the object is to demoralise the Abyssinians it is unlikely that it will be achieved. If it is to impress other Powers with the ferocity of the Italians there is still less chance of success. Europe is well aware of their fighting value and its estimate has already been confirmed by the present campaign. The heroes of Caporetto do not make themselves any more convincing by putting on the mask of frightfulness.

AFRAID TO STRIKE

February 15, 1936.

BY THE TIME THE OIL EXPERTS AND THE COMMITTEE OF Eighteen have made up their minds about the probable effects

of an oil embargo, the rains will be due and Abyssinia will have saved herself by her own exertions....Why not get on with the oil embargo and leave the United States to incur the odium of making the continuance of the war possible—if she chooses to do so and if the tankers necessary to transport her oil shipments are available ? At present the League seems willing to wound but afraid to strike, an attitude which adds nothing either to its power or to its prestige and is not conducive to the maintenance of peace in Europe.



CONTEXT.

FALL OF ADDIS ABABA

May 9, 1936.

BRITAIN, SAID MR. EDEN, MAKING THE BEST OF A BAD CASE in the House of Commons, had gone further than any other Power....The movement of troops and ships showed that she appreciated the dangers of bluffing. If she was not prepared to see her bluff through she should never have started on it and dragged the League behind her. From the outset it was obvious that she would have to bear the burden of an effective action. To take shelter, at this time of day, behind the alleged reluctance of the smaller Powers to support her is absurd—and contemptible.



NON-INTERVENTION IN SPAIN

Comment on the speech of Mr. Anthony Eden in the House of Commons in which he defended the work of the Non-Intervention Committee.

....IF THIS FARCE OF NON-INTERVENTION HAD NOT BEEN started at all, the Powers who claim to be sympathetic towards the Spanish Government would at least have been able to say that they were not a party to depriving that Government of its undoubted right to purchase arms abroad.



THE NEW MORALITY

March 12, 1938.

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN RECENTLY DECLARED THAT recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia could only be *morally* justified if it were ' a factor in general appeasement.' Commenting on this astonishing statement, the *Spectator* pertinently asks what degree of expediency constitutes morality. Perhaps it would. after all, be simpler for the National Government to revert to the practice of deciding questions of principle on principle. It is because they have abandoned it that British foreign policy has fallen into such disrepute.



ANNEXATION OF AUSTRIA

"REAPING THE FRUITS OF COWARDICE"

March 15, 1938.

....TODAY HE (HITLER) HAS DONE WHAT HE SET OUT TO DO and Great Britain and France, the guarantors of Austrian independence. can only make futile and undignified protests against a *fait accompli*....Thus the fruits of the Versailles Treaty and of the even more abominable Hoare-Laval agreement are reaped together. France suffers for her initial obduracy and her later treachery by seeing her implacable enemy a long step nearer to her own destruction. Great Britain's traditional and well-founded policy, that no one power shall be permitted to become militarily supreme in Europe, is well on the way to being finally falsified. ...Herr Hitler has played the game of *realpolitik* with a skill and daring that command an unwilling admiration. But he has succeeded for one reason and for one reason only—that he has been up against a cowardly and vacillating opposition.

Had not Lord Halifax been sent to Paris to persuade the French not to mobilize, he could easily have been turned out of the Rhineland. Had someone other than Lord Halifax been sent to Berlin he might have supposed that there was a mind and a purpose behind British rearmament. As things are. he feels, not without reason, that it is with mice and not with men that he has to deal. The isolationists have long declared that no Englishman would be willing to fight for Austrian independence. Herr Hitler has taken them at their word, with the result that Englishmen will soon have to fight to save their own skins—if, indeed, they are any longer worth saving. Meanwhile there will doubtless be a few more insults for them to stomach.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Comment on Mr. Chamberlain's refusal in the House of Commons, on March 16, 1938, to indicate the Government's policy in regard to Czechoslovakia.

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN DECLINES TO BE "RUSHED" on the subject of Czechoslovakia. In other words he proposes to harg about and waver until he invites a crisis by giving Germany the impression that he will not begin to think what he ought to do until after it has occurred—when he will doubtless send another strong note. This is the very negation of foreign policy. The fate of Czechoslovakia is perhaps the most vital issue in European politics and certainly the most urgent. If Mr. Chamberlain and his colleagues have not made up their minds about it they have no right to be where they are....Was there ever anyone who more openly invited the attentions of the bully and the blackmailer ? Was there ever anyone less representative of the real spirit of his fellow-countrymen ?

Comment on the British Premier's declaration of foreign policy, in the House of Commons on March 24, 1938.

IT IS AT LEAST SATISFACTORY TO KNOW THAT THERE ARE some things for which Mr. Chamberlain would be willing to fight. But it would have been a great deal more satisfactory to all concerned had he defined them precisely. The defence of British territory and imperial communications—that goes without saying. But " the destruction of those things that Britain holds dearest "—what exactly are they ? Evidently not democracy and individual liberty in other countries where they are still valued, for Mr. Chamberlain is quite ready to allow Czechoslovakia, perhaps the most truly democratic State in Europe, to be eaten up by the Nazi wolves, as Austria was eaten up.....If the National Government has not yet developed a backbone, there are now some faint signs of one..

BRITAIN'S DUTY

August 31, 1938.

AS WE WRITE, THE NEWS FROM GERMANY AND CZECHOSlovakia is as bad as can be and there seems little doubt that, in Mr. Winston Churchill's words, Europe is ' moving towards a climax.' The German Army is reported to be mobilizing on the Czech frontier....The Little Entente has given a lead. If Mr. Chamberlain will take his cue and have the moral courage to abandon a policy of conciliation which has demonstrably and ignominiously failed, there may yet be a chance of saving Europe from disaster.

HITLER'S DEMANDS

Comment on Herr Hitler's speech at Nuremberg on September 12, 1938, in which he stated his demands in regard to the Sudetenland.

....THE CZECHS HAVE GONE TO THE LIMIT OF CONCESSION, consistent with preserving the independence of their State. It is, indeed. doubtful whether, under pressure, they have not gone beyond it. If this is not enough, then Germany would have an equally good claim to dismember Switzerland. There are two reasons why France and Great Britain should and must resist them. The first is self-preservation....The second reason is hardly less important. If once the German doctrine that might is right is conceded, that the strong man is entitled to take what he wants by force and that all who oppose him must be destroyed, then we are back to the darkest years of the Middle Ages and freedom and civilisation will have vanished from Europe, perhaps for centuries.

Comment on Mr. Chamberlain's flight to Germany to see Herr Hitler on Sept. 15, 1938.

....WHAT WILL BE HIS LINE WHEN HE MEETS HERR HITLER ? If he has gone to present an ultimatum, to say 'thus far and no further,' then we believe that he will have not only British but world opinion behind him....We cannot believe that Mr. Chamberlain has so misunderstood his fellow-countrymen as to believe that they will thank him for averting war by a sacrifice of their honour now and of their security in the immediate future.

SURRENDER ?

Sept. 24, 1938.

ALL OVER THE WORLD, ENGLISHMEN MUST HAVE LISTENED, *at first* incredulous and then with growing feelings of alarm and shame, to the speech of Lord Lytton, broadcast by the B. B. C. last night. Can it be true that, without summoning Parliament, Mr. Chamberlain has dared to take it upon himself to sell out Czechoslovakia and the British people and freedom and democracy together ? Because it seemed impossible we have hesitated to believe it. But the evidence of betrayal is accumulating. Since the British plan is still unpublished, we must, in Lord Lytton's words, await the results of the negotiations with what faith and hope we can. If they result in surrender, if Czechoslovakia, like Abyssinia, has been sacrificed on the altar of expediency, if she has been condemned unheard and the peoples of Britain and France have been committed without being consulted as the latest cables suggest, then we have little doubt that Mr. Chamberlain and his Government will disappear together. But by then it will be too late.

MUNICH SETTLEMENT

Comment on the Munich settlement on Sept. 29, 1938.

....THIS THEN IS NO BRITISH DIPLOMATIC VICTORY. ON THE contrary, it is a triumph for Herr Hitler who, without making any single concession of any sort and without going to war, has carried his programme a long stage further....Magnanimously, he has spared Europe war, but only he can tell his people because he got all that he wanted without it and not because he was afraid of its outcome....As we write this, the news arrives that he has concluded a pact of friendship with Mr. Chamberlain....it fills us, on the contrary, with profound misgiving. For we do not forget that it is laid down in *Mein Kampf* that such a pact is essential *as a preliminary*

to the destruction of France," the deadly enemy of the German people." Britain's turn is to come afterwards...."



FALL OF BARCELONA

CONTEXT.

Comment on the fall of Barcelona on Jan. 26, 1939

....THE REDUCTION OF VALENCIA, OF MADRID AND OF THE remaining Republican positions on the Estremadura front and elsewhere is now merely a question of time, of weight, of material and of mathematics....Great Britain and France can now see to what their policy of " non-intervention " has led. By denying the right to purchase arms to a legitimately constituted government and conniving at their unlimited supply by foreign powers to those in revolt against it, they have achieved its destruction as effectively as though they had lent their own tanks and aircraft to General Franco. Non-intervention has been a flagrant lie—on both sides.... Meanwhile the democracies must surely now realise what it is that they are up against. It is of no use for Sir Samuel Hoare to declare that Great Britain is " invincible " or for M. Daladier to proclaim that France will not allow her imperial rights to be touched. In the future he who can take will have and he will keep who can. Weapons and not words will decide. The political and military consequences of a Fascist victory in Spain are not to be summed up in a sentence. But it should not be forgotten that the fruits of the policy of appeasement are already beginning to ripen in Czechoslovakia..



ANNEXATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

March 16, 1939.

....HERR HITLER'S DETESTATION OF THE SLAVS DATES back to his early years in Vienna....His detestation of an independent Czechoslovakia is even stronger and based on more practical reasons. After the surrender of last September it was only a question of time and method for him to achieve its destruction.



A SURPRISE ?

Comment on Mr. Chamberlain's statement on Czechoslovakia in the House of Commons on March 15, 1939.

....APOLOGISTS FOR THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER ASKED plaintively after Munich what else he could have done.... But if it was folly to try to bluff Italy over Abyssinia when one was not prepared to go through with the bluff ; if it was

folly to institute a Non-Intervention Committee for Spain when one was not prepared to insist that non-intervention be made a reality ; if it was folly to send to Czechoslovakia a mediator whose only qualification was that he knew nothing of the problem, was not acquainted with the language of either of the parties and had been a failure in the only responsible position to which he was ever appointed ; if it was folly to encourage the Czechs with vain hopes of support when they could have made much better terms for themselves a few months earlier ; if it was folly to declare that the independence of Austria was essential to the peace of Europe and then to look on helplessly while it was destroyed and make feeble protests afterwards, can it seriously be said that no other line of policy has ever been open to him or his predecessors and that it was inevitable that the initiative should be surrendered so completely to Herr Hitler ?....



CONTEXT.

DECISION TO DEFEND POLAND

April 2, 1939.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN AND M. DALADIER APPEAR TO HAVE made up their minds to defend Poland against German aggression even at the risk of war. In other words, they have recognised the criminal and suicidal folly of their former policy and are proposing to come to the rescue of a country which has not one-tenth as much claim to their sympathy and support as the nation which they so stupidly and callously abandoned last summer....But it is tragic that it should have been decided too late and for the benefit of the wrong people when principles and military advantage have been want only thrown away. Mr. Chamberlain need take no credit for a death-bed repentance....

THE "HINDUSTAN TIMES"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an editorial ("The Larger Lunacy") in the "Hindustan Times" of September 3, 1939.

HITLER'S "STARK LUNACY"

BRITAIN AND FRANCE WOULD BE JUSTIFIED IN DECLARING WAR

"IN ORDER TO PUT AN END TO POLAND'S LUNACY", SAID Herr Hitler in a proclamation to the German Army on Friday morning, "I have no other choice than to meet force with force." When history comes to pronounce a judgment on the events of the last few months, and especially the events of the last few days, the world can be in no doubt as to who the lunatic was who set the whole world ablaze, all because of his own insatiable ambitions and sadistic delight in human suffering.

Aggression during the last few years has become a new menace, but even in the story of Japanese aggression in China and Italian aggression in Abyssinia and Albania, it will be difficult to find a parallel to the wantonness with which Hitler has launched his attack on Poland, an attack which, he knew, would immediately bring France and Britain into the conflict. That he should have ventured on it, even without Italy's help, appears to be nothing short of stark lunacy, unless, indeed, there is a method in his madness. Italy may be merely watching how the war develops, before joining hands with the Fuehrer....

But, however that may be, Mr. Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons yesterday gives a last chance to the German Chancellor to demonstrate to the world that he had not yet completely taken leave of his senses..... The warning is also a demonstration to the world that France and Great Britain are unwilling to resort to arms, unless driven to do so by Hitler.

> **After the cruel and unprovoked attack on Poland, even without a formal declaration of war, Britain and France would be perfectly justified in declaring war on Germany....**

THE ISSUE

The issue for which Britain and France will be taking up arms will be clear, in spite of the poisonous propaganda with which Germany is filling the world. It is not the merits of the German claim to Danzig, which has been incorporated

in the Reich, or the Corridor, which is being now forcibly occupied, which are in dispute. It is whether international disputes should be settled by civilized methods of negotiation or by crude exhibitions of force. Poland was not offered terms as a basis of negotiation, but was merely asked to send some one to sign a deed of surrender.

On that issue, the world can enter into compromise only at peril to all conceptions of democracy, justice and individual freedom.

But if England today is embarking on a war, whose consequences no one can foretell, merely for the sake of these principles, is it not right that she should show that the application of these principles could have no geographical limitations ?....



CONTEXT.

BRITAIN PRAISED

" BANDIT'S BARGAIN WITH HITLER SPURNED "

September 5, 1939.

THE CALAMITY WITH WHICH THE WORLD HAD BEEN threatened ever since National Socialism came into power in Germany has materialized and when the final responsibility for the tragedy comes to be apportioned by the future historian, it will have to be shared between the Nazis, whose faith in brute force made them forget all canons of international law, morality and even decency, the blunders committed by British policy during the last five years, and the tragic betrayal of the workers of the world by Bolshevik Russia, which entered into a pact with its sworn enemy, Nazi Germany, in order to give her freedom to carry on her campaign of brutal aggression.

The primary responsibility is undoubtedly that of the Nazis who, rising to power in Germany by suppressing all opposition, by methods medieval in their ruthlessness, began to use the self-same methods in their dealings with their smaller neighbours....

From the published correspondence between Herr Hitler and the British Government two things stood out clearly that on no account was Hitler to be deflected from his determination to solve the dispute with Poland in his own way, and that, in order to achieve his object, he was prepared to offer a pact of friendship to Britain placing his own services and the services of the Greater Reich at the disposal of the British Empire in whatever adventures the latter might be prepared to embark upon in parts of the world where its interests were not likely to come into conflict with those of Germany.

But to the eternal credit of the British Government, they refused to fall into the trap set up before them and strike a bandit's bargain with Hitler, repudiating their pledged word to Poland....

.The issue in the war which has thus broken out is not in doubt for a moment. Eloquent expression was given to it by His Majesty the King. His Excellency the Viceroy and the Prime Minister in their broadcast speeches on Sunday.... On that issue, there can possibly be no compromise.

.... If only those principles are applied in this country, as they are being sought to be applied in Europe, India will not only throw herself heart and soul into this conflict between reason and violence, but will gain an honourable place in the Commonwealth....



CONTEXT.

" BRITAIN STANDS FOR A JUST CAUSE "

FORCES OF EVIL LET LOOSE BY HITLER

Extracts from an editorial ("Gandhiji's Statement") in the "Hindustan Times" of September 7, 1939.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S STATEMENT ON HIS INTERVIEW WITH His Excellency the Viceroy is not likely to come as a surprise to anyone who knew the working of his mind of late. Since the Rajkot renunciation, he has risen to the heights of non-violence where, he knows fully well, few can follow him. *Gandhiji today represents the cry of anguished humanity at the ordeal into which it has been thrown by the forces of evil and destruction let loose on the world by Herr Hitler.* At the same time, his is the voice that shows to man the illumined path towards deliverance. *When the future of humanity itself is at stake, national problems sink into insignificance, and no wonder he admits that he is not just now thinking of India's freedom..*

....That the Committee should have invited Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to attend the meeting is an indication that there is determination in the highest quarters *to sink all petty differences in what may well prove the gravest hour of our destiny.* As we have stated often, India will define her attitude at the present juncture only from two points of view. India can be no party to an Imperialist war of exploitation waged for the protection of selfish interests by Britain or any other power. *But on this point, the issue has emerged in a manner not at all liable to any misunderstanding.* Whatever the shortcomings of British policy in the past, whatever previous attempts might have been made to buy peace by compromise with the forces of evil, whatever efforts might have been made to appease the unappeasable by the sacrifice of others, *Britain stands today for a cause which the whole*

world has recognized as just and India's sympathies, like Gandhi-ji's, are with Britain and France in the heroic conflict on which they have now embarked.

....Where the forces of wickedness make no distinction of race, should not those who stand for the liberty of the human soul, and the cause of individual and national freedom, establish their own sincerity and *bona fides* by applying them in relation to their friends before insisting on their enemies following them ?....

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

" CONGRESS MINISTRIES MUST NOT RESIGN "

" GANDHIJI EXPRESSES NATION'S MIND "

On September 8, 1939, the " Hindustan Times " reprinted this editorial (" The Congress and War ") from the " Hindu."

THE WORKING COMMITTEE SHOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY in mapping out the right course for itself and the country, if it faithfully follows the policy which Gandhiji has put forward not as a categorical imperative for others but as his individual response to a situation involving the most profound moral consequences for humanity at large. But coming from Gandhiji it is a judgment ; and it lays upon India, as upon all others who accept the paramountcy of the moral law, the duty of active goodwill towards the forces ranged against Hitlerism.

What Britain and France may do hereafter is not our immediate concern. But the fight they are now engaged in is a just fight and it is to the interest of all lovers of peace and reason to see that it is brought to a speedy and successful issue.

Gandhiji has expressed the mind of the nation with instinctive rightness when he says, " I am not just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth, if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over a Germany ruined or humbled ?" In other words, the triumph of right and justice in this war will be a victory for Indian self-government, though that may not be the direct issue.

There can, therefore, be no question of the Congress Governments in the provinces having to do anything repugnant to their own wishes or the principles and ideals of the Congress in carrying out such agency functions as they are entrusted with under the constitution on behalf of the Central Government. If and when such a conflict does arise as a concrete issue, it will then be time enough to deal with it.

They cannot relinquish their duty to the country ; they must continue to labour at their appointed task,

since to do so would be to hasten the day when India would have the fullest self-government, war or no war.



THE " BARGAINING " SPIRIT

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an editorial in the " Hindustan Times " of September 9, 1939.

BUT WHEN A PHILOSOPHER OF THE EMINENCE OF SIR Radhakrishnan says that there ought not to be any haggling or bargaining in this matter, nationalist opinion in this country cannot afford to dismiss it as the advice of an opportunist or a time-server....

....It is a demand for co-operation of the sort which Hitler asks from Poland. India and, we believe, the Congress are *satisfied as to the essential justness of the cause Britain is fighting today in Europe.* But since she, too, is in the position of a wronged party, she wants that the wrongs done to her should be righted before she is called upon to right the wrongs committed in other portions of the globe. If any one believes that this is a bargaining spirit, it cannot be helped. We feel absolutely unrepentant over it.



" RUSSIAN BETRAYAL "

Extract from an editorial in the " Hindustan Times " of September 12, 1939, under the caption, " Russian Betrayal."

....WHETHER RUSSIA, BY SIGNING THE PACT (WITH Germany), betrayed the cause of Communism is of more interest to herself and her friends throughout the world to whom so far she was the last word in honest dealing and straight diplomacy. But, by her action, Russia has today betrayed the cause of peace and the interests of the workers of the world, for the workers in every country will be the worst sufferers by war. But for what price ? Time alone will show.



COMMENT ON VICEROY'S SPEECH

" POSITIVE POLICY " WANTED

Comment on H. E. the Viceroy's speech to the joint session of the Central Legislature on September 11,

....THAT IS THE CHALLENGE WHICH BOTH BRITAIN AND France have taken up. And in taking this up, they have the sympathy not only of the people of this country

CONTEXT.

1939, appearing in the "Hindustan Times" of September 13, 1939.

t t iathy of enlightened opinion throughout the world. But if India is to pass from the mood of passive sympathy into active participation in this fight against the forces of injustice, oppression and tyranny, it is not enough that Britain has espoused the right cause. She should demonstrate her sincerity by applying within the Empire the principles she wants to establish in international relations.... That the Federation which no one in this country wanted is not to be forced on us is some gain, even though it may be only of a negative character.

....The negative contribution of a suspension of the unwanted Federal scheme can be of value only if there is a positive counterpart to that policy, by taking the real representatives of the people into consultation....



"BERLIN MURDER GANG"

"Hindustan Times" comment (September 16, 1939) on the Nazi campaign of frightfulness in Poland.

....THIS RUTHLESS MURDER OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN will rouse feelings of loathing and disgust throughout the world against the Berlin murder gang, who, in their desperation, are behaving like a hunted beast at bay....

> **By the bombing of open towns and villages, the murder of boys and girls, and attacks on hospital trains, Germany proclaims herself not only the enemy of Britain, France and Poland, but the common enemy of all mankind. Human depravity could scarcely descend to lower levels.**

Faced by this brutal campaign, it is for the world to decide how it would suppress such crimes and bring relief to the victim....



CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S "GESTURE"

Comment on the Congress Working Committee's statement of September 15, 1939.

....IF A CLEAR DEFINITION OF WAR AIMS IS ESSENTIAL to prevent a war, started for the establishment of high moral and political principles, degenerating into a scramble for more power, privilege and territory, it is equally essential that the allies should do nothing in the course of the war to disown the very principles for which they are said to be fighting....

....At the moment, the need for personal contact between the Congress and the Government appears both essential and imperative. The first Gandhi-Linlithgow meeting served a useful purpose in enabling each to understand the other's

views. A second meeting, with the Congress attitude clear, we are convinced, will prove more fruitful.



CONTEXT.

RUSSIAN INVASION OF POLAND

Extracts from an editorial in the "Hindustan Times" of September 20, 1939.

THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF POLAND IS AN ACT OF BANDITRY, more criminal than the Nazi onslaught on Poland..... with not even the pretence of justification which the Nazis had for overrunning the country.... That after splitting hairs with Britain and France over indirect aggression, the U. S. S. R. should herself become a partner in aggression with Germany, represents the depths to which politics in Europe have descended....

.... neither Britain nor France has any interest in throwing Russia into the arms of Germany and thus bring her an accession of strength which would put not only the British Commonwealth, but all that it stands for, in imminent peril..

....The new development is of immense consequence to India and the problem of her defence.... The vultures are gathering from the ends of the earth, and India should be vigilant if she is not to become their prey.



MUSLIM LEAGUE AND CONGRESS

Extracts from an editorial ("Our Nazi Communalists") in the "Hindustan Times" of September 21, 1939, on the Muslim League Working Committee's resolution of September 19.

....AND IF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE IS NOT SATISFIED THAT the Congress is doing the right thing by Muslims in the provinces in which it is in power, the proper thing will be to settle the dispute by one of the three methods suggested by President Roosevelt in his message to Hitler, of direct negotiation, conciliation or arbitration.....the Congress is prepared to accept any of the three methods to resolve the dispute.....

....While a minority can claim the right to safeguard its cultural, social, religious and even political interests, nowhere in the world can a minority be allowed to dictate to the majority what the future system of Government should be.....

Let us remind all such dreamers that there is one solid fact on which their dreams are bound to break into pieces, namely, that the strategic frontier of India lies in the North-West and since the spiritual affiliations of Pakistan are beyond the borders, India will

give no minority, however powerful, the right to sell the pass. India will resist any such attempt to the uttermost....."



CONTEXT.

LORD ZETLAND'S SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 27, 1939

Comment on Lord Zetland's speech in the House of Lords on September 27, 1939.

....BUT THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S SPEECH IS BOUND to lead to recriminations from which the British Government are not likely to come out best..... The fruit of her unconditional co-operation in the last war was the half-hearted concession of the Montford Reforms, the Rowlatt Act, Martial Law in the Punjab, the Amritsar massacre and the Haileyean casuistry about responsible government being something lower and inferior to Dominion Status....

> ....**And now, even when war has been declared for objects which we hold as dear as the Englishmen or the Frenchmen, or, truth to tell, far dearer, our co-operation is being sought again by methods more appropriate in a Nazi regime than in a regime which professes allegiance to principles of democracy.....**

When a Secretary of State for India finds nothing dishonourable in placing the interests of his country above those of India, why should we be apologetic about preferring the interests of our country to everything else?



RUSSIAN ATTACK ON FINLAND

December 1, 1939.

Accustomed as the world has become to acts of unprovoked aggression, it is difficult to think of the Russian attack on Finland as anything but an act of banditry, worse than any committed by Germany..... Between the Nazi and Bolshevik gangsters, Europe is evidently in for a reign of terror of which we are, perhaps, only seeing the beginning today.....

....The Western Powers have their hands so full in the west, on account of the conflict with Germany, that there is little or no possibility of their trying to assist Finland. Moreover, even if they wanted to, there is no means by which they can do so, on account of her geographical situation.....

....The offer of mediation made by the United States is likely to produce as little effect in the present instance as in the case of the German-Polish dispute. The inference seems irresistible that Finland will fight and perish as Poland has

perished. But out of their martyrdom may rise a new world free from the menace of aggression and the use of brutal force.



NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE

CONTEXT.

December 2, 1939.

WE ARE GLAD TO KNOW THAT THE RESIGNATION OF CONGRESS Ministries has made no difference to the attitude of Provincial Governments towards the National Planning Committee, appointed by the Congress Ministries. Most of the Governments, we are told, are continuing to support the Committee financially and are lending the services of their officers and experts to various sub-committees. This is as it should be.....



SATYAGRAHA

Comment on the Congress Working Committee's resolution of December 22, 1939.

....INSTEAD OF EMPHASIZING, AS AT ALLAHABAD, THAT Satyagraha implies that no effort should be spared to achieve an honourable settlement with the opponent, the Working Committee now tells us that the final sanction behind is civil disobedience, which is but a part of Satyagraha.....

....We feel, moreover, that it will be foolish for any one to rely on communal differences as sufficient reason why direct action will not be resorted to. *It may be quite possible to devise a form of direct action which will not bring the Satyagrahis into conflict with the Muslims.....*



PEACEFUL "DELIVERANCE DAY"

December 26, 1939.

CONGRATULATIONS HAVE BEEN SHOWERED ON MUSLIMS of the League persuasion by a contemporary, for observing "Deliverance Day" peacefully. That the day passed off peacefully is certainly a matter for congratulation though we are not quite sure that congratulations are being tendered to the right party.....



CONTEXT.

INDIAN YOUTH AND THE ARMY

January 9, 1940.

WE ARE CERTAIN THAT THERE WILL BE AN AMPLE RESPONSE from Indian youths to the call for volunteers for being trained and equipped for temporary commissions in the Indian Army. The call itself is a poor response to the nation's demand for Indianization of the Army and is due to the present conflagration. It would have been ever so much more graceful, if similar opportunities had been provided prior to the declaration of war. But, such as it is ,the offer is valuable. In the days to come, we will have to undertake the responsibility of the nation's defence.....



DOMINION STATUS

Comment on the Viceroy's speech at the Orient Club, Bombay, on January 10, 1940.

....DOMINION STATUS IN INDIA HAS BEEN SUCH AN ever-receding ideal that Indians can be excused if, by fixing a time-limit, they want to make certain that it will not prove again a will-o'-the-wisp..... In other words, instead of thinking of stages, however small the interval between now and the attainment of Dominion Status, the Government should think of immediate Dominion Status, or Dominion Status after the war with such safeguards as may be necessary, for a strictly limited period, to get over the difficulties to which His Excellency referred.....

....**To insist on previous agreement is to place the minorities in a tactically advantageous position, which today they, or rather the Muslim League, are using to blackmail the majority..... The Congress is willing to give the minorities the fullest protection to which they are entitled, but it is not prepared to give the minority a perpetual veto on all matters, or tamely surrender to attempts at dictation.**



LORD LINLITHGOW'S STATESMANSHIP

Comment on the report that Sir Samuel Hoare was being mentioned as a successor to Lord Linlithgow. (January 14, 1940.)

....WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF THE PRESENT DEADLOCK, whether it ends in a settlement making for a peaceful political advance or results in the gravest crisis in our history, there can be no doubt that very heavy responsibilities will fall upon the next Viceroy. So far as Lord Linlithgow is concerned, irrespective of the merits of the policy he may have pursued, and the value of the specific measures taken by him, there can be no doubt that on most public men who

have met him he has left an impression of absolute sincerity and the desire to do the right thing by the country whose destinies have been entrusted to his charge.

While holding his own convictions firmly, he has shown the capacity to understand and appreciate the other man's point of view, in which, perhaps, lies half the secret of real statesmanship. These qualities will be needed in an equal, if not greater, measure from anyone who succeeds him. It will not be enough that he has previous acquaintance with Indian problems and occupies a position of importance among the mediocrities whom Mr. Neville Chamberlain has assembled round him.

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CONTEXT.

PRINCES AND DOMINION STATUS

Comment on the Viceroy's speech at Baroda on January 17, 1940.

....IF BY INDIAN STATES HIS EXCELLENCY MEANS THE peoples of the States, there will be few in India who will not agree with him. But if by States he means the Princes, then the suspicion will arise in British India that, not content with making of the communal problem an insurmountable obstacle in the way of Dominion Status, a second hurdle in the way of India reaching the winning post is being erected by making the willingness of the Princes to accede to Federation as another condition to be fulfilled before India can become a Dominion.....

■ ■ ■

"GERMS OF SETTLEMENT"

Comment (Jan. 21, 1940) Mr. Gandhi's article in the "Harijan" in which he expressed the opinion that the Viceroy's speech to the Orient Club contained the "germs of a settlement".

....WHERE THAT SPEECH MARKS AN ADVANCE ON PREVIOUS statements of His Majesty's Government and his own Declaration of October 18 is in the promise it contains to reduce the interval between now and the attainment of Dominion Status to the minimum.....

Of the snags in the speech to which Gandhiji has referred the greatest, undoubtedly, is the possibility of the 'minimum interval' between now and full Dominion Status being interminably lengthened out, on some pretext or other.....

It is easy to see why Gandhiji is anxious for a settlement if an honourable settlement can be secured, and is not spoiling for a fight. The communal problem and disruptive tendencies within the Congress itself stand as impediments in the way of launching a fight with any hope of success.

Moreover, the war itself, the issue which it has raised and the predatory Imperialism of the Nazis and Bolsheviks present such a menace to the peace of the world and the independence of small nations that any complication which is likely to embarrass Britain in carrying her fight with Germany to a successful conclusion must be distressing to one with Gandhiji's outlook and bent of mind. Not merely from the higher point of view of Satyagraha, but from the point of view of realistic political considerations, the Congress will do well to strain every nerve to reach a friendly settlement, if such a settlement can be had, without sacrifice of the fundamental aims of the Congress.



LEAGUE DEMAND FOR ROYAL COMMISSION

CONTEXT.

January 27, 1940.

ADEQUATE AS WAS THE REASON GIVEN BY SIR HUGH O'Neill, the Under Secretary of State for India, for refusing to appoint a Committee or Royal Commission to inquire into the alleged grievances of the Muslim League against the Congress Ministries, we would have preferred the Under Secretary of State mentioning the grounds why an inquiry was unnecessary, namely, that those grievances were mostly imaginary and invented.....

Keen lawyer as he is, Mr. Jinnah should have realised that such an inquiry would amount into an inquisition—too, into the conduct of the Governors..Even to please Mr. Jinnah, the British Government would not hold such an inquest.....



JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

On Feb. 1, 1940, Admiral Yonai, the Japanese Premier, announced Japan's determination to concentrate on China and not get involved in the war in Europe.

.... WHEN JAPAN IS PREPARED TO DISRUPT THE FIRST strong national Government established in China after the Revolution in order to retain her stranglehold on the country and is prepared to set up Puppet Governments, which have to rely on her support for their continued existence, it is for third Powers to decide what reliance can be placed on the Japanese assurance to respect the integrity of their rights in China...



CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN BARODA

February 2, 1940.

.... WHERE THE NEW REFORMS IN BARODA MAY BE SAID to indicate progress are in that they provide for an elected

majority in the legislature and the absence of separate electorates and reservation of seats. One non-official member will be appointed to the Executive Council, but as his position will be the same as that of other members, the appointment cannot be said to improve matters much.

The appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries from non-official members of the legislature to assist the Dewan and the members of the Executive Council in their day-to-day work may be looked upon as a preparation for responsible government; but which elected member, with a sense of self-respect and experience of public life, will care to work under an Executive Councillor appointed by the Ruler, and take his orders from him on all matters ?.....



CONTEXT.

INDIA AND BURMA (MISCELLANEOUS AMENDMENTS) BILL

"Is it Progress ?", asked the "Hindustan Times" on February 2, 1940, commenting on the India and Burma (Miscellaneous Amendments) Bill.

THE BILL HAS RECEIVED THE ROYAL ASSENT AND BECOME law. The event is significant in more respects than one..... they can carry through Parliament any amendments to the India Act with a celerity which may amaze people.....Secondly,....we have been witnessing a process of retrogression by legislation, curtailing the powers that were conferred on the autonomous Provincial Governments and correspondingly increasing the powers of the irresponsible Central Government. ....And now this legislation has crippled the taxation resources of the provinces and taken away from them the power of indirectly reducing the salaries of the highly-paid services by imposing a graded tax on employments and professions.

....The United Provinces Government expected to get a revenue of Rs. 30,00,000 per annum from this source, but with this limitation that income would be reduced to such an insignificant figure as not to make it worth while to impose this tax...A feature of all retrograde amendments has been that Indian opinion was never even consulted about them.....



MR. GANDHI'S INTERVIEW WITH VICEROY

COMMENT ON COMMUNIQUE OF FEB. 5, 1940

Comment on the communique (issued on February 5, 1940) on H. E. the Viceroy's discussion on the political situation, with Mr. Gandhi in New Delhi.

.... WE REFUSE TO CALL IT A COMPLETE BREAKDOWN, FOR the consequences of such a breakdown will be incalculable to all parties....the value, both to India and England, of the cordiality existing between Lord Linlithgow and Gandhiji, as disclosed in the *communique* can hardly be over estimated..

The essence of the Congress demand is the claim for immediate freedom, qualified by the desire to have its implementing postponed till the end of the war in order not to embarrass Britain during the war, and the demand that the constitution to give effect to this status be drawn up by Indians themselves.

....Why should His Majesty's Government shrink from making a definite statement that the re-examination of the constitutional position after the war would be for the purpose of drafting a Dominion constitution for India ? Moreover, His Majesty's Government do not appear to have modified their original position of reviewing the whole field in 'consultation with Indian opinion.....

.... In the *communique* there is an absence of rigidity of expression which gives ground for the hope that modification of it is a distinct possibility.....



MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 6, 1940

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an editorial ("Vital Difference") in the "Hindustan Times" of February 7, 1940, commenting on Mr. Gandhi's statement of Feb. 6, on his talks with H. E. the Viceroy.

..... IF INDIAN OPINION IS ONLY TO BE CONSULTED AND the decisive factor is to be, even now, as it has always been, the will of Parliament and the British Government, then all this talk of Dominion Status becomes a cruel mockery.....

....Mr. Jinnah may decry the proposal for a Constituent Assembly, but there are other means by which effect can be given to the principle, if only the desire to do so is there.

....By denying to India the right of self-determination Britain will stand unmasked before the world. The champion of liberty in Europe will turn out to be the slave-driver of Asia...



VICEROY-JINNAH CORRESPONDENCE

Comment on the correspondence between H. E. the Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah (published on February 6, 1940) and the communique on the conversations.

....NOWHERE IS THERE ANY MENTION OF THE MUSLIM nation or of finding a homeland for this nation by partitioning the country. Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues, apparently reserve such ideas for their stunt and bargain value in dealing with the Congress...It was but fair that His Excellency should use the term legitimate, which we have italicised. The Muslims were entitled to the assurance they have received....

What, however, is easily forgotten is that while the Muslims would in all probability prove more than able to protect their

own interests, it is other communities whose interests may require careful protection. Witness Sukkur, into which Mr. Jinnah is not known to have called for an inquiry.

....While Mr. Jinnah merely asked for reconsideration of the whole problem of the constitution, apart from the Act of 1935, His Excellency appears to have gone farther—we would like to be corrected, if we are mistaken—and reopened 'the policy and plans on which it (the Act) is based.' In view of Mr. Jinnah's demand for repudiation of democracy and the principle of responsible government does this imply that the Government are willing to reopen not only the Act of 1935 but the declarations of 1917 and of 1929, insofar as they had laid down responsible government and Dominion Status as the goal ?....

Lastly, we see that Mr. Jinnah had asked not merely for the approval and consent of the Muslims but the approval and consent of both Hindus and Muslims for any declaration of policy or the enacting of a constitution....There is no reason why the consent of Sikhs and Indian Christians equally should not be necessary. Thus we finally come to the Congress position that no constitution should be imposed without the consent of the people as a whole.....



CONTEXT.

CONGRESS "ATROCITIES"

TANDA CASE JUDGMENT

Extract from an editorial in the "Hindustan Times" of February 18, 1940 (which also carries its Lucknow legal correspondent's report of the Oudh Chief Court judgment):—

THE TANDA RIOTS, IN FYZABAD DISTRICT, FIGURE PROMINENTLY among the 'atrocities' of the Congress Government, both in the Pirpur Committee's report and in other allied documents of the Muslim Leaguers. We should, therefore, like to invite the attention of the public to the observations of Mr. Justice Hamilton of the Oudh Chief Court on an appeal preferred by some of the Muslim accused, whose conviction he has maintained.



CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF LEGISLATORS

Comment (February 29, 1940) on Mr. V. Savarkar's objections to a Constituent Assembly consisting of the present members of Centra and Provincial Legislatures.

THOUGH THE CONGRESS MAY NOT AGREE WITH THE REASONS given by Mr. Savarkar, the Congress will certainly welcome another general election before constituting the members of the legislatures into a Constituent Assembly. This will enable it to improve its position still further in the provinces while parties which believe they have the confidence of the electorate will also be in a position to prove their claim.



CONTEXT.

"MEETING POINT CAN YET BE FOUND"

Extracts from an editorial in the "Hindustan Times" of March 22, 1940, on the decision taken at the Ramgarh session of the Indian National Congress.

THOSE WHO WOULD DISMISS IT AS 'ANOTHER CONGRESS gesture' are asking for disillusionment...Gandhiji's inexhaustible patience and his readiness to negotiate on honourable terms can be used by the Viceroy at this juncture to convince the Congress that it is not the influence of the British vested interests that is preventing the resolution of the present stalemate. It should be realized that only such a conviction will permit the Congress to examine any promise that implies delay, in a spirit of accommodation.

Along with such political negotiations, which will naturally have to deal with defence and similar problems, the British commercial interests in India must open their own negotiations with Indian interests without resort to the use of the 'big stick.' On these lines we are sure that a meeting point can yet be found between India and Britain even at this eleventh hour.

MUSLIM LEAGUE RESOLUTION OF MARCH 24,1940

Comment on the reactions to the All-India Muslim League resolution of March 24, 1940.

....IF MR. JINNAH (PRESIDENT OF THE ALL-INDIA Muslim League) is still thinking of a negotiated settlement, it must be obvious to him that no unilateral solution of the problem has the least chance of proving acceptable to the other party. The Congress has so far not tried to frame a solution on unilateral lines. It had confined itself to laying down the procedure for a settlement.

On the lines on which the League is proceeding there can be no agreed settlement. There can be only civil war and, at the end of it, an imposed solution by the stronger party.

But even for such a trial of strength, the British must withdraw completely, leaving the ring free to the combatants to fight it out. So far, the British have shown no desire to leave this country. Even Mr. Jinnah, we are sure, does not think that the new Muslim Raj can be established with the help of the lathi and brick-bat alone. The dream may become a reality, if the British Government favour the idea and are prepared to trample on the majority in order to give the League its bauble. But the big boot will then press as heavily on Hindu India as on Muslim India.

INVASION OF DENMARK AND NORWAY

April 10, 1940.

WHILE THE EFFICIENCY AND SWIFTNESS OF THE STROKE can be admired, the occupation of Denmark and Norway

constitutes yet another outrage accomplished at the expense of the weak and the unwary by the brutal forces of Nazism.

...In spite of all the preparations made, the Allied war machine is not yet as quick to act as the German war machine....

What form this Allied aid will take, we do not know; but, if the paralysing effect of the latest German stroke is to be countered, and other neutrals prevented from becoming absolutely demoralized, it must take the form of an Expeditionary Force to Norway.

Before the brutal and blatant disregard of their neutrality, which the occupation of these two countries by Germany implies, the technical breach of neutrality by the Allies in sowing mines in Norwegian territorial waters pales into insignificance. Because of her unscrupulousness, Germany has an advantage in having resort to flagrant violation of neutral rights, while those who still respect neutral rights are at a disadvantage.

The fate of Denmark should be a warning to all neutrals of the danger which threatens them.



MR. ANEY'S SUBSTITUTE FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

CONTEXT.

Comment (April 11, 1940) on Mr. M. S. Aney's statement suggesting a small conference of 50 to 100 influential public men to devise appropriate machinery to be entrusted with the drafting of an Indian constitution.

THE CHIEF DRAWBACK OF MOST SUCH SCHEMES IS THAT they lack the authority which only proposals put forward by the Government can possess. And since Government have not come forward with any proposals of their own, such schemes are not likely to be taken seriously by the country. But if the Government are anxious to find a way out of deadlock and have not closed their mind to the possibilities of a settlement, we feel that there are still elements in the present situation which make for peace and the avoidance of anything in the nature of a struggle.

We see it suggested that the Ramgarh resolution..... has made it difficult for the Government to make any fresh approach to the Congress.....We have been offered Dominion Status vaguely at some indefinite future, not immediately or within a definite period of time, which cannot possibly be extended in future. Let the Government make a firm offer and then see the country's response. Apart from this, the controversy over the goal has somewhat receded into the background with Gandhiji's insistence on the principle of self-determination.

If the decision about our future constitution is left to a Constituent Assembly, such an Assembly may prefer Dominion Status to complete independence, and

Congressmen are not likely to create difficulties because of Congress allegiance to the ideal of independence.

....Though the Congress has put forward the scheme of a Constituent Assembly elected on adult suffrage, it is prepared to accept any substitute which respects the principle of self-determination. Provincial elections have been recently suggested as a means of getting an authoritative body. If the British Government agree to it, the Congress is not likely to reject such a move.....Here is a proposal which puts all the professions of the Government to the acid test. Will they agree to it?

....**India too is anxious to help the Allies because she knows what Nazis and Nazism stand for, provided her own freedom is assured.**



CONFERENCE OF MEMBERS OF LEGISLATURES

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an editorial ("Repudiating Partition") in the "Hindustan Times" of April 19, 1940.

FINALLY, WE SEE THAT SIR GHULAM HUSSAIN Hidayatullah supports the idea of convening a conference of members of legislatures for the purpose of considering the constitutional and communal problems. We have ourselves supported the idea though.....it will be well to hold a general election before convening such a conference.... so far as we can see, the Government do not appear to be anxious to consider proposals likely to end the deadlock.



PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE OF APRIL 17

LORD ZETLAND'S "CONCILIATORY TONE"

Comment on the debate in Parliament on April 17, 1940.

...WE READILY RECOGNIZE THE CONCILIATORY TONE OF Lord Zetland's speech and are also prepared to admit that it shows a far better appreciation of the Congress position than we are accustomed to look for in the speeches of the Secretary of State.....while leaving it to his understudy in the House of Commons to wave the big stick.

Both he and the Secretary of State are somewhat half-hearted in their denunciation of the League resolution..... If Lord Zetland makes political advance conditional on agreement with persons who are lost to all sense of patriotism and are ready to betray the interests of country and community alike, will the suspicion be far fetched that the British Government are exploiting the situation for their own ends and are not seeking a way out of the impasse?

Negotiation, not dictation, is what, according to him the Government are thinking of. This is something better than mere consultation.....If the reasons on account of which Lord Zetland feels that His Majesty's Government cannot wholly dissociate themselves from the shaping of the future constitution are met by means of a previous agreement, surely it ought to be possible for His Majesty's Government to allow the people of this country to decide the sort of constitution, to live without outside interference.

If the Princes want to be associated with the Central Government of the country, they can do so only as real representatives of their subjects, and not as their oppressors. If the Paramount Power cannot bring the Princes to recognize the reasonableness of this claim, then the Princes can be left out of consideration, for the present. As for defence, the responsibility for the present position is the British Government's and not ours, and, consequently, it is for them to come out with proposals for the transitional period till such time as the country is ready to assume the full responsibility for defence.....

...it will certainly be worthwhile for the Working Committee to consider whether one or two front-rank Congress leaders should not be deputed to America, in order to keep the American people informed about developments in this country.

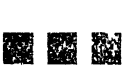


CONTEXT.

Comment (May 5, 1940) on a suggestion made in the House of Commons that a conference of Indian leaders be called to consider the political deadlock.

SUGGESTED CONFERENCE OF INDIAN LEADERS

IF THE GOVERNMENT ARE THINKING OF THE PEOPLE OF this country convening such a conference unofficially, then the sincerity of their desire to put an end to the present situation in the country will have to be called in question.



POLITICAL DEADLOCK

SUGGESTED CONFERENCE OF PREMIERS

May 9, 1940.

THE SUGGESTION THAT A CONFERENCE OF PREMIERS OF THE provinces be called (to consider the political deadlock) has received support from so many unexpected quarters that we feel the time has come for His Excellency the Viceroy and the British Government to consider it seriously, if at all they are anxious to end the present deadlock. Mr. Fazlul Huq, who moved the Pakistan resolution at the Lahore session

of the Muslim League, has supported the idea. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant (former Congress Premier of the United Provinces), speaking at Agra, looked upon it favourably.

The suggestion may fulfil the condition laid down by Mahatma Gandhi for convening a committee of leaders to reach a preliminary agreement, namely, that the leaders should be elected and not nominated.....If the British Government are sincere in their professions that agreement between the League and the Congress is one of the essential conditions of advance, here is a proposal on which both are agreed and which may conceivably end not only the political deadlock but may even lead to a discussion and settlement of the communal problem from a realistic point of view.

A conference of this kind is not likely to achieve anything tangible unless, as Gandhiji put it recently, the British Government " have made up their mind to part with power and recognize the right of India to frame the charter of her freedom ".....This may take the form of a Declaration. before the conference is actually convened or at the conference itself, promising a completely free status to India at the end of the war.

■ ■ ■

NORWEGIAN CAMPAIGN

CONTEXT.

Comment (May 11, 1940) on the second day's debate in the House of Commons on the Norwegian Campaign.

GERMANY HAVING ESTABLISHED THIS DOMINANCE IN THE air and the possibility of her striking in other directions being an ever-present one, it was undoubtedly wise on the part of the Government not to exhaust their air force in Norway, but to prefer withdrawal. However.....they should have taken this factor into calculation before sending the Expeditionary Force to Norway.

■ ■ ■

INVASION OF NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

May 12, 1940.

GERMANY'S EXCUSES FOR THE INVASION OF BELGIUM and Holland are an insult to the intelligence of the world. The truth is, an attempt is being made to establish the rule of gunmen in Europe, and the fact that millions of people in Germany have acquiesced in this gunmen rule, in the hope that they are leading their nation on the path of glory, may make the menace a formidable one, but detracts nothing from the horror and inequity of the latest Nazi outrage.

As for the Allies, there can be no doubt that this is an outrage which they cannot tolerate, no less in their own interests than in the interest of the Low Countries.

■ ■ ■

MR. CHURCHILL'S POLICY SUPPORTED

CONTEXT.

"Extract from an editorial ("Vote of Confidence") in the "Hindustan Times" of May 16, 1940, on the adoption in the House of Commons, by 380 votes to nothing, of Mr. Winston Churchill's resolution welcoming the formation of a new Government.

Called upon to assume high office soon after the foul crime of unprovoked invasion of Belgium and Holland and speaking while the greatest battle of all history was being waged on Belgian and Dutch soil, Mr. Churchill could have no other aim than victory, no other policy than that of waging war with all his strength.

■ ■ ■

"IF THREAT TO INDIA MATERIALIZES . ."

May 21, 1940.

LIKE THE BOURBONS, MR. JINNAH HAS LEARNT NOTHING and forgotten nothing. With Fate knocking at the door, he sits at the counter, counting small change. If the threat to India materializes as the result of the extension of the war, it will make mincemeat of his Pakistan and his new nation. He wants to meet Mahatma Gandhi, but only 'on behalf of the Hindus'. Mr. Jinnah still insists on thrusting on Gandhiji a role which he himself is unable to assume.... The latest explanation of his views by Mr. Jinnah is merely another reminder that we need not look for a settlement on the basis of an agreement with him or the organization he represents....

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INVASION OF FRANCE

May 21, 1940.

MR. CHURCHILL'S BROADCAST SPEECH IS A CLARION call to the Allied armies to rally all their forces and resist the invader. The supersession of General Gamelin and the appointment of General Weygand, Marshal Foch's right-hand man, as Chief of Staff and Commander-in-Chief in all theatres of war, shows that France is equally determined to throw all her resources into the fight, in order to prevent the German advance and throw the invader out.

The assurances given to Mr. Churchill by M. Reynaud are also proof that France will fight to the end, bitter or otherwise.

...The new leadership of Britain and France must enable the Allies not only to stem the tide of invasion but strike hard blows at the enemy.



CONTEXT.

MR. AMERY'S STATEMENT OF MAY 23, 1940

"AMAZING PRONOUNCEMENT"

Comment on Mr. L. S. Amery's statement in the House of Commons on May 23, 1940.

MR. AMERY'S AMAZING PRONOUNCEMENT.....WAS obviously formed on the twin supposition that the Congress was dying to get back to office and the demand for an unequivocal recognition of India's right to self-determination had abated. Conciliatory statements have been mistaken for weakness .....It lacks truth, imagination and even an elementary study of desk-papers.

The dull repetition of language that has already failed to evoke enthusiasm suggests that the new Secretary of State has no intention of taking India out of the pigeon-hole in which his predecessor left it.... .There must it rest until it grows wings of its own...



MR. JINNAH'S APPEAL FOR TRUST

Comment ("A Sordid Game") in the "Hindustan Times" of May 29, 1940, on Mr. Jinnah's "appeal for trust."

...MR. JINNAH ASSUMES A FUNDAMENTAL ANTAGONISM between Hindu and Muslim interests, which cannot be reconciled, and his tactics are to join hands with the British Government and get what he wants and a little more at the expense of the Hindu community. There are Hindus also who believe equally that Muslims are their enemies and, if only the community joins hands with the Government, they can be kept in the right place.

The Congress can have nothing to do with such ignoble tactics and policy.....It does not believe that the antagonism between the two communities is so fundamental as to induce each to hug its slavery and hope to steal a march over the other by pleasing its master.....That Mr. Jinnah should put this forward as a positive policy to the Government is an indication of the depths of degeneracy to which his leadership has brought the Muslim League.

In such a situation, the temptation must be great to the British Government to play the old game of *divide et impera* on more refined lines. But that way they will be serving neither the interests of this country nor their own.....We do not believe that, simply to spite the Congress, which

stands uncompromisingly for the freedom of this country as a whole, the Government will strike a bargain with the League on the latter's terms. But that the President of the League should have made such an offer is a matter of indelible disgrace, both for him and the organization he represents.

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BELGIAN SURRENDER

CONTEXT.

May 29, 1940.

..M. REYNAUD, IN MAKING THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE Belgian surrender, was particularly bitter. His bitterness is understandable. To be kept at arm's length till the storm actually burst, to be called in to help at the twelfth hour and then to abandon resistance at a critical phase of the campaign without even informing the Allies who were fighting side by side with him, seems inexplicable conduct, but the most charitable interpretation of King Leopold's action is that the Belgian Army had collapsed suddenly, beyond all possibility of rallying it to put up any effective resistance...

■ ■ ■

C-IN-C'S BROADCAST OF MAY 31, 1940

Comment ("Security of India") in the Hindustan Times" of June 2, 1940, on the Commander-in-Chief's broadcast of May 31.

TO EXPECT THE COUNTRY TO FEEL ENTHUSIASTIC OVER this programme and confident that we are ready to meet any possible aggressor is a vain hope. India today is extremely vigilant and knows that against any totalitarian menace of the sort which faced Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Holland, her defences will crumble like a card castle.

Writing with a full sense of responsibility to our people, we have to say that the persons on whose shoulders rests the burden today of safeguarding the safety and security of this country are tinkering with it in a way which does not bode good for our security...We are convinced that the defence of India is not a responsibility which the present Government can discharge with any success. The sooner they go and are replaced by a really National Government the better will it be for the security of the country...

■ ■ ■

LESSON OF DUNKIRK

June 4, 1940.

..THE LESSON OF DUNKIRK IS OF VALUE NOT SO MUCH FOR what might have been as for what is likely to come...Dunkirk

has shown that, in face of his heaviest bombers escorted by fighters the British Navy can act successfully and with comparatively little loss. To prevent an invasion of England both the R. A. F. and the Royal Navy will be prepared to run greater risks than at Dunkirk, and it will be for Hitler to decide whether in face of such formidable opposition he will attempt anything so futile as an invasion of England.



EXPANSION OF FIGHTING FORCES

CONTEXT.

June 4, 1940.

UNDER STRESS OF WAR, THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HAVE decided that Indian officers need not be kept segregated in one Division but can be posted to all units of the army. The announcement was made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in his broadcast speech on Friday last. But as regards the number of Indian officers now being trained as part of the scheme for expansion of our Fighting Forces, His Excellency was beautifully vague. Unless the people of this country know exactly what this full share means, they are not likely to be satisfied that the Government are not still following the same old policy of distrust and niggardliness....



PROSPECTS OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

June 5, 1940.

ONE SENTENCE IN GANDHIJI'S ARTICLE IN THE CURRENT issue of *Harijan* is being wilfully misrepresented to mean that he is not willing to start civil disobedience till the war is over... Gandhiji has stated that if the British Government will not declare India a free country he is of the opinion "that we should wait till the heat of the battle in the heart of the Allied countries subsides and the future is clearer than it is"...

While his words will certainly apply if the withdrawal of the British Expeditionary Force is followed by another German offensive on the Somme, or an invasion of England, they will not apply if the war again enters another period of stalemate, as during the first seven months. To say that he will not have recourse to direct action till the war is over is to misrepresent his views.



INDIA AND DOMINION STATUS

Comment ("Seeking A Settlement") in the Hindustan Times" of June 12, 1940, on an exclusive interview given by Mr. L. S. Amery to the London Correspondent of the paper.

..IF WHAT MR. AMERY MEANS IS THAT SUCH A STATUS CAN be reached as soon as we have made up our internal quarrels, let us remind him that neither the Lucknow Pact nor the Congress-League understanding at the time of the Khilafat agitation led us to Dominion Status. Constitutionally, there is no means by which India can attain the status of a Dominion within the British Commonwealth, except by an Act of the British Parliament...

If Mr. Amery says that there is no question of Britain helping India to attain this status, that it is for India herself to attain it by her own efforts and by methods which may or may not be constitutional, then let us be told so in unequivocal terms. That will be a lesson in self-reliance which India sadly needs..

ITALY ENTERS WAR

"MUSSOLINI HAS COVERED HIS NAME WITH INFAMY"

"The Stab In the Back" was how an editorial in the "Hindustan Times" of June 12, 1940, described Italy's entry into the War.

THE HAND THAT HELD THE DAGGER, SAID PRESIDENT Roosevelt, speaking at the University of Virginia, had stabbed its neighbour in the back. And that neighbour was already wounded and bleeding while this cowardly blow was struck from behind. The age of chivalry is, indeed, gone and instead we seem to have the age of betrayers and bandits, gunmen and gangsters...

> **To the dictators who worship at the altar of success, no treachery is too foul, no oppression too mean, provided they can wade through the blood of the innocent to the goal of world domination and universal tyranny.**

Without even the excuse Hitler had to attack Poland, Mussolini has turned on France...Whatever the outcome of the present war may be...Mussolini by the action which he took on the evening of Monday, June 10, 1940, has covered his name with infamy and earned for his country the contempt of the world.

> ....**Like a vulture who feeds where desolation first has fed, he was waiting for the day when he could feel certain that France was at her last gasp, to pounce upon his victim in order to ensure for himself a share in the division after the victim's demise ...**

...If the calculation of a short and swift victory on which Hitler and Mussolini are gambling, proves wrong — *the world must see to it that it is proved wrong, for life will be unbearable under a Nazi-Fascist tyranny*—then all, indeed, will be lost to them...

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FRANCO-GERMAN ARMISTICE TERMS

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an editorial ("Vae Victis") in the "Hindustan Times" of June 25, 1940.

THE WAR OF TODAY BEING WHAT THE TOTALITARIANS HAVE made it, it is useless to examine in detail the Armistice terms imposed on France by Germany, to discover whether they are humiliating or honourable...Harsh as the terms are, Hitler may denounce them any moment on some pretext or other and who that knows him can doubt that he will do so, when it is convenient for him to do so ?..

■ ■ ■

INDIA EMERGENCY BILL

Extracts from an editorial ("Pitiful Pettiness") in the "Hindustan Times" of June 28, 1940, commenting on the India and Burma (Emergency) Bill.

FROM THE MANNER IN WHICH THE BILL FOR THE EMERGENCY Government of India and Burma is being sought to be placed on the British Statute Book, it does not look as if the British Government are at all anxious to reach a political settlement with this country, even though they stand at the very threshold of disaster...The contemptuous disregard of Indian opinion shown by the non-publication of the Bill in this country is proof that what they want is unimpeded exploitation of our resources in this war, not the honourable co-operation of the people.

The Governor-General already possesses the power to introduce conscription among British Indian subjects, but we are informed authoritatively that there is no intention to introduce conscription amongst Indians now. Why this distinction between Britons and Indians ? Indians are certainly more vitally concerned with any threat to this country than Britons. Still, if the distinction is made, is the suspicion unnatural that the Government believe that they can get all the recruits they need for the ranks from Indians, while Britons are being conscripted in order to provide officers for the newly expanded Forces ?

Do the Government expect Indians to put up with the humiliation, that in their own country they should be recruited to become cannon-fodder while their bosses are to be drawn from conscripted Englishmen ?..

..all power is sought to be vested in the Governor-General, without taking the public or the Legislature into confidence

Rightly does Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar (former Congress Premier of Madras) point out that the Governor-General must function in rapidly increasing isolation and not only without the support of, but actually against, popular opinion.. The alternative to rule by Parliament is rule by the Indian people. When the one goes, the other must follow automatically. No stop-gap arrangements can resist the logic of events....



CONTEXT.

CONGRESS OFFER TO BRITAIN

DISSOCIATION FROM PRINCIPLE OF NON-VIOLENCE

July 10, 1940.

...THE CONGRESS IS TODAY COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLE of full co-operation with the Government in their war efforts, provided there is recognition of the principle of Indian freedom and a National Government is formed. That offer is being made without any mental reservation whatsoever, and the fact that the decision has been arrived at in the presence of Mahatma Gandhi, even though it be after dissociation from the principle of absolute non-violence, for which he stands, is a guarantee that the offer is a firm one from which there is no question of withdrawal or backing out.....

..The problem of our defence has become more difficult and been made far more complicated because Britain is not in a position to come to our assistance. Consequently, if the country is to have an adequate system of defence, it will have to call for immense sacrifices from our poverty-stricken millions, for which they will be ready only if their dreams of a free India are to be fulfilled...

...For the Congress to move up to the present position is no mean sacrifice. The present war was not of its seeking, and the country was made a belligerent without even the pretence of consulting the representatives of the people. If still the Congress is prepared to co-operate with the British Government in the more vigorous prosecution of the war, till the Hitlerian nightmare is lifted from the face of the earth, *it is because the Congress realized that both we and they are confronted with a threat not only to our existence but to all those ideals which make life worth living for the civilized man.* India is asking for nothing more than to be allowed to participate in the crusade against Nazism, without losing her own self-respect...



CONTEXT.

DICTATORSHIP IN FRANCE

July 10, 1940.

THE PETAIN GOVERNMENT ARE APPARENTLY UNDER THE impression that by modelling the French Constitution on Fascist lines, they can mitigate the fierceness of the blow which will fall on their country...If harsher terms have not been imposed on France, it is because Britain is still fighting..

Hope for France, as for Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Holland, lies not in Nazi generosity but in a British victory.....



"INDIA'S FATE MAY BE DECIDED IN EUROPE"

Extracts from an editorial ("A Positive Approach") in the "Hindustan Times" of July 11, 1940, commenting on the Congress resolution of July 7.

WE DO NOT THINK THAT THOSE WHO ARE PREPARED TO see a National Government functioning at the Centre need worry themselves over much about the demand for a declaration of independence. If the National Government to be formed at the Centre is to be completely free to function as a real Dominion Government, there can be no question of a reversion to autocracy after the war, even though the National Government may be a provisional Government. This Government can only be replaced by a popular Government, formed under a new Constitution to be framed by the National Government themselves, in agreement with all parties.

As for further prosecution of the war and India's participation in it...India knows that, for her own defence, she must give Britain all the help she can, as her fate may well be decided in Europe...



NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

COMMENT ON MR. JINNAH'S REACTION

"Futility Again" was how the "Hindustan Times" of July 12, 1940, described Mr. M. A. Jinnah's reaction to the Congress resolution of July 7.

..BUT HIS (MR. JINNAH'S) REMARKS ON THE CONGRESS demand for a National Government show the extent to which prejudice can pervert the judgment and blur the vision. The suggestion, if we are not much mistaken, was made first by one of his colleagues, Mr. Fazlul Huq, and supported by other Muslim Leaguers. If the demand is conceded, Mr. Jinnah says, it will mean a permanent Hindu-majority Government which the Muslims will never accept. To that Sir Mahomed Yakub has already given the reply. He has stated the Muslim League must realize that no combination can turn a minority into a majority.

Mr. Jinnah's solution for the difficulty is partition. That is a solution which his other colleagues, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Premier of the province which is to be the nucleus of the new Muslim State, has repudiated in no uncertain terms. Moreover, if Mr. Jinnah is not prepared to accept a Hindu-majority Government at the Centre, the Sikhs and Hindus of the Punjab and the Frontier are equally determined not to accept Muslim-majority Government in the North-West.....

NON-PARTY GOVERNMENT

.....The Congress by passing this resolution has given up the idea of party Government and, in view of the national emergency, has agreed to form a National Government at the Centre in which all parties will be represented. In the provinces as well, the Congress will be ready to form non-party Governments. This decision removes the biggest obstacle in the way of Congress-League co-operation and if only the League leaders join hands with the Congress and press it on the Government, we have no doubt that the Government will be forced to concede it...



"HITLER'S FRIENDS"

CONTEXT.

Extract from an editorial ("Hitler's friends") in the "Hindustan Times" of July 14, 1940.

INDIA FULLY REALIZES THAT WHAT STANDS TODAY between herself and the Nazi menace is British sea power. If that goes, the subjugation of India will be as easy a matter for Hitler as the subjugation of Holland or Belgium. Britain must shoulder her responsibility for our present helplessness, but whosoever be responsible, we cannot afford to ignore present facts. India has also to protect herself from threats to her existence coming from other directions. The stronger India becomes, the more confident can Britain also become that India has become the centre of resistance to Nazi aggression in the East.

But our first duty is towards ourselves and, since in preparing for our own defence we shall be freeing Britain of her responsibility for the defence of this country, no one can blame us for doing so.

Only the friends of Hitler interested in preventing India from putting forth her maximum efforts in organizing her defence and helping Britain in organizing the defence of the British Commonwealth continue to misrepresent the Congress attitude....

..Given the right of choice, India can see for herself the advantage of association with Great Britain but to force he

to remain within the Commonwealth, will be a negation not of independence only but of even Dominion Status, as voluntary association is the essence of this status....

However that may be, if the Government are prepared to go up to Dominion Status only, let them offer to form a National Government which will be allowed to function as a Dominion Government during the war and will be replaced afterwards by a constitution formed with the consent of all the important elements in the country. *Such a declaration of policy will, at any rate, have the merit of confronting the Congress with a positive policy....*



CONTEXT.

MR. JINNAH'S REPLY TO CONGRESS PRESIDENT

July 16, 1940.

MR. JINNAH'S REPLY TO THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's) message confirms our worst suspicions. He is evidently in no state to participate in the public life of the country. Simla may put him up, to prop up the tottering structure of British Imperialism. The reactionaries in the League may connive at it, in order to give reaction a semblance of popular following, even though it be communal.. But the Congress, as such, can have no dealing with him....



REJECTION OF HITLER'S BOGUS PEACE OFFER

LORD HALIFAX PRAISED

Comment. (July, 24, 1940) on Lord Halifax's reply to Hitler.

IN WORDS WHOSE SIMPLE DIGNITY OFFERED A STRANGE contrast to the ranting bombast of Hitler, Lord Halifax rejected Hitler's bogus offer of peace, or rather his call to Britain to capitulate to him unconditionally....

..we will do well to remember that when he marched into Austria he was not righting a wrong perpetrated at Versailles...The only justification for the act was that the majority of the people were of the German race, a justification which gave a semblance of reasonableness to his claim for the Sudetenland. But when he annexed Bohemia and Moravia, he was himself inflicting on a small nation a wrong far worse than any committed by the authors of the Versailles Treaty. Today he is holding under his sway the peoples of Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France.

Even if he has no claims to make on Britain, which we do not believe, to ask Britain to suspend hostilities now will be to ask her to disinterest herself in the future of all these nations and buy peace for herself at the sacrifice of the freedom of all these peoples....

..**Brute force, efficiently organized and led, may for the moment appear to have triumphed, but to allow it to have unchallenged sway will be to throw the world back into the darkness of the Middle Ages. Tyranny and despotism are not likely to become less cruel and more acceptable merely by calling them dictatorship or totalitarianism....**



SOVIET AMBITIONS

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an editorial ("Revisionist Ambitions", in the "Hindustan Times" of July 24, 1940.

THE PROCESS OF ABSORPTION OF THE THREE BALTIC States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which Soviet Russia began soon after the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and France and the United Kingdom, has reached its culmination with the decision of these three countries to convert themselves into Soviet Socialist Republics and get incorporated in Soviet Russia..

Being assured against any possible German intervention by the Nazi-Soviet pact, Russia made her first move in this direction with the collapse of Poland. This was followed by the occupation of the three Baltic States, the war with Finland, the annexation of Bessarabia and now the incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Finland may be more difficult to deal with, but her position today is like that of Czechoslovakia after the annexation of the Sudetenland.....

The process of forcible revision of treaties having been started, there is no stopping it until after it has perpetrated far worse injuries than those inflicted at Versailles. And thus the seeds of the next world war are being sown, before even this one is over.



CONGRESS OFFER

Extracts from comment (July 30, 1940) on the Congress resolution of July 22, 1940.

..BY ENDORSING THIS POINT OF VIEW, THE ALL-INDIA Congress Committee has agreed to assume responsibility for organizing the defence of the country efficiently and give Britain something more than mere moral support in the war, which was all that Gandhiji had promised....

..**The Congress does not want to make the offer of co-operation something in the nature of an ultimatum, but**

it cannot indefinitely wait, hat in hand, at the entrance to Viceregal Lodge....

BRITAIN'S REPLY

TO THE DEMAND FOR THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL Government supported on the one side by persons like Mr. Arthur Moore, Editor of the "Statesman", and Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal, and on the other by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the author of the Delhi resolution, the British Government have come out with their reply...

It is true that the original offer made by His Excellency the Viceroy has been modified to a certain extent, but this is clearly a modification and in no sense an improvement... while in October 'a certain number of representatives of political parties' was to be added to the Council, today the Viceroy proposes 'to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council.'

The Consultative Committee of October last has also been transformed into the War Advisory Council of August, but we have not the ghost of an idea as to what the distinction implies. The third point we note is the assurance to minorities couched in terms which leave matters where they were ...

> **The essence of the scheme is, undoubtedly, the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the formation of a War Advisory Council. For the rest, it is all promise of what is to be done after the conclusion of the war** ...

..Here we have the doctrine, naked and unashamed, that minorities have the right to place a perpetual veto on the constitutional progress of the country....A Government which derives its authority from an outside source, and whose very existence is dependent on coercion of majority and minorities alike, is to perpetuate its own rule on the specious plea that the authority of a Government broadbased on the will of the vast majority of this country is likely to be challenged by vociferous and spurious sections of minorities.

..we see that there is no promise anywhere that the conclusions of the body representative of the principal elements in our national life, which is to be set up after the war, will be accepted by the Government....

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

..The most significant feature of the statement is that it nowhere mentions the proposal for the formation of a National Government for which not only the Congress but several other

sections of opinion in the country had asked. Why was this suggestion, put forward in all sincerity and with every desire to further the war effort of the Government, brushed aside as if it were of no account? Was it because Mr. Jinnah had rejected it by implication in his boorish reply to the Congress President?

..There is to be no transfer of power to the people, whatever happens.



"COMPLETE BREAKDOWN"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an editorial ("A Complete Breakdown") in the "Hindustan Times" of Aug. 16, 1940, commenting on Mr. L. S. Amery's speech in the House of Commons debate on the Viceroy's statement of August 8.

SPEAKING AT BLACKPOOL ON SUNDAY LAST, MR. AMERY told the world that if only Indian political leaders joined the Viceroy's Executive Council they would "make it, in fact, in India, as we have made it here, a truly National Government, enjoying the goodwill and confidence of all the main elements in India's national life"...

On Wednesday, he told the House of Commons frankly that the enlarged Executive Council would, of course, be responsible to the Governor-General and could not be responsible in the strict constitutional sense, to the legislature...

A few more dummies on the Executive Council? Yes; a National Government responsible to the legislature? An emphatic No...

His Majesty's Government are prepared to make any amount of spacious promises about the future, promises which are at the same time specious, but they are not prepared to submit to the vital test of their sincerity, by transferring power from the present bureaucracy to a Government responsible to the people of this country as a whole....

Without ensuring her own freedom it would be the cruellest mockery to ask India to fight for the freedom of the world.

MINORITIES' SUGGESTION

If the Congress wanted power for itself, it would have asked for responsible government at the Centre, in the sense in which responsible government was functioning in the provinces. *But the Congress knew that the minorities would not accept such a proposal.* That was the very reason why it asked for a National Government composed of all parties represented in the legislature and responsible to the legislature as a whole....

As a matter of fact, the suggestion emanated from the minorities and the Congress merely agreed to it, as it met the vital need for transfer of power....

Except for Mr. Jinnah's hysterical outburst, we have not heard a single voice raised against it. If still His Majesty's Government have rejected it, it can only be due to the reason that they are not prepared to transfer power from the own hands....

The stalemate of a year thus ends in a complete breakdown when all hopes of a settlement must now be finally abandoned.



CONTEXT.

"DECLINED WITH THANKS"

Extracts from an editorial ("Declined With Thanks") in the "Hindustan Times" of Aug. 23, 1940, commenting on the Congress resolution of Aug. 22.

..WHILE THE CONGRESS CLAIMS ABSOLUTE LIBERTY FOR the country to settle its own destinies, unfettered by any self-assumed obligations of the British Government, it is absolutely untrue that the country has been offered anything in the nature of Dominion Status....the break has come not over this issue (Dominion Status *versus* Independence) but over the unequivocal rejection of the demand for the formation of a National Government representative of all important parties and responsible to the present Central Legislature..

....The Communal Award was a complete acceptance of minority claims, but still, within a few years, His Majesty's Government are showing only too great readiness to concede the claim of the minorities, first, to obstruct all constitutional progress and, secondly, to partition the country, in the interest of the Imperialist-cum-Communalist conspiracy...

....In the contest of wills, which appears to be imminent, one thing is unthinkable, that the cause of freedom should triumph in Europe but suffer a disastrous reverse in this country....



MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR'S "SPORTING OFFER"

August, 25, 1940.

THOUGH MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR HAS CALLED IT A sporting offer, his is an offer unprecedented in its magnanimity and vision. It sets at rest at one stroke all the unfounded suspicions whether genuinely felt by or aired on behalf of the minorities and is, at the same time, a complete answer to Mr. Amery's slander that a Provisional National Government is impossible on account of the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League.

.... The offer must put an end to the pretence that the Congress is out to seize power in order to oppress the minorities...If the concern for minorities, implicit in the declaration

of August 8.. is honest and real, then His Majesty's Government can have no shadow of excuse for rejecting this offer.

■ ■ ■

VICEROY-CONGRESS PRESIDENT CORRESPONDENCE

CONTEXT.

The correspondence between H. E. the Viceroy and the Congress President was released on August 29, 1940.

....IN OTHER WORDS, WHILE THERE MAY BE ANY AMOUNT of argument about the interpretation and implications of the statement, His Majesty's Government had definitely made up their mind that they were not prepared to go beyond it, to meet the demands of the Indian situation. And since the Viceroy's declaration was a definite negation of the demand made by the Congress, it must have become obvious to both parties that they had come to the parting of the ways and that further negotiations and consultations were useless.....

■ ■ ■

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S ATTITUDE

Extracts from an editorial ("Unto This Pass"), in the "Hindustan Times" of September 3, 1940, on the All-India Muslim League's resolution of September 2.

....HAVING FOUND HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT UNEXpectedly accommodating and anxious to meet even its most extreme demands, the Muslim League is bent on pressing them to concede all . .

We ask all honest Indian Muslims to take the points on which the League has asked for clarification from His Excellency the Viceroy and contrast them with the position as it would be, if Mr. Rajagopalachariar's generous offer had been accepted. Instead of thus having its own way on every one of the points raised by it, the League prefers to petition the Viceroy for consideration of the points.... Apart from these, there is the fundamental difference that . .the additional members of the Viceroy's Council will be the servants of the Viceroy....not an autonomous Cabinet. ..as they would be in a National Government.... .

Unto this pass has hatred of the Congress brought the League, that it is ready to betray the interests of community and country alike merely for the satisfaction of its lust for revenge....It is a tragedy too deep for tears.

■ ■ ■

ANGLO—AMERICAN AGREEMENT

September 5, 1940.

....IF THE TRIUMPH OF NAZISM IN EUROPE IS A MENACE to America, as all Americans feel it is, American security can be best safeguarded by killing the menace in its homeland,

instead of waiting to resist it when it reaches the American shores. But it is for the United States to decide when, if at all, she will enter the war. Meanwhile, by looking to her own moat and helping Great Britain, she is doing a great deal to bring about the ultimate defeat of Nazism.



SIR SIKANDER HYAT KHAN AND PAKISTAN SCHEME

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an editorial ("Sir Sikander's Repudiation") in the "Hindustan Times," of September 12, 1940.

.... INTERVIEWED BY A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE "TRIbune," Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, is reported to have stated that even today he was opposed to the division of India and he still believed that there should be no division of the country on a communal basis. In the Punjab, for instance, he added, there could not be and should not be the rule of any one community but the rule of the Punjabis."

....He added that he held the view that even the Muslim League resolution did not contemplate any division of India.

.... It is to be hoped that Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan will express himself unequivocally on this Pakistan stunt. His opposition to it will give it the quietus which it deserves, the Jinnahs and Fazlul Huqs notwithstanding.



SIKH ATTITUDE TO "SPORTING OFFER"

September 12, 1940.

....WE ARE AFRAID THE SIKHS IN THE PUNJAB ARE getting needlessly agitated over Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's offer to leave it to the Muslim League to name Premier and ask him to form a National Government, if the British Government would agree to the Congress proposal.

....The offer no more involved acceptance of perpetual minority rule by the Hindus than repudiation of the pledge given to the Sikhs. It was a proposal made for a temporary period till a permanent settlement could be arrived at.

....The offer was made to get rid of the suspicions of the minorities and acceptance of the offer would have implied the substitution of an atmosphere of trust and goodwill for the present distrust and ill-will. We do not believe that a minority placed at a vantage point, in order specially to disabuse its mind of the unworthy suspicions entertained by it. would so far forget its position as to abuse the trust and attack the interests of still smaller minorities. But even if it did, neither the Congress nor the Sikhs would be passive spectators of such an outrage.



CONTEXT.

CONGRESS DEMAND FOR " FREEDOM OF SPEECH "

Extracts from an editorial ("Freedom of Speech") in the "Hindustan Times" of September 18, 1940.

.... GANDHIJI'S DEMAND FOR FREEDOM OF SPEECH IS criticized by opponents of the Congress as likely to create the very embarrassment which Gandiji says he does not want to create. But the contradiction is none of our seeking. It is inherent in Britain's attitude, of fighting a war of liberation in Europe and expecting India to help her in winning it without any thought of her own freedom.....

....If there is any inconsistency in the present Congress position, it is because there cannot be any compromise between Freedom and Slavery. India can be free or she can be a slave State. She cannot be both at the same time.

AXIS-JAPANESE PACT

Extracts from an editorial ("Ten-Year Pact") in the "Hindustan Times" of September 29, 1940.

.... THE PACT IS THE REPLY OF THE AXIS POWERS AND Japan to the steady help by the United States to Great Britain in the present war and the attempt to checkmate Japan's expansionist aims in the South Pacific.....

.... If we discount its immediate importance in advance, it is because, firstly, so far as we can see, the United States are not likely to declare war either on Germany or Japan, and, secondly, if they are so minded, the Pact is not likely to deter America from doing so....The United States are thus in a position to turn their whole strength towards Japan, whenever the American Government decides to act in the Pacific.

But what of the ultimate consequences of the Pact ?.... If the two countries which can checkmate Japanese aggression in the Pacific are thus unwilling to play their part, what is there to prevent Japan from marching from aggression to aggression in the East ? *Not Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies alone have cause to feel apprehensive.*

" MISLEADERS OF MUSLIMS "

Comment ("Lesson For The League") on the Muslim League resolution of September 29, 1940.

.... IMPERIALISM IS EVER WILLING TO OBLIGE COMMUNAlism, provided it works as a disruptive force in our national life, dividing instead of uniting, and thus making the task of holding the country easier for the foreigner. But once it leaves this path and wants to assert itself against Imperialism itself, it is sure to get short shrift....

.... **His Excellency the Viceroy deserves to be complimented on preserving his equanimity in the face of claims so preposterous.....**

.... these misleaders of the Muslims may contrast the position as it would have been if they had supported the Congress claim for a National Government, coupled with Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's sporting offer, and the position in which they find themselves today....The agreement, moreover, would have implied agreed coalitions in the provinces and the satisfaction of Muslim claims in this sphere also.....

.... Even on the basis of the supremacy of British Imperialism, they were unable to reach an agreement. That is the measure of the difficulties confronting the Congress in attempting to reach an agreement on which the British Government insist, in season and out of season, as a condition precedent to constitutional progress.....

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S RESIGNATION

CONTEXT.

October 5, 1940.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S PERIOD OF OFFICE AS PRIME MINISTER was easily the most disastrous for a century, from the point of view of British interests and prestige....His was largely a tragedy of good intentions.

He mistook bandits out for plunder for business men who always higgle hard but abide by the contract once it is signed and sealed.

RE-OPENING OF THE BURMA ROAD

Extracts from an editorial ("Into the Danger Zone") in the "Hindustan Times" of October 10, 1940.

FROM THE STUDIED MODERATION OF MR. CHURCHILL'S reference to the reopening of the Burma Road, only one inference is possible: *we are moving into the danger zone.* For whatever action Japan may take in retaliation will affect us as vitally as it will affect either Burma or Malaya. In the anomalous situation which prevails in this country, it is possible for the Government to take so grave a step, without taking the public into confidence as to the arrangements made by them to stave off any threat to our security.....

.... **though the United States are not likely to be easily bullied by Japan, danger may arise from any feeling in the United States that in this quarrel as in the war in Europe, America can confine herself purely to the role of helping Britain in every way, short of going to war. That is the crucial question on which peace in the Far East depends today.....**

CONTEXT.

OCCUPATION OF RUMANIA

THE ROAD TO MOSUL

October 15, 1940.

.... THREE MONTHS OF *Blitzkrieg* HAVE EVIDENTLY depleted the oil resources of the Reich to a dangerous point.... If it is oil that the German troops are after, the occupation of Rumania is only the first stage in the road to the oilfields of Mosul....Since Greece is the only remaining outpost of British influence in the Balkans, nay, in the whole of Southern Europe, Hitler will not like to leave his flank open to any possible attacks from such a quarter.

.... If Hitler advances up to the outskirts of Istanbul, he will constitute a threat to the British Empire, whose magnitude it will be foolish to ignore....Turkey's attitude in the last resort will depend on what Russia does.....

.... Hitler on the outskirts of Turkey will, with the Italians in Libya, form part of the pincer movement closing in on Egypt and the Suez Canal, and will, if he can overawe Turkey, *have only Iran between him and the borders of India...* The next few days will show whether Russia prefers to call a halt to Hitler's insatiable conquests, or is once again ready to reach an accommodation with him, to allow him to rush headlong to his doom.

■ ■ ■

FAR EAST: " NO MORE TRUCKLING TO JAPAN "

Extracts from an editorial ("No More Truckling") in the "Hindustan Times" of October 19, 1940.

THERE IS TO BE NO MORE TRUCKLING TO AGGRESSION IN THE Far East any more than in Europe. With practically the whole of the Chinese coast in Japanese hands and Indo-China forced to close the road to Chungking at Japanese dictation, the Burma Road was the only route available to China to get essential war materials from the outside world. The temporary closure of the road by Britain, consequently, came as a shock to the Chungking Government, but did not in any way impair its determination to resist Japanese aggression to the utmost. The reopening of the road will bring Chungking most needed assistance in carrying on the war with Japan and the Chinese are already said to be taking the fullest advantage of the decision....

The continued good behaviour of Japan depends more on American firmness than on any other single factor. It is to be hoped that America will continue to stand firm as she is doing.

■ ■ ■

Comment (November 8, 1940) on the Congress Working Committee's decision to ask the Congress Party members to attend the November session of the Central Legislative Assembly.

.... SOME OF THESE MEMBERS HAD BEEN FEELING THAT BY this self-denying ordinance the Congress had been depriving itself of a platform from which its point of view could be put forward authoritatively and with an amount of freedom not possible elsewhere....Mahatma Gandhi has made it clear that civil disobedience will be on an individual and not on a mass scale, and that also will be strictly confined to persons chosen by him. In these circumstances, there was not much point in continuing the ban on the Central Legislature.

.... That in a quarrel between the Government and the Congress, the Press was being made to suffer for no fault of its own, and in a matter which concerned it vitally, was small matter to the Government. The result is that the Press is already suffering from the not unfounded suspicion of its readers that they are not getting all the news they are interested in, and that even what appears is so bowdlerized as not to be accepted at its face value. This consideration might also be in the mind of the Working Committee in reaching the decision to ask the Congress Party to attend the present session of the Assembly.

We are glad the Government have responded to the Congress gesture by agreeing to defer discussion of the Finance Bill till Monday, in order to enable the Congress Party to take part in the discussion. They could, if they had wished, attemped to rush the Bill through the Assembly, but they have chosen the wiser course.



VICEROY'S ADDRESS OF NOV. 20, 1940

Comment on the Viceroy's Address to the Central Legislature on November 20, 1940.

.... ALL THROUGH THE DREARY NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ended so tragically last month, the one thing on which the Congress had insisted was that real power and real responsibility must be placed in Indian hands.....His Excellency now says that acceptance of the offer of the expanded Executive Council would place real power in Indian hands.....

Since the Viceroy can always overrule even all of them put together, it is clear that their position is that of trusted servants, whose advice may be accepted once in a while, but who must always carry out orders, rather than that of Ministers deriving their strength from the support of the Legislature, whose advice it is binding on the Head of the Government to accept...

.... India may be ready to compromise on many things, but not on the issues of Freedom and Unity.



Comment on Mr. L. S. Amery's speech of November 20, 1940.

IF HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH LEFT THE position where it was, we are afraid Mr. Amery's speech will leave it much worse than it is ...The restraint and dignity we noticed in the Viceroy's utterance are entirely lacking in the Secretary of State's speech.....

....Mr. Amery did less than justice to the Congress by representing the Delhi offer as though it were a mere bid for power on the part of the Congress and not an honourable solution of the difficulties with which the country was confronted.....

.... It is clear that all possibilities of a settlement on the basis of transfer of real power from British to Indian hands are gone.....

THE "TRIBUNE"

CONTEXT.

"WAR AND BRITISH IMPERIALISM"

CONGRESS LEADERS' 'LOGIC'

Extract from an editorial in the "Tribune" of June 16, 1940, under the caption "The War And British Imperialism".

....IN THE SAME SPEECH PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU made another and still more significant observation. "British imperialism" he said, "was vanishing. It was bound to vanish. Even in the event of the British Government winning the war, British imperialism would cease to live."

If this is true, as it undoubtedly is, with what logic or propriety can anyone say, as some Congress leaders have been saying, that for India to help Britain in winning the war would be to strengthen British imperialism, to give a new lease of life to it?.....

FALL OF PARIS

Extracts from an editorial "An Impressive Appeal" in the "Tribune" of June 17, 1940.

THE ENTRY OF GERMAN TROOPS INTO PARIS IS THE severest blow that has fallen on France and the cause of democracy within living memory....

....But today the United States alone can come to the rescue of the Allies. That is the meaning and significance of the appeal made by the French Premier to President Roosevelt. That this appeal may evoke an immediate and whole-hearted response is the hope and prayer that goes forth from the heart of every freedom-loving and democratically-minded man and woman in the world.

CONSCRIPTION IN INDIA

June 29, 1940.

....WHATEVER LAWFUL AUTHORITY THE GOVERNMENT of India may possess for the purpose, there can be no question of compulsory military service for Indians under the existing conditions, and the Government of India's decision in that regard is open to no exception, whether on the score of principle or policy....

....But this is a justifiable ground not for introducing compulsory military service for Europeans but for giving India a national government, which would have not only the legal but the moral and constitutional competence to call up Indians for military service. After all, the requirements of a war of the nature and the magnitude of the present can only be met in an adequate measure by giving military training to India's millions, and not by calling up for compulsory service a handful of Europeans in India....



MR. AMERY'S BROADCAST ON MAGNA CARTA

CONTEXT.

June 19, 1940.

....THE ONLY IMPORTANT QUESTIONS IN THIS CASE, THE only questions on which political India has been asking the British Government to throw light, are (1) when this objective is to be realised, and (2) how it is to be realised. On neither of these points does the present pronouncement take us even an inch or a fraction of an inch beyond the position previously taken up by spokesmen of the British Government....



INTERPRETATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE RESOLUTION

Comment on the Muslim League Working Committee's resolution of June 16, 1940.

..WHEN ONE REMEMBERS WHAT MR. JINNAH SAID ONLY a short time ago about the Muslim League having successfully prevented the Congress from resorting to civil disobedience it is not difficult to see that the whole object of the resolution is to form a combination of the British Government with the Muslim League and those who are prepared to take their cue from it, as against the Congress which is supposed to be non-co-operating.

Unhappily for the League, the British Government have the shrewdness and the commonsense to see that they have far more in the way of fundamentals in common with the non-co-operating Congress than with the so-called co-operative League....

Are they (Punjab and Bengal Premiers) to non-co-operate with the War Committees which the two Governments themselves are forming ? It is of a piece with the resolution in which the Committee virtually passed a vote of censure on the conduct of the Punjab Premier.... for having participated in the recent discussions with the Congress President at Delhi....



CONTEXT.

" ONLY TWO PARTIES IN INDIA "

The " Tribune's " comment (June 22) on Mr. Gandhi's article entitled " Two Parties ", in the " Harijan " of June 15, 1940.

....THE PLEA THAT THERE ARE ONLY TWO PARTIES, THE Congress and those who side with it and the parties who do not, leads nowhere. There are many parties in the country who have their differences with the Congress, but there is only one party which differs fundamentally from it. This party is the Muslim League, or rather that part of it which constitutes Mr. Jinnah's immediate entourage.

So far as this one party is concerned, we agree with the Mahatma that until it abandons its fatal anti-national attitude there can be no compromise between it and the Congress or, for that matter, the rest of political India.

All other parties, differing widely as they do from the Congress in detail, want the same thing, and if the Congress is wise enough not to think in terms of its own importance, but in terms of the country, and particularly the enfranchised section of its people, it will have all these parties at its back. The Muslim League will, then, either have to come round to its view or will stand isolated, and the British Government, who have already expressed their strong disapproval of Mr. Jinnah's theories, will have no choice except to yield to the united demand of the whole of India *minus* Mr. Jinnah and his handful of associates. Need we say that this is at once the path of duty and of statesmanship for the Congress ?

WORKING COMMITTEE VERSUS GANDHI

" Congress Working Committee's Realism " was how the " Tribune " described the Committee's statement of June 21, 1940.

....A PROPHET WOULD OCCUPY NO HIGHER PLACE IN the estimation of the world than a statesman if he had no better or higher message for his people than what could at once be translated into public policy. It has been the weakness of the Mahatma and the misfortune of India that this patent truth has been consistently overlooked....Almost every one of the ' Himalayan mistakes and miscalculations,' to which the Mahatma has frequently and quite candidly referred in his speeches and writings, is due pre-eminently to this cause.

....It is all to the good that while the prophet should be free to carry on his evangelical mission in his own way, statesmen and men of affairs should be equally free to carry on their activities, as the best of them have done in all countries and ages, not, indeed, without reference to ideals, but with a supreme eye to their practicability in the existing conditions....

CONTEXT.

MR. GANDHI'S APPEAL " TO EVERY BRITON "

July 5, 1940.

....IT IS THIS IMPERFECTION OF THE HUMAN MATERIAL that is responsible for the fact that non-violence is yet to replace violence even in the comparatively simpler spheres of family, tribal and national life, where the law of the jungle no longer holds undisputed sway, as it does in the relations between nations....



" BETRAYAL OF CHINA "

Mr. Neville Chamberlain spoke on the Far Eastern situation in the House of Commons on August 4, 1939.

IT HAS RARELY BEEN OUR LOT TO READ A SPEECH SO utterly lacking in vigour and force as the one that the septuagenarian Prime Minister of England made in the House of Commons on the Far Eastern situation on Friday night.... Nowhere have Britishers been subjected to such humiliation as in Japanese-governed China....Men and even women have been stripped of their clothes in public streets and searched....

He will not fight the Japanese. He will try to solve the difficulty by negotiation, which is only a euphemism for surrender. Security for Britishers is apparently to be bought by sacrificing the Chinese. Already by the agreement reached between England and Japan, China has been let down.... The agreement is a flagrant betrayal of China....



JAPANESE BLOCKADE OF TIENTSIN

August 10, 1939.

THE JAPANESE BLOCKADE OF TIENTSIN HAS AGAIN BEEN tightened up....Japan is trying to undermine British prestige in the Far East ; and one of the ways in which she is doing so is by harassing Britons, who are scattered all over China.... during the Tokio conversations, Britain has virtually followed a policy of ' surrender '.

But instead of appeasing the Japanese, this policy has only emboldened them, with the result that they are hurling defiance after defiance at Britain. Not only that. The influence of the Axis Powers is definitely on the increase.... *The democratic Powers will have to give a new orientation to their policy if they are to safeguard their own interests as well as the interests of peace, democracy and civilisation.*



CONTEXT.

CONGRESS AND WAR

Extracts from an editorial "Congress and War" in the "Tribune" of August 14, 1939.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION ON THE INTERnational situation followed the lines of the resolutions passed by the Congress at successive open sessions.... And would it be consistent for the Congress, after having condemned British imperialism for its betrayal of democracy in Czechoslovakia and Spain, to oppose a war on which Britain might embark in defence of democracy for other countries ?

Of course, the Congress, as we have repeatedly said, is fully entitled to demand that India's actual participation in a war should depend not merely on the justice of the cause for which it is fought but on the British Government securing her prior consent to it....

The only way in which the British Government can secure India's active co-operation is by establishing a committee at Delhi fully representing the elected members of the Legislative Assembly as well as the autonomous Provincial Governments and making India's participation in a war dependent on the free vote of such a committee.

■ ■ ■

SIR SIKANDAR HYAT KHAN'S STATEMENT

PUNJAB'S MAN-POWER AT BRITAIN'S DISPOSAL

Comment ("India And The War") on a statement issued by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, on August 28, 1939.

....WE ENTIRELY AGREE WITH SIR SIKANDAR THAT, AS a nation believing profoundly in democracy, India's natural place in this struggle is by the side of the democratic Powers. If India does not extend all her moral sympathy and support to the democratic Powers against Fascism and Nazism, the strength and vigour with which she has repeatedly condemned Britain's betrayal of democracy in Ethiopia, in Spain and in Czechoslovakia will lose all its meaning and reality and will be another name for hypocrisy. Equally do we agree with Sir Sikandar that in this war India is not called upon to fight for British Imperialism....

Lastly, we have no doubt in our mind that the gravity of the issue involved in the war from India's own point of view transcends in importance all immediate controversies between herself and Britain regarding the adequacy or inadequacy of the present Constitution.

After all, India can either remain aloof from the contest or participate in it along with and on the same terms as other self-respecting parts of the Commonwealth. Should India adopt the former attitude and Britain win the war in spite of it, her position *vis-a-vis* Britain at the conclusion

of the war is not likely to be better than it is and will in all probability be worse. On the other hand, if Britain loses the war India will find herself in an immeasurably worse position than today and in certain contingencies, which are horrible to contemplate, may actually have to fight her battle for freedom over again and in conditions much worse than those in which she has fought them so far.

" UNHEALTHY CONDITION "

But while all this is perfectly patent to all dispassionate minds, what men like Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan have been consistently forgetting is that the question of India's participation in the war as a nation can arise only if Britain has the wisdom, the good sense and the gracefulness to give her the same freedom to participate in it or not as the peoples of the self-governing Dominions have....

The question of this unhesitating and ungrudging placing of the Punjab's man-power and resources at the disposal of Britain and her allies could only arise if he and the Government of which he is the head had any choice in the matter. As it is, the man-power and resources of the Punjab are at the disposal of Britain, whether they wish or not.

It is this obvious unhealthy condition of things which we have been consistently asking the British Government to change both for the good of India herself and of Britain.... If Sir Sikandar considered either the best interests of his country or of Britain he would unhesitatingly support our suggestion.



ANTI-COMMUNAL AWARD CONFERENCE

CONTEXT.

Extract from an editorial in the " Tribune " (Aug. 30, 1939) on the fourth session of the Anti-Communal Award Conference.

....THE FIRST ESSENTIAL THING FOR THE EXISTENCE OF a free and self-governing Indian nation is that Hindus and Muslims must politically feel and think and act as Indians, and not as Hindus or Muslims. And this is possible only on the basis of joint electorates, with a reservation of seats for minorities, to start with, if and where necessary, but ultimately without any such reservation. This, therefore, must be India's first demand, and justice as between communities, indispensable as it is, must be the second.

THE "HINDU"

CONTEXT.

THE TIENTSIN BLOCKADE

BRITAIN "MUST ACT FIRMLY"

Extracts from an editorial "Japan and Britain". in the "Hindu" of June 24, 1939.

SINCE THE JAPANESE STARTED THE TIENTSIN BLOCKADE, Mr. Chamberlain has been hoping, by 'protests,' 'emphatic protests' and 'very emphatic protests', to turn the Japanese from their general assault on the foreign Concessions in China ...The lesson of Manchuria is there. With effusive promises of the open door and equal trading rights, Japan bought off British opposition to the march on Mukden. The result is that to-day the gates are all barred, the yen is supreme in the land of the puppet Pu Wi and Japan has an almost complete monopoly of trade. It is not going to be different now.

.....**If the explosive possibilities of the present situation are to be prevented, Britain must act, act firmly and urgently.**

Mr. Chamberlain's reply yesterday that the stage for retaliatory action is not yet is very discouraging....A threat to close British ports to Japan will help her to see reason sooner than anything else.

■ ■ ■

BRITAIN AND THE NAZIS

RUSSIAN ALLIANCE SHOULD BE FORGED

Extracts from an editorial "Britain and the Nazis" in the "Hindu" of June 29, 1939.

THE CABLES RECEIVED TODAY CONTAIN ALARMING NEWS. It is about Danzig, where the Nazis are systematically planing their coup in the now well-worn technique.

In these difficult times the duty of the British Government is to make its position perfectly plain. This is not the time for it to urge again its willingness to start negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

Unfortunately, the British memorandum submitted to the German Government yesterday on the Anglo-German Naval Treaty is not calculated to give that impression of firmness. For one thing it need not have been communicated

at this juncture at all, for of what use is an arms limitation pact now, old or new ? But what is more, it adopts that tone of sweet reasonableness which the Dictators have so far spurned....

The familiar British justification for the 'appeasement' speeches of their statesmen has been that they are trying to reach the mass of the German people. It is quite true that at the bottom of every German mind is the conviction, that, in Prince Bulow's words, 'Germany must be either the hammer or the anvil'. And the Germans believe that they will be made the anvil if the Anglo-French scheme of alliances survives....

It is necessary to remove this fear from the German mind, as also the belief instilled into the Germans that they are being choked, their 'living space' curtailed....But it is not possible so long as Dr. Goebbels has the last word....

British statesmen's speeches are distorted, and so accommodating and skilful is Nazi propaganda that in the ordinary German's eyes Mr. Chamberlain, who was the 'man of peace' last September, is now the 'encircler'.

All that the speeches do is to make the German people think that the Peace Bloc, while having evil intentions, has not got effective power.

It is more important to remove this false impression and for this it is vital to speak plainly. But, what is more, the Russian alliance should be forged. That will convince the German people more than any number of sweet talks.

■ ■ ■

"TRUSTEESHIP IN THE EMPIRE"

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an editorial in the "Hindu" of July 1, 1939.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, IN THE RECENT SPEECH HE MADE AT Cardiff....denied that Colonial possessions were being used as fields of exploitation and plundered in the interests of the mother country and asserted that Englishmen have acted as trustees with the deliberate intention of improving the conditions of life of the natives in such a way as would ultimately enable them to stand on their own feet and govern themselves.

A vigorous and emphatic repudiation of this claim is contained in the recent declarations made by the leaders of the African people in Kenya. Representatives of the four main tribes in that Colony have protested against the reservation of Highlands to the European community and in a memorandum they have submitted, they denounce in strong terms the land policy of the Government and the practice of breaking solemn pledges.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

DANZIG AND THE POWERS

Referring to the "mysterious delay in the handing in of Poland's avowedly strong note of protest to the Danzig Senate regarding the remilitarisation of the Free City," the "Hindu" (July 5, 1939) wrote:

TODAY'S NEWS FROM WARSAW MENTIONS THE POSSIBILITY of a joint *demarche* instead of a Polish Note. The precise significance of this move is not clear. If Britain and France are determined on resistance to a *coup d'etat*, a joint *demarche* is to be preferred as having greater value, but "joint *demarches*" have such unpleasant associations with Munich that they at once arouse suspicion.

These doubts are heightened because the feeling is still strong that in spite of many brave statements by Britain and France, the two Powers have yet to convince the world and what is more important, the Nazis, that they stand wedded to an uncompromising policy of resistance to aggression.

The weak-kneed policy in Tientsin and this extraordinary delay in signing the Soviet Pact show that the "Anti-Aggression *Bloc*" is still to be formed. For, it goes without saying that till the Russian alliance is signed a firm line cannot be taken nor can it be effective.

■ ■ ■

TWO YEARS OF WAR IN CHINA

Extracts from an editorial "The China War" in the "Hindu" of July 7, 1939.

THE SOVIET HAS CERTAINLY STOOD BY CHINA, SUPPORTING her materially and morally without any kind of equivocation.

In striking contrast is the attitude of the Western Powers who have shown an utter incapacity to take vigorous action in spite of direct and indirect provocation by the Japanese...

In fact, Mr. Chamberlain cynically informed the House of Commons recently that whatever might be the issue of the China war, money would be needed for the reconstruction of the shattered areas and whoever was the victor would have to come to London for loans. He almost seemed to say, 'the greater the destruction, the better for the City's financiers'.

From that cynical statement to an active policy of help to China is a far cry.....

In spite of the fact that Japan has thrown overboard the Nine-Power Treaty and has made it clear that once she conquers China she will give short shrift to the other Powers, the latter have been content to watch the ruthless enslavement of the Chinese.

This indecision has been all the more tragic because an Anglo-American embargo on the trade with Japan would alone have sufficed to make her listen to reason.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

WELCOME BUT UNSATISFACTORY

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S WARNING TO GERMANY

The "Hindu's" comment (July 11, 1939) on Mr. Neville Chamberlain's statement in the House of Commons (July 9) on Danzig.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S DECLARATION ON DANZIG IS A WELcome statement of British intentions, though not wholly satisfactory from the point of view of putting a permanent end to Nazi ambitions in the Free City.....

But the statement is unsatisfactory in more than one respect.....He is at pains to rebut the charge of encouragement of 'Polish intransigence,' thrown at him in the German Press. If you are convinced of the rightness of your ally's stand, why be apologetic about it? The suggestion that it is possible to arrange successful Polish-German negotiations is equally unfortunate and untimely. It is unfortunate because it strengthens the Nazis in their belief that their case is irresistible and that they have only to continue the threat to gain their end. It is untimely because it is made at a time when Nazi preparations for a *coup d'etat* are on the increase every day.....

Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion only raises fond and dangerous hopes, which may confuse the situation, as during the September crisis. The Premier's conditions for a settlement, peaceful intentions and peaceful methods, have both been violated. In this situation, to raise the issue of negotiation may well provide a dangerous temptation to the Nazis.

PEACE FRONT STILL VAGUE AND NEBULOUS

Extracts from an editorial "Hitler's 'Tactics" in the "Hindu" of July 22, 1939.

ON A SUPERFICIAL ANALYSIS IT LOOKS AS IF THE AGGRESsors *are being resolutely faced by the upholders of law and decency in international relations.* But if we probe a little deeper it becomes apparent that the position is not so clear-cut. The Anti-Aggression Front is still in the making and even if the Russian Pact should be concluded, it has to be seen whether it will act in a moment of crisis under the leadership of Britain and France. Some steps have been taken, but the Peace Front is still vague and nebulous, so that there is still plenty of scope for diplomatic manœuvring and 'appeasement'.

It is this situation that the German Chancellor is trying to exploit. Instinctively he adopts the right propagandist technique.....The Western Powers *have still to show that rigid determination which will force the prospective aggressor to face the prospect of complete annihilation by superior force if he dared that step.*

CONTEXT.

ANGLO-JAPANESE AGREEMENT

"ANOTHER *VOLTE FACE*"

The "Hindu's" comment ("Another Volte Face") *on the Anglo Japanese Agreement, signed on July 22, 1939.*

IT IS APPARENT THAT THIS 'APPEASEMENT' MOVE IN THE Far East is designed to win over Japan and dissuade her from lining up with the Axis Powers.....If Britain carries out the policy embodied in the Tokyo agreement as enunciated by Mr. Chamberlain (in the House of Commons on July 24,) it would mean a complete betrayal of the Chinese people for the sake of winning the support of an aggressor nation.



U. S. A. ABROGATES TREATY OF COMMERCE WITH JAPAN

Extracts from an editorial in the "Hindu" of July 28, 1939, entitled "U. S. Warns Japan".

THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO ABROGATE the Treaty of Commerce with Japan may have a wholesome effect on Far Eastern affairs....It is possible that the British Government's *volte face* in the Far East was to some extent influenced by American isolationism, for without the latter's support in the Pacific the Western Powers will not be able to curb Japan.



"MR. CHAMBERLAIN AND GERMANY"

Extracts from an editorial ("Mr. Chamberlain and Germany") in the "Hindu" of June 26, 1939.

TWO TASKS AWAIT THE STATESMEN OF THE PEACE *Bloc.* The first and more urgent one is the organisation of security against further aggression. The second is the approaches to be made to ensure stable peace. In this latter category fall offers to consider "just grievances". *But without a thorough completion of the first task any attempt to pursue the second aim will be a dangerous game.* It will be considered by the aggressors as another indication of softening. This method may end in peace, but it will be peace *a la* Munich .....

> **To such a level has British prestige fallen that the Nazi Press laughs in derision when Mr. Chamberlain refers to the accession of strength under the rearmament drive!**

The simple fact is that the Nazi leaders do not believe that Mr. Chamberlain will really act when the moment comes. Their belief has been confirmed by the inordinate delay in arriving at an agreement with Soviet Russia, without whose help the whole anti-aggression edifice falls to the ground.

If Britain were really keen on checking aggression these three valuable months of tortuous negotiations would not have been wasted. It is this vital fact, as also some of the speeches of the Premier and Lord Halifax showing an undue anxiety to meet the demands of the dictators, that make one fear that 'appeasement' is far from dead.



MR. JINNAH AND FEDERATION

CONTEXT.

A passing reference to Mr. M. A. Jinnah's statement on Federation, in a leading article in the "Hindu" dated August 1, 1939.

THERE IS NOTHING IN HIS LATEST STATEMENT, PUBLISHED yesterday, to suggest that he (Mr. Jinnah) is less opposed now to the Federal principle, though naturally it is concerned mainly to whip up public opinion to oppose the putting into operation of the particular Federal scheme which is outlined in the Constitution.



PUNJAB PREMIER'S SEVEN UNITS SCHEME

The "Hindu's" comment (August 1, 1939) on Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's alternative (Seven Units) scheme of federation.

THE TRUTH, OF COURSE, IS THAT IN A COUNTRY CONSTITUTED as India is, a strong Central Government is as necessary as autonomous Governments in the Provinces, not only for maintaining the stability and safety of the realm but for safeguarding against injustice to any section of the public. It is the fatal defect of the Punjab Premier's scheme that it ignores this basic truth.

Sir Sikandar's scheme, in short, is neither fish nor flesh and is, if seriously sponsored by any responsible organisation, bound to be opposed far more vigorously than the Federal scheme now on the *tapis*, since it has not only all the defects of that scheme but has, besides, any number of other defects peculiar to itself, any one of which singly would be sufficient to wreck a Constitution.



THE FAR EASTERN SITUATION

Commenting on Mr Neville Chamberlain's speeches in the House of Commons on July 30, and August 4, 1939—in the latter, Mr. Chamberlain

IT IS NECESSARY, HOWEVER, TO REMEMBER THAT IN THE past, Manchuria in 1931 and Abyssinia in 1935, it was the alleged military weakness that was the justification for inaction. As in the past, Britain can have enough allies if she wants to act. The United States is always willing to help and

CONTEXT.

stated that his blood boiled at some of the insults that were being inflicted on British nationals but it was necessary to be prudent—the "Hindu" wrote on August 5, 1939 :

France is an ever faithful ally. And why not include Soviet Russia also ?



PARTY SYSTEM IN INDIA

COMMENTS ON MR. SRINIVASA IYENGAR'S VIEWS

Extracts from an editorial "Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar on Democracy" in the "Hindu" of August 10, 1939.

MR. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR'S LECTURE ON DEMOCRACY, which he delivered under the Srinivasa Sastri Endowment yesterday, reveals in full those qualities of independent thinking, concrete presentation and incisive statement which the public has long learnt to associate with him both as a great lawyer and as a political leader. Not all the ideas that he has propagated will meet with general acceptance.....

But the emphasis that he lays on the need for a critical evaluation of democratic concepts in the light of practical experience in a *milieu* to which they are not native is valuable and timely.

That there is a great deal of truth and force in his brilliant indictment of the party system will be generally conceded....But the trouble comes when you have to find an acceptable alternative....

The truth is that, even in countries with a much longer democratic tradition, an effective substitute for the cohesion which the party system supplies and without which unity and continuity of policy cannot be maintained, is yet to be found.

GREETINGS TO CHINA

"The good wishes of the nation go with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru who is now on his way to China," wrote the "Hindu" on August 21, 1939, in an editorial entitled "Greetings to China."



RUSSO-GERMAN PACT

"VALUE OF QUICK DECISIONS"

The Russo-German pact of Non-Aggression was signed on August 23, 1939. The "Hindu" wrote :

GERMANY HAS GIVEN THE STATESMEN OF THE WORLD one more lesson in the value of quick decisions....As the events of this strange drama unfold themselves we find that

the German versions were nearer the truth than the convenient inferences that were drawn from the short statements made by tight-lipped Soviet officials....

Having tried to collaborate in achieving collective security and failed, having found that even in the limited task of building a non-aggression front their would-be partners showed all the old hesitancy and aloofness, the Soviets have come to the conclusion that there is perhaps more to be gained by a policy of isolation and neutrality.....



DANZIG: BRITISH DETERMINATION

CONTEXT.

Referring to the announcement that Herr Foerster had been appointed "Head of the State" of the Free City of Danzig, the breaking-off of negotiations between Poland and Danzig and persistent reports from Berlin that the fate of Poland had been decided, the "Hindu" wrote on August 25, 1939:

THE EVENTS OF THE LAST TWENTY-FOUR HOURS IN EUROPE are of grave import.....

Mr. Chamberlain, in a remarkably emphatic utterance, made it quite clear that Britain was determined to prevent the domination of Europe by one Power....It was quite an unequivocal declaration and there is no doubt now that if Poland decides to resist the annexation of Danzig, there will be a European war....



INDIA'S PARTICIPATION IN WAR

"A DANGEROUS DELUSION"

Extracts from an editorial ("India and War") in the "Hindu" of August 28, 1939.

IT IS A FORTNIGHT SINCE THE CONGRESS WORKING COMmittee adopted the important resolution on the war danger which obviously called for an explicit statement by those in authority on the issues raised therein. Meanwhile, the international situation has considerably worsened and, along with every important European nation, Great Britain and the Dominions are feverishly engaged in last minute preparations to meet the impending catastrophe, which is regarded in a mood of fatalistic resignation as inevitable. But one important omission is noticeable.

Great Britain has made no efforts—at any rate the public is not aware of any—*to get into touch with leaders of Indian opinion and to meet fairly and squarely such issues as the Congress has raised....*

Circumstances, into which it is unnecessary to go here, have bred in the British mind the habit of taking Indian cooperation in an unquestioning spirit for granted. But it would be a dangerous delusion for the powers that be to imagine that

all that is required is to wait till war—if unfortunately it should be that—is declared and then make appeals to the loyalty of India, interlarded with generously vague promises and discreet allusions to the fate that might be in store for India should the Empire go under.

The remembrance of what happened after the Great War is still too vivid for India to make the mistake of supposing that she could, without self-stultification, engage again on a struggle which might involve the lives and happiness of millions of her people, except of her own free will and as an equal partner.

In other words, only a self-governing India, recognised as such for all practical purposes, could undertake or could be expected to undertake so grave a responsibility.

THE "NATIONAL HERALD"

CONTEXT.

"MOST DREADFUL OF THE ENEMIES OF MANKIND"

Extract from an editorial ("The Delhi Talks") in the "National Herald" of October 3, 1939.

IT WOULD BE A THOUSAND PITIES IF BRITISH IMPERIALIST selfishness were to come in the way of India's hearty co-operation in a war to wipe out the *most dreadful of the enemies of mankind—Nazism.*

■ ■ ■

"EMANCIPATE SUBJECT PEOPLES"

"National Herald's" comment on the resolution on the war crisis adopted by the All-India Congress Committee at Wardha on October 10, 1939.

THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL THING IS WHETHER BRITAIN would shake off her imperialism and agree to the emancipation of subject peoples all over the world and the conferment on them of the fundamentals of self-government. As the inimitable Bernard Shaw has stated in a letter to the British Press, the abolition of Hitlerism must begin with the abolition of Churchillism. And that is the pith and point of the gigantic interrogation that the Indian National Congress has put right across the face of British politics.

■ ■ ■

WRONG ASSUMPTIONS BY BERLIN AND LONDON

"National Herald's" Comment (October 13) on the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee, which concluded its session at Wardha on October 10, 1939.

IT WOULD BE AS WRONG TO ASSUME THAT INDIANS because of their opposition to Nazism, would be with Britain, as it would certainly be wrong for the radio propagandists of Berlin to assume that the present challenge of the Congress to the British authorities is a demonstration in favour of Hitler and his tribe. Both the British and the German logic assumes too much. At bottom, India must necessarily have a lively regard for her own interest and naturally choose, over and above this, that cause for support which would strengthen her own existence. It is, therefore, for Britain to attract Indian support or to lose it, if she so decides. It is futile to address Indians on the need of sacrifice for the empire. Whose empire? And sacrifice for what?

We have no desire to make the world safe for British Imperialism. Nor do we fail to see through the ruse that is sought to be played on us that Britain must win the war before she can think of anything else. The essential contradiction between the prosecution of the war on one side and the simultaneous settlement of the issue of self-determination on the other, it is impossible for the plain and naked eye to conceive.



CONTEXT.

"THE WILDERNESS AGAIN"

Extracts from an editorial ("The Answer") in the "National Herald" of October 19, 1939, commenting on the Viceroy's announcement of October 17.

THE WORLD OF YESTERDAY IS DEAD, THE WORLD OF today is dying and not all the King's horses nor all the King's men will be able to keep it alive. The new world may be good or bad, but it will be entirely different from the old....

In 1939 they reminded us of a preamble of the Act of 1919.....

But we remember that even in 1919 the preamble was indignantly rejected by the Indian people, that three times since then we have faced the might of the British Empire, unarmed and peaceful and clad in simple homespun, but strong in the strength of our millions, and proud of the spirit of our people and of the ideals we cherished. We remember that in 1935 yet another Act was imposed upon us and the old Act of 1919 was consigned to oblivion. This new Act also we rejected. And now the old preamble of 1919 is fished out of the dustbin and presented to us by His Excellency the Viceroy as a gift worthy of England, fighting for democracy, and worthy of India, insistent on independence..

Perhaps we were foolish in asking our questions. Yet we do not think so, for there is no one in India now, and few, we imagine, in the world who will be deceived by British professions of a war for democracy and freedom.....

The Viceroy has told us to think of the unity of India. His Excellency's reminder was not necessary. But even the unity of India cannot be purchased at the cost of India's freedom. We want no union of slaves in bondage. We want a united India but a free India, and we have no shadow of doubt that we shall get what we want. Meanwhile, we may have to go into the wilderness again.....we shall do so gladly....

CONTEXT.

WITHDRAWAL OF MINISTRIES "THE MILDEST STEP"

Extracts from an editorial ("Wardha's Answer") in the "National Herald" of October 25, 1939, on the decision to withdraw Congress Ministries in the provinces.

THE CHARGE CAN NO LONGER BE SUSTAINED AGAINST the ministerialists that, having tasted power, they are unwilling to let it go from their hands—a charge never true, always crude and immoral, as it was based on unjust suspicion and distrust.....

Meanwhile, it must be admitted that if the Congress is to maintain its self-respect in view of what has happened since the beginning of the war, act consistently with its ideals and ideology, guide the nation along the right path, and expose the moral weakness of British rule in India, it could not but take the mildest step that it now proposes to take by the withdrawal of the Congress Ministries from the constitutional field.....

■ ■ ■

MUSLIM LEAGUE RESOLUTION ON OCTOBER 17, ANNOUNCEMENT

Extracts from an editorial ("The League's Reply") in the "National Herald" of October 26, 1939, on the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on the Viceroy's announcement of October 17.

FROM ITS OWN POINT OF VIEW, IT DENOTES A CHANGE for the worse from the position taken up at the last meeting of the executive of the League when it demanded absolute surrender by the British Government to the Muslim demands. It is now prepared in its turn to surrender to the British Government, provided it is willing to meet the League's demands halfway.....

The amplest magnification of the Communal Award will not meet the political requirements of Mr. Jinnah and his friends, so long as arithmetic remains what it is and the League, if at all, represents only a minority community which is below one-third of the population of India. It is well known that federation of any type is not to the liking of the League for the obvious reason that under any such scheme the Muslims must remain a minority. If, however, any other form of government can be devised for India, we should like to have a look at it.....

The second point needing clarification, according to the executive of the League, is the status, constitution, powers, scope and functions of the proposed consultative committee.....

But if there were to be any modification it would not be substantial enough to make the Muslim League a partner with the British authorities in the conduct of the war.....

■ ■ ■

LORD ZETLAND'S SPEECH OF NOVEMBER 2

"National Herald's comment (November 5, 1939) on Lord Zetland's speech in the House of Lords on November 2.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE MUST BE HAVING EXTRAordinary notions of his own when he observed that the proposed consultative committee would be a stepping-stone to responsible government at the centre providing, as it would, opportunities for the two communities to work together. What is there for them to work together except, if His Lordship's intentions about the committee are true, for the prosecution of the war without the slightest assurance that its vaunted aims and ideals would be applicable to India? He held out a hope about the enlargement of the Viceroy's Executive Council, but gave no promise that it would have the representatives of the people on it in a majority, even if otherwise they were willing to accept places on it in the present conditions.....

Referring to the urgency of settling the Indian problem, Lord Zetland pleaded the preoccupations of the war—'the life and-death struggle'. We know it is a pretext, and there is nothing to prevent Parliament taking the necessary measures if there is a will to act justly by India.

Coming from so friendly a quarter, it is to be regretted that Lord Samuel did not appreciate the full meaning and implications of the Congress ministerial resignations.

It is assuredly not the intention of the Congress to embarrass the British Government in its fight against Hitlerism, with which it is in entire agreement.

But he should be the first man to recognise, ethical idealist that he is, that it would be morally more wrong—if a comparison is to be drawn—for Britain to compel the co-operation of India on terms not honourable to her.....

CHINA AND BRITAIN

Extracts from an editorial in the "National Herald" of November 16, 1939.

FOR REASONS OF MILITARY CONVENIENCE, ARISING FROM the conflict in Europe, the British Government have decided to maintain in North China only such effectives as would be necessary to protect property and maintain order .....

Do the British Government mean to recognise the conquest, having received an 'accommodation' from the Japanese authorities over the future of the Concessions?....

To put it differently, do the British Government mean to discourage even the little help that China has been receiving in her struggle of freedom against the Japanese from British sources in order to gain Japan's goodwill at a time of crisis in Europe? Is scorning the claims of Chinese nationalism

the price of Japanese friendship ? If that is so, why should not China be clearly told about it ?.....

Japan's policy of non-intervention in the present war is highly self-interested....Japan's one aim now is to finish off the China war before the European Powers are once again free to interrupt her chosen task. Fortunately, however, the Chinese army, according to recent reports, is carrying everything before it and the Japanese are losing their hold on the country.....

■ ■ ■

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

CONTEXT.

Referring to Dr. Gopichand Bhargava's statement offering Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan co-operation in reaching a settlement on modification of the Communal Award, as it affects the Punjab, and asking the Premier to make a local beginning right away rather than wait for the failure of the Congress-League negotiations, the "National Herald" of November 17, 1939, says :—

IT IS A LEGITIMATE QUESTION TO ASK, IF ONLY FOR THE reason that the question of a communal settlement is really one for provincial adjustment and variation. Proof of this lies in the fact that all-India solutions have in the past attempted too much to yield results and have entirely ignored local feeling and sentiment in favour of a nearer communal approach.....The Congress would have no hesitation in permitting a provincial settlement of the communal issue. Will the Muslim League agree ?

■ ■ ■

"THE LAST CHANCE!"

"National Herald's" comment (November 26) on the Congress Working Committee's resolution of November 24, 1939.

IT IS, HOWEVER, TO BE EXPECTED THAT THE MORE impatient and impetuous among Congressmen should feel disappointed that the call for action has not come yet. The answer is, we have only to thank ourselves that we are not ready for it, in the sense of that moral preparedness which should precede a movement of civil disobedience.....

Perhaps this is the last and final chance that the Congress has given the British Government to set matters right before the worst befalls. No body of men, commanding the moral status and influence of the Congress and the confidence of millions of people, and enjoying the supreme advantage of advocating a great cause against an already discredited opponent, could have shown greater responsibility, self-restraint and anxiety for peace with honour.....

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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND CHINA

The Indian National Congress and various committees of the Congress have, from time to time, passed resolutions condemning Japanese aggression in China.

At a meeting held in Calcutta on October 29, 1937, the All-India Congress Committee passed the following resolution :

> The All-India Congress Committee view with grave concern and horror the imperialist aggression of Japan in China attended with wanton cruelty and the bombing of the civil population.
>
> The Committee express their deep admiration for the brave and heroic struggle which the Chinese people are conducting against heavy odds for maintaining the integrity and the independence of their country and congratulate them on achieving internal unity in the face of national danger.
>
> The Committee offer their heartfelt sympathy to the Chinese people in their national calamity and, on behalf of the people of India, assure them of their solidarity with them in their struggle for maintaining their freedom.
>
> The Committee, further, call upon the Indian people to refrain from the use of Japanese goods as a mark of their sympathy with the people of China.

This resolution, with minor modifications in drafting, was adopted at the open session of the Indian National Congress held at Vithalnagar-Haripura, Gujarat, on February 19, 1938.

EVERY WORD MEANT

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose moved the resolution at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Calcutta. He said that the whole of India had been moved by the events in China and the entire country had shown an instinctive appreciation of the position in China. He desired to give expression to the great indignation which had swept India from end to end against Japan. This was not mere formal registration of a protest, but the Congress meant every word of what it stated in the resolution. The struggle in China was against Japanese imperialism. Therefore, it was only part of

the world struggle against Imperialism. China's struggle, therefore, was India's struggle, just as India's struggle was China's. He condemned air bombing and said this was an outrage on civilisation. He had no doubt China would ultimately succeed against Japanese aggression, and this success would be a great success against imperialism.

BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS

Japan was a most powerful military nation and, therefore, China would require all possible help and sympathy. That was the reason why the Congress had suggested the boycott of Japanese goods. It had been said that Japan would retaliate. The speaker had no such fear as he was convinced that Japan would have to depend on India for many things. Moreover, the action proposed was not State action and, therefore, there could not be State retaliation. They had, of course, no control over State action in India. If they had, they would not have allowed Indian troops to be sent to China. He wondered how any member of the Indian Legislature could have supported this (cries of ' shame, shame '.)

SUGGESTION OPPOSED

MR. SRI PRAKASA moved an amendment demanding the deletion of the last sentence and addition of the following: " The Congress earnestly appeals to the Government and people of Japan to refrain from any further aggression in China." Explaining, he said that India's position was not such as would warrant any interference with the affairs of other countries. He referred to India's boycott of Italian goods during the Abyssinian War and said this attempt proved a failure. Of course, he was at one with the previous speaker regarding the suggestion that India should fight imperialism and support any country which fought imperialism. He would suggest that India should send ambulances to China, but he could not afford to think of having unpleasant relations, which were bound to rise out of the proposed boycott of Japanese goods.

PEASANTS' SACRIFICE

MR. N. G. RANGA moved a similar amendment and said that the boycott of Japanese goods would mean great sacrifice on the part of the Indian peasants. He supported the resolution in so far as it condemned Japanese aggression in China but he maintained that the economic boycott of a powerful country like Japan would be of no use. He asked the House how they would implement their decision. If they

persisted in it, there would be retaliation from Japan. When India imposed a 75 per cent duty on Japanese goods some years ago, Japan boycotted Indian cotton and bought American cotton and the result was that the Indian peasants were hard hit. Similarly, the proposed boycott would mean retaliation from Japan. A boycott would also mean a bumper trade for Indian mills. If, however, a boycott was to be insisted upon, Indian mills should be made to purchase all the Indian cotton and thus make their own quota of sacrifice.....

MR. S. SATYAMURTI (then Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly) said the attitude of his leader and himself was not to express any opinion on the despatch of Indian troops to China, which the Government had already decided upon, but to make it perfectly clear that they did not approve of Indian troops being used in China in any way in the fight between China and Japan. "We would never be a party to the use of Indian troops in the Sino-Japanese fight. We approved the sending of Indian troops to China solely for the purpose of protecting Indian nationals in China, which is the primary duty of every self-governing country. We are as strongly against the use of Indian troops for imperial purposes as any other member of the House."

MERE LIP SYMPATHY INSUFFICIENT

MR. SARAT BOSE, replying to the debate, said that China had emerged from many ordeals and was not in need of anyone's help, but it was their duty to support her. Mere lip sympathy, as suggested by Mr. Sri Prakasa, would not be sufficient. What was needed was practical help. The Congress today had no power to take State action, but the people could take moral action. It was quite possible to make an economic boycott effective. Undoubtedly this involved risks, but were they going to abandon their policy simply because of risks? Japan could not get raw materials elsewhere, and if she attempted this she would only strangle her own economic life, in an attempt to injure India. It was the duty of a nation, which felt with another, to be up and ready to make any sacrifice required.

MR. RANGA withdrew his amendment. Mr. Sri Prakasa's amendment was defeated and the original resolution, as moved by Mr. Sarat Bose, was passed.

CHINA DAY

In response to an appeal issued by the President of the Indian National Congress, September 26, 1937, was observed as China Day for expressing the country's condemnation of Japan's wanton aggression in China and conveying its full

sympathy to the Chinese people in their brave resistance. The War Danger Resolution of the Faizpur Congress was explained to the people and passed and a protest was recorded against the sending of Indian troops to China without the assent of the people.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

SYMPATHY WITH CHINESE AND CZECHS

PANDIT NEHRU INAUGURATES FILM AT BOMBAY

A report in the "Times of India" of June 20, 1939.

A LARGE AND REPRESENTATIVE GATHERING WITNESSED A Czechoslovakian film, "Janosik", which was inaugurated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the West End Cinema, Bombay, on Sunday morning. The film has been released in India by the China Aid Progressive Film Committee, which was created recently to exhibit progressive films. *The proceeds from the film,* which was given to the Committee by the Consul for Czechoslovakia, *will be devoted partly to the cause of the China Medical Unit and partly to the Czech cause.*

Pandit Nehru was received by the President of the Committee, Mr. S. A. Brelvi, who said that the Committee proposed, if there was a good response, to organise a film society, the object of which would be to exhibit progressive films in India.

"Janosik" won a prize at the Venice International Film Exposition. It narrates the story of a peasant's son who became the national hero of Czechoslovakia about 200 years ago, when there was a rising against medieval oppression in the country. The picture showed a number of young men challenging the State authorities and ultimately paying the price.

"It is a fine film worth seeing, and I hope many others in other parts of the country will also see it," said Pandit Nehru. Referring to the gifts of science, he said that somehow, unfortunately, those gifts were used against civilisation.

■ ■ ■

CHINA THANKS INDIA

WORK OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL UNIT

A United Press report puolished in "The Hindu" of July 11, 1939.

A LETTER, DATED MAY 24, HAS BEEN RECEIVED BY MR. Jawaharlal Nehru from Mao Tsetung, Chief of the Chinese Soviets, in Yenan, Shensi. He is one of the most famous of Chinese leaders who have been connected for many years with the Eighth Route Army. (For sometime past the Indian

Medical Unit under Dr. M. Atal has been working at Yenan with the Eighth Route Army). The letter says :—

Dear friend,

We have had the pleasure and privilege of receiving the Indian Medical Unit under Dr. Atal and messages from the Indian National Congress to the Chinese people greeting and encouraging them in fighting the Japanese imperialists.

We wish to inform you that the Indian Unit has begun their work here and been very warmly welcomed by all the members of the Eighth Route Army and their spirit of sharing such common hardships with us has made a profound impression on all who come in touch with them.

We take this opportunity to thank your great Indian people and the Indian National Congress for the medical and material aid you have given and hope in future the Indian National Congress and the Indian people will continue to help and aid us thus together to drive out the Japanese imperialists.

Last but not the least, we wish to convey you our thanks, well wishes and heartiest greetings.

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

INDIA AND CHINA: HOW PANDIT NEHRU'S MESSAGE WAS RECEIVED

Extracts from a United Press report in the "Tribune" of August 15, 1939.

"PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S VISIT, IF IT MATERIALises, is sure to evoke great enthusiasm among the Chinese people and will undoubtedly strengthen the bond of mutual sympathy already subsisting between the two countries", observed Prof. Tan Yun Shan of Cheena Bhawan in an interview.

Continuing, Prof. Tan said, "When I went home last time I carried a message from Panditji to China. This message was published in all the papers of China and gave great inspiration to the Chinese people....."

■ ■ ■

PANDIT NEHRU'S VISIT TO CHINA.

Messages received by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the eve of his departure for China (August 19, 1939).

MR. GANDHI WIRED: "May your Chinese mission be crowned with success. May God be with you and bring you safe home."

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

"You, as India's unofficial ambassador, carry her greetings to a sister nation *now a victim of the ruthless predatory instincts of a neighbour, and her best wishes for China's success in her heroic struggle.* Praying for your safe voyage."

DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

"My warmest good wishes are with you in your mission of good neighbourliness to China.....

"My tours in the Far East have convinced me that in the main our peoples have maintained the Asiatic tradition of cultural interchange; we have not fought with each other in the name of hungry nationalism, as the western countries are doing in Europe. The Japanese aggression, therefore, seems to me to be essentially a case of borrowed pugnacity which, I feel sure, had not touched the deep heart of their people.

"Let Japan take the warning not to betray the basis of her civilisation which she shares with China and with us in India; far greater than the fearful hurt she is inflicting on China would be the inevitable wrecking of her own humanity, which her militarists seem determined to achieve....."

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

AID FOR CHINA: NEHRU RECEPTION COMMITTEE'S GIFT

Extract from a Rangoon report, dated October 30, 1939, in the "National Herald," Lucknow.

THE OFFICE-BEARERS OF THE PANDIT NEHRU RECEPTION Committee have given to Mr. P. L. Yeong, Consul-General for China, a cheque for Rs. 2,188-8-0 with the request that the amount may be sent to Madame Chiang Kai-shek towards the relief fund for sufferers in China, as desired by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, with the compliments of the people of Burma.....

■ ■ ■

MARSHAL CHIANG'S CABLEGRAM TO PANDIT NEHRU

Associated Press report from Allahabad, in the "Hindustan Times" of December 10, 1939.

IN ANSWER TO A CABLEGRAM BY PANDIT JAWAHARLAL Nehru congratulating Marshal Chiang Kai-shek on recent

Chinese successes, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has cabled to Pandit Nehru as follows :—

> " Your congratulations are deeply appreciated as an expression of the Indian peoples' concern for that greater victory of which this human battle is but an earnest."



MESSAGE TO POLISH GOVERNMENT

CONTEXT.

Reuter report from Warsaw in the "Statesman" (Delhi) of Sept. 11, 1939.

THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS RECEIVED A MESSAGE issued by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and eminent Bengalis, affirming India's clear duty to offer her sympathy to Poland and stand by Britain.

Another message from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru states that all the sympathy of India is on the side of the democracies and appeals to Indians to throw all their resources into the common struggle against Nazism.



THE CONGRESS " WAR DANGER " RESOLUTION

Resolution adopted at the 43rd session of the Indian National Congress at Madras in 1927.

THIS CONGRESS HAS NOTED WITH GRAVE CONCERN THE extraordinary and extensive War preparations which the British Government is carrying on in India and in the Eastern seas, specially in the North-West Frontier of India. These preparations for war are not only calculated to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism in India, in order to strangle all attempts at freedom, but must result in hastening a disastrous war in which an attempt will be made to make India again a tool in the hands of the foreign imperialists. The Congress declares that the people of India have no quarrel with their neighbours and desire to live in peace with them and to assert their right to determine whether or not they will take part in any war.

The Congress demands that these war preparations be put an end to and further declares that in the event of the British Government embarking on any warlike adventure and endeavouring to exploit India in it for the furtherance of their imperialist aims, it will be the duty of the people of India to refuse to take any part in such a war or to co-operate with them in any way whatsoever.



CONTEXT.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO PEACE FRONT CONFERENCE

United Press report from Bombay in the "Hindu" of June 28, 1939.

DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA HAS RELEASED THE CORRESpondence between him and the Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, on the subject of India's support for the Peace Front.

In his letter, Dr. Lohia, after referring to the Congress President's message to the Peace Front Conference which met at Paris recently, says that *the President had committed a Free India to the supporting of Britain and France and that such a statement of policy should have had the official approval of the Congress.* The Congress, according to the writer, has so far resolved to support the forces of world democracy and peace, but had nowhere given an indication that *this support might be extended to include a military alliance with Britain and France.* The implications of such an alliance were so vast that only the annual session of the Congress was competent to express itself on it. The Congress President's message, Dr. Lohia holds, apart from the implications, had a vital bearing on the Congress war-resistance policy today. The question of supporting a world *bloc* of powers would arise only after Imperialism had been completely liquidated in India and not before.

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD'S REPLY

Dr. Rajendra Prasad replied: "No military help is intended *It is only a general support to the idea of the Peace Front against aggression.* I have nowhere suggested in my telegram that a Free India will extend military assistance. *I may make it clear that our attitude of resistance to Britain in a war is categorical and unequivocal.* There is no question of a six-anna or an eight-anna solution of the question. We must have complete freedom.

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PROHIBITION AND RECONSTRUCTION

CONGRESSMEN TO CONTINUE EXECUTIVE WORK

Decision reached by the Congress Working Committee at Allahabad, November 19 to 23, 1939 (after the resignation of the Congress Ministries), Babu Rajendra Prasad presiding.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE POSITION OF CONGRESSMEN in the Committees appointed by the Congress Governments, and the Congressmen engaged in executive work in departments like the rural reconstruction and prohibition, it was decided that they were to continue to function, if no effort was made to change their status and if nothing was done that was repugnant to their sense of national self-respect.

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CONTEXT.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

PROFESSOR K. T. SHAH'S QUESTIONS

Extracts from an Associated Press report, dated January 22, in the "Hindustan Times" of January 24, 1940.

WHO WILL CONVENE THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND who will accept the decision of that Assembly if convened? Who will compose it and ratify the final constitution framed by it?

These were some of the problems placed before the advocates of the idea of a Constituent Assembly by Professor K. T. Shah of Bombay, who spoke on the "Constituent Assembly" at the fourth celebration of Founder's day of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona.

Professor Shah did not wish to say that these difficulties were insuperable, but only wanted to point out that they would have to be solved before the proposed Constituent Assembly could be convened.....

ITALIAN ATTACK ON ABYSSINIA

INDIA ANGERED

By C. F. ANDREWS, in the "Leader," November 26, 1935

WHEN I LEFT BOMBAY A FEW WEEKS AGO ON MY HOMEward journey to Europe, the *anger roused in India by the Italian military thrust against Abyssinia had become everywhere burning and deep.* But along with this had arisen in the minds of those whose opinion counted most a sense of impotence hard to endure. For merely to make a verbal protest seemed empty and void of meaning.

"I keenly feel the absurdity" RABINDRANATH TAGORE, wrote to me, "of raising my voice against an act of unscrupulous and virulent imperialism of this kind when it is pitiably feeble against all cases that vitally concern ourselves." What was the use, he would wish to say, of a subject people making a protest in favour of another country's independence when their own country was not free?

This was the general attitude throughout India. I went to see MAHATMA GANDHI, and he used almost the same words as TAGORE. He said that he had no wish to publish merely conventional and kindly phrases expressing sympathy which carried no active principle of help with them. This attitude of testing everything by action had been his strength hitherto, and it would have been weakness to depart from it for sentimental reasons.

In Allahabad and Bombay I spoke to those who were proceeding to Simla for the autumn session of the Central Legislative Assembly. Their mood was much the same.

"NO REAL RESPONSIBILITY"

"We shall of course make our protest," they complained to me, "but what's the use? We have no real responsibility in matters of foreign policy; for that is a 'reserved' subject, and we are treated as mere puppets, or rather as infants. Why, we are not even allowed to choose who shall go to represent India at Geneva! That's all settled for us by the Secretary of State at Whitehall, who thus puts two votes in Britain's pocket. What is still more galling to us is this, that we shall be no more forward than we are now even under the new Constitution. For foreign affairs will remain a 'reserved' subject, whereon we must still accept the direction of Great Britain. Don't you see how this handicaps us with regard to Abyssinia? *If we were free ourselves, we could do something to help others.* But we have no voice of our own in these matters."

Others spoke more vehemently. "*We have never felt,*" they said, "*our own helplessness so bitterly as we do now.*"

This sense of impotence carried with it a reluctance to open the question, even in conversation. Therefore, the silence of Indian leaders at this crisis must not be taken to represent a lack of interest in Abyssinia's destiny. Just the reverse is the case; furthermore, in this matter there is not the slightest difference in India between Hindus and Muslims, Parsis and Christians. The whole world of Islam, which has a strong inner cohesion of its own, has been deeply stirred. If Abyssinia falls a prey to the Italian invader (so Muslims put the case) then the more fertile portions of Southern Arabia, on the opposite shore of the Red Sea, may become the next point of attack. Will even the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina be safe?

MUSLIM TIES WITH ABYSSINIA

This fear has deeply moved Islam, and there are also traditional ties of hospitality between Arabia and Abyssinia which have bound the two countries together. For the story is well known by every Muslim how the Prophet of Arabia found a shelter for his own followers in Abyssinia, when he himself was a persecuted and homeless wanderer in danger of his own life.

It is also told how in the days of prosperity which followed, the courtesy of the King of Abyssinia was returned in full measure by the Arabian Prophet. Such acts of hospitality take the highest place among the ideals of the East, and they are constantly held in remembrance.

CONTEXT.

IMMEDIATE SELF-GOVERNMENT

A SYMPOSIUM OF VIEWS

The "Hindustan Times" of July 17, 1940, publishes this article by Dr. George S. Arundale, President of the Theosophical Society.

NOT A LITTLE DARING, I SENT THE FOLLOWING SHORT NOTE to a number of India's leading citizens, a little in the hope that its brevity might win it the compassion of a reply, also a little in the hope that the very busy people to whom I sent it would probably have the time at least to look at it, for busy people generally have time to spare, though they will not always choose to admit the fact :

" Dear friend—It is my heartfelt conviction that the following is profoundly true : Immediate declaration of self-government for India will turn the tide of war in the Allies' favour. If you too agree, may I have your approval ? "

By this I meant, first, that Britain must make the declaration, second, that the release of spiritual force by such a declaration would be profound, or at least that the moral effect would be world-wide.

I am grateful to the many friends who were so good as to send answers. Among these are the following :

" TREMENDOUS OBSTACLE "

The Premier of the Punjab, SIR SIKANDAR HYAT KHAN writes : " I agree with you that a clear declaration giving India self-government will have a marked effect in stimulating India's war effort ; but you no doubt realize that our internal differences constitute the main obstacle. *If we could only compose them, I am certain that Dominion Status will follow immediately.*

Yes, I do indeed realize that the fact of India being a house divided against herself is proving a tremendous obstacle, and I for one well understand Britain's hesitation. Is she to give to Jinnah, or to Gandhi, or to a Congress which no longer believes in blind obedience to him ? Yet I should be satisfied were Britain to declare now, at once, her determination to raise India to the status of a Westminster Statute Dominion. Provided India could cease to be a house divided against herself the moral effect throughout the world would be incalculable.

Two other ex-Premiers endorsed my message—Bombay and the North-West Frontier Province. So also does the Dewan of Mewar, Sir T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR.

DEFENCE OF INDIA

The Dewan of Travancore, SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER, replies *inter alia* : All that I can say is that unless immediate steps are taken for making India self-reliant in the matter of defence without reference to distinctions of race or creed

or between martial and non-martial communities, there is no point in asking for any declaration of self-government. To accept such a declaration would, in my opinion, be humiliating as our utter dependence on outsiders for self-preservation will continue."

There is very much truth in what this able administrator says. Still, I think, I would venture to hold to my original statement.

SIR K. V. REDDI Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University, does not agree : " I am one of those," he says, " who believe that we must forget our politics for the present and that our one aim shall be to do what we can do in the way of the war effort."

May I entirely agree, but submit that such a declaration is perhaps part of Britain's war effort ?

EDITORS' VIEWS

An interesting contribution to the symposium is made by newspaper editors. MR. A. A. HAYLES of the *Madras Mail* writes : " Much as I desire that a National Government should be formed at the Centre, I cannot believe that the declaration of self-government for India would turn the tide of war in favour of the Allies. It would help greatly, but by itself it would not be sufficient."

" I am quite sure," replies MR. S. A. BRELVI of the *Bombay Chronicle*, " that the acceptance of the Congress Demand will turn the tide of War in favour of Britain. Mr. Brelvi has quite simply evaded my question, but, I wonder, what is the Congress Demand? "

SIR C. Y. CHINTAMANI, Editor of the Allahabad *Leader*, says : " I regret I cannot sign this declaration without qualification or explanation." My old friend Sir C.Y. Chintamani is nothing if not cautious. I wish he could have sent me a qualification, for he is one of the finest thinkers in India."

WILL BRITAIN WAKE UP IN TIME ?

While the Mayor of Madras, MR. S. SATYAMURTI, agrees with my statement, he asks, " Will Britain wake up before it is too late, I wonder ? " I think Britain always does wake up before it is too late, and I am banking upon this, the more so as she is so nobly passing through the greatest crisis in her history.

" Yes", replies SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN, Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University. I very much value this simple " Yes " from so eminent an Indian.

Those who share my conviction frequently comment that Great Britain should have granted self-government to India

long ago. The converse is true of course, that a united India would long have claimed it. " Nations by themselves are made." No less general is the conviction that self-government would not only unloose the immense resources of India but would generate great spiritual forces, and that the arousing of these would " release her material support also," as MR. S. J. BAJAJ puts it. To establish self-government in India would " give the Allies a truly moral basis to carry on the fight and invoke Divine assistance for success," declares MR. M. S. ANEY.

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

A number of Congressmen, by far the larger group, have replied to my letter. DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD, ex-President, after demanding that " England should set her moral position right," concedes : " There is no grace in giving up what one cannot maintain, and anything done by England today is not only wholly shorn of all grace but may not carry the same moral value.

" Nevertheless, giving India freedom to set her own house in order in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people without foreign interference or pressure—in other words freedom to do as she likes, as England does what she likes —will remove that great moral drawback and may to that extent help the cause England is espousing."

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CONTEXT.

Extract from a report ("Hindustan Times," February 23, 1940) of a speech delivered by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at the All-India Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha Conference on the occasion of the Magh Mela at Allahabad.

NON-VIOLENCE AND DEFENCE

As regards the doctrine of *Ahimsa*, I am a humble votary of that noble humanitarian principle of non-violence. I consider it a sin to cause hurt to any innocent creatures of God. But this doctrine of *Ahimsa* has exceptions which have been well recognized from the earliest time.

Manu, the law-giver, has laid down that no innocent creature should be injured, but *atatains*, that is, those who are coming to attack one's life, property or set fire to one's house or attack the honour of women, one is entitled to kill in order to save one's life and honour.

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THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

MEMBERS ON WAR COMMITTEES

A report in the " Hindustan Times " of July 14, 1940, from the paper's Etawah correspondent says that Khan Sahib

Gulam Mohi-ud-Din Khan, Editor, " The Moonis ", an Urdu daily, has resigned the Presidentship and membership of the City Muslim League, due to his election to the Etawah District War Committee. The report says that a number of members and office-bearers of the Working Committee of the City and District Muslim League have also resigned on various grounds....



DISCIPLINARY ACTION AGAINST BIHAR MEMBERS

CONTEXT.

Extract from a Patna report in the " Hindustan Times " of Sept. 16, 1940, of an announcement by Khan Bahadur Ismail, President of the Bihar Muslim League.

" FOR CONTINUING TO SERVE ON WAR COMMITTEES, DISregarding the Muslim League's mandate, ten more members of the Bihar Muslim League have been debarred from becoming primary members of the League for a period of two years."



MUSLIM LEAGUE RESOLUTIONS OF JULY 2, 1939

PROPOSED SATYAGRAHA AGAINST WARDHA SCHEME

Extract from a statement issued by the President of the All-India Muslim League, setting forth the conclusions of the meeting of the League Working Committee held at Bombay on July 2, and 3 , 1939.

" THE WORKING COMMITTEE HAVING EXAMINED THE White Paper on Palestine and having heard the Muslim League delegates, is of the opinion that the proposals embodied in the White Paper are most unsatisfactory and disappointing, and are totally unacceptable.

" The Committee urges the British Government to meet the Arab demands and redeem the solemn pledges made to the Arabs and the Muslims of India, who stood by the British solidly in the Great War.

" The Working Committee resolves that a Palestine Fund be opened forthwith for the relief of the dependents of those who lost their lives or suffered in the struggle for independence.

"....The Working Committee expresses its appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman who went to Cairo, London and the Near East in connection with the Palestine question."

The Committee resolved that the name of Sir A.H. Ghaznavi should be removed from the Council of the League and that he should be disqualified from being a member of the League for four years from July 3, 1939.

The Working Committee considered the request of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League *to launch Civil disobedience against the Wardha scheme of Basic Education.* The Committee decided that, in the first instance, the Bihar Provincial League should send a memorial representing their complete case against the Wardha Scheme to the Governor-General, the Governor and the Prime Minister of Bihar, and report to the Working Committee the result of the representations. The Committee advised all other Provincial Leagues to do likewise.

The grounds on which the Committee disapproved of the Wardha Scheme were stated in a resolution passed at the same meeting.

CONGRESS MINISTRIES AND MINORITIES

" I will not be in the Congress Ministry for a day if I know that Muslims are being oppressed by any Congress Government," said Dr. Syed Mahmud, Education Minister of Bihar, in an interview at Lahore on July 22, 1939.

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APPEAL TO FRONTIER MUSLIMS

CONTEXT.

Extracts from an Associated Press Report from Abbotabad dated July 23, 1939.

DR. SYED MAHMUD, EDUCATION MINISTER OF BIHAR, who arrived here this morning, replying to certain changes made by the " Muslim Minorities Delegation " which recently toured the Frontier, said that since the Congress accepted office, several disabilities from which Muslims in his province were suffering had been removed. Legislation was being enacted in respect of which the minority community should feel satisfied.

Concluding, he appealed to Muslims of the North-West Frontier Province to safeguard the interest of the Hindus and the Sikhs, who, being a microscopic minority, deserved their protection. This, added Dr. Syed Mahmud, would have a salutary effect on the Provinces in which the Hindus were in a majority.

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CONTEXT.

" WHAT CONGRESS RULE HAS BROUGHT HOME TO MUSLIMS "

Extracts from a rejoinder issued by Sir Abdullah Haroon, M. L. A., to statements by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Maulana Sir Mohamed Yakub, and Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi, on the question of the Muslims' attitude to Federation. The report is dated July 18, 1939.

IS IT NOT A FACT THAT THESE TWO YEARS OF CONGRESS rule have brought home to the Muslim masses the fact that *the Muslims should no longer agree to be dealt with as a minority community*, depending for their existence on the paper prescriptions of ' safeguards ' or on artificial respiration to be administered to them from time to time, say, by the Federal Court ? Has any Court or similar agency ever saved a weak nation against the depredations of an inherently strong one ? Did the League of Nations save Abyssinians from the Italian invasion ?

The Muslim League policy is very clear and there is no room for any misgivings about it. It has rejected the Federal Scheme, it has declined to agree to any halfway house being built for the Muslims.

The Muslims have yet no reason to despair of the sympathy and sense of justice of the illustrious Viceroy of India, whose regime so far seems to be replete with proofs of prudence, sympathy and sound judgment.

BENGAL MINISTRY

" CRIPPLING HINDUS "

Extract from an Associated Press report of a public meeting of the Hindu citizens of Calcutta held on August 9, 1939.

THE MEETING WAS CONVENED TO DISCUSS THE POLITICAL situation and to inaugurate the movement for Hindu consolidation in Bengal.....

Dr. Mookerjee strongly condemned the Communal Award and declared that it was ' mainly intended for throttling the Hindus of Bengal.' In less than three years of its working, it had, he declared, achieved its object.....

Dr. Mookerjee asserted that the policy pursued by the Ministry during the last two years and a half had been aimed at " crippling the Hindus of this province in every important sphere of public activity, to divide them, to weaken them and to deprive them of their legitimate rights and liberties."

Dr. Mookerjee added that the revision of the Communal Award and the redistribution of Bengal's boundaries on a linguistic basis, must be taken up as two of the major items for incessant agitation throughout the length and breadth of Bengal.....

Dr. Mookerjee suggested the immediate establishment of an Information Bureau, which would keep a correct record of all cases of injustice and oppression meted out to individuals and institutions.....

ANTI-COMMUNAL AWARD CONFERENCE

The Fourth Session of the All-India Anti-Communal Award Conference was held at Calcutta on August 27, 1939, under the presidentship of Mr. M. S. Aney, M.L.A. (Central), says an Associated Press report. Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerjee, former acting Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, welcomed the delegates. Sir P. C. Ray opened the Conference. Sir N. N. Sircar also addressed the conference.

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, M.L.A., President of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, said :

" In principle, we are against communal representation in any form and we would always, therefore, be influenced on the side of such forces as work towards its abolition. In case communal representation by reservation of seats, through general electorates, is accepted by the major communities as a compromise, we shall gladly support this view. If separate electorates, however, are insisted upon and introduced, we expect that the claims of our community should be recognised.

" We, however, hope that the time is not distant when, with the unanimous support of our community, we shall be in a position to ask the British Government to include us in the general electorates."

Dr. Mookerjee pointed out that if the Communal Award was retained permanently, the presence of the British Government would be absolutely necessary in order to preserve an even balance between the rival claims of the contending groups.

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference adopted a number of resolutions, including one recording its disapproval of the Government's decision on the communal problem " inasmuch as it retained and extended the evil of separate communal electorates and provided statutory majorities with separate communal electorates, which were wholly opposed to the principle of responsible Government."

The communal decision, the resolution stated, which had wrongly been called the " Communal Award " was calculated to impede the growth of a common national feeling and to accentuate communal bitterness, and was grossly unfair to the Hindus, particularly in the Central Legislature and in the Provincial Legislatures of Bengal, the Punjab and Assam ; it gave to Europeans, particularly in Bengal and Assam, excessive representation at the expense of both Hindus and Muslims.

The Conference was of the opinion that a system of responsible government could only be based on joint electorates

and not on "an anti-national system of representation such as the Communal Award provides for."

Pointing out the serious consequences of the operation of the Award, the Conference regretted the neutral attitude of the Congress towards the question and urged it to revise its policy and strive for the reversal of the Award. It also requested all political organisations and individuals opposed to the Communal Award to unite in fighting the Award.



CONTEXT.

NATIONALIST MUSLIMS AND COMMUNAL SETTLEMENT

MR. S. A. BRELVI'S STATEMENT

Mr. S. A. Brelvi issued this statement on December 4, 1939.

IT WAS RECENTLY ANNOUNCED IN THE PRESS THAT IT WAS proposed to hold a Nationalist Muslims' Conference in Delhi towards the end of this month. Interviewed regarding it, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has stated that he had no information about it nor has he been consulted about it. He has also expressed his opinion that such a conference at this juncture is not only unnecessary but will also lead to many misunderstandings.

I have no doubt this view is shared by most nationalist Muslims who, I also feel sure, will disagree with Maulana Nuruddin Behari, the convener of the proposed conference, who in his statement, says that they would "not permit the Congress to compromise with any minority and, particularly, with the Muslim minority" because they do not want that the follies of 1916 should be repeated.

"MOST URGENT TASK"

Whatever may have been the defects of the Congress-League Pact of 1916, it certainly paved the way for the historic Hindu-Muslim co-operation in the great non-co-operation movement of 1920-22. Circumstances are not very much dissimilar today when we are once again in the midst of a war. Both the Congress and the Muslim League stand for the independence of the country. Nationalist Muslims are convinced that it is not possible to win independence without Hindu-Muslim unity, the attainment of which is the biggest and most urgent task that faces the country today.

Hence they desire nothing more ardently than an immediate, honourable and abiding Hindu-Muslim settlement. They hope that the conversations between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. M. A. Jinnah will soon take place and lead to such a settlement. They will help and not hinder the attainment of this happy end.

The proposed conference, as Maulana Abul Kalam says, will lead to many misunderstandings. It will hinder the progress of the Congress-League negotiations and I hope its organisers will abandon the idea of holding it.



CONTEXT.

PRINCES' DEMAND

SHARE IN FRAMING INDIA'S FUTURE CONSTITUTION

Summary of a resolution on the future Constitution of India vis-a-vis the Indian Princes, unanimously adopted on March 12, 1940, by the Chamber of Princes after a two-day session.

WHILE WELCOMING THE ATTAINMENT BY INDIA OF ITS DUE place among the Dominions, the Chamber expressed the emphatic view that in any future Constitution for India the essential guarantees and safeguards for the preservation of the States' sovereignty and autonomy and the protection of their treaty and other rights should be effectively provided; and that the States and the Chamber's representatives should have a voice proportionate to their importance and historical position in any negotiations for formulating a Constitution for India.



VICEROY'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 8, 1940

Extract from a statement issued by His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes on the Viceroy's statement of August 8, 1940.

HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT AND HIS EXCELLENCY THE Viceroy deserve to be congratulated on their recent declaration.

At a grave moment such as the present, it would be dangerous to waste time in hair-splitting of this declaration in a suspicious, calculated or haggling spirit.....

The control of defence vitally affects the States as well as British India.....the defence portfolio should vest, not on a party basis, but in the interests of the country as a whole, in someone who may combine the confidence of British India and the States.....

H. E. THE VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENTS, THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S SPEECHES, COMMUNIQUES AND REPORTS

CONTEXT.

Extract from H. E. the Viceroy's Address to the Central Legislature on Sept. 11, 1939.

FEDERATION: PREPARATORY WORK SUSPENDED

BEFORE I CONCLUDE MY REMARKS TO YOU TODAY THERE are two matters, both of them arising out of the present situation, on which I would say a word. The first is the acceptance by His Majesty's Government and the Government of India of the conclusions of Lord Chatfield's Committee as expressed in the recently published Despatch.

That decision marks an epoch in the history of Indian defence.

The grave problems which confronted us in the matter of defence consequent on changes in the international situation and the development of modern armaments are now in a fair way to solution. They have been the constant concern of my advisers, and particularly of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, for many months past.

The result of the deliberations which have taken place is, on a broad view, satisfactory in the highest degree. In particular I am glad to think not only that the improvements so essential at the present stage of the world's history should be so far advanced, but that, thanks to the most generous measure of help which has been extended to us, the necessity of laying heavy additional burdens on the Indian taxpayer has been avoided.

> **The profound significance of the decisions that have been taken lies in the fact that India—so largely an agricultural country, which could never, save at the cost of a complete disregard of other calls, have hoped to make available the vast sums of money necessary for re-equipment and modernization—has, thanks to the gift which she has received from His Majesty's Government, been placed in the same position in relation to the modernization of army as the great industrial nations of the world.**

I will add only one word more, in regard to our federal preparations. Those preparations, as you are aware, are well advanced, and great labour has been lavished on them in the last three years.

> Federation remains as before the objective of His Majesty's Government; but you will understand, Gentlemen, without any elaborate exposition on my part, the compulsion of the present international situation,

and the fact that, given the necessity for concentrating on the emergency that confronts us, we have no choice but to hold in suspense the work in connection with preparations for federation, while retaining federation as our objective.



CONTEXT.

DOMINION STATUS THE GOAL

WAR CONSULTATIVE GROUP

H. E. the Viceroy's statement on Oct. 17, 1939.

Since the outbreak of war and more particularly during the last four weeks I have been in the closest touch with the leaders of political opinion in British India and with representatives of the Princely Order ; and I have spared no effort to acquaint myself by personal discussion with the trend of feeling ; to ascertain the views of the different sections of public opinion in this country on the great questions of the day, and in particular on this question of the basis on which, and the extent to which, India could best co-operate in the prosecution of the war ; and to satisfy myself as to the extent to which a basis of common agreement exists, and as to the manner in which the position, so far as it may still remain obscure, can best be clarified.

Matters have now reached a point at which, in my judgment, it would be well that I should make a statement designed, in the light of the discussions which I have had during these past few weeks, to clear the position on the main questions which emerge at the present moment.

I would make a preliminary observation. I have had the advantage of a full and frank discussion with no fewer than 52 people—with Mr. Gandhi, with the President and Members of the Congress Working Committee, with Mr. Jinnah and with representative Members of the Muslim League organization, with the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and with a great variety of persons prominent in the political life of British India.

MARKED DIFFERENCES OF OUTLOOK

As was only to be expected, conversations with representatives of so many different points of view revealed marked differences of outlook, markedly different demands, and markedly different solutions for the problems that lie before us. Again, and that too was what might have been expected at a time such as the present, reservations or demands for special protection on one side have tended to be balanced by proposals for still more marked constitutional changes on another.

I would ask that these differences of view, deeply and sincerely held, I have not the least doubt, by those who have advanced them to me, should be borne in mind when we consider ous present problems, for they have a very direct and obvious relevance to them.

I trust most earnestly that I shall be able to dispel certain misapprehensions which are, I am clear, widely and genuinely held, and that, even if to a degree more limited than has been urged upon me from many quarters, I may be able to clarify the position as regards our hopes and our objectives for India, and to make some little contribution to the removal of the obstacles which existing doubts on that point have caused to that full, generous, and ready co-operation which it is I am certain her anxiety and that of her peoples to give today to a good cause.

The essential matters on which a clarification of the position is beyond any question desired are :—

1. **What are the objectives of His Majesty's Government in the war ? To what extent are they of such a character that India with her long history and great traditions can, with a clear conscience, associate herself with them ?**
2. **What is the future that is contemplated in the constitutional sphere for the Indian Continent ? What are the intentions of His Majesty's Government ? Is it possible to define those intentions more precisely and in such a manner as to leave the world in no doubt as to the ultimate status envisaged for India as far as the British Commonwealth is concerned ?**
3. **In what way can the desire of India and of Indian public opinion for a closer association, and an effective association, with the prosecution of the war best be satisfied ?**

Let me deal with these questions in the order in which I have stated them. Let me in the first place consider to what extent in existing conditions and at this stage in the development of the campaign in which we are engaged any positive and satisfactory answer admits of being given to the demand for a more precise definition of our objectives.

BRITAIN'S WAR OBJECTIVES

In endeavouring to answer that question I do not propose to touch on the question of our objectives for India. That is a matter which I will deal with separately in answering the second question which I have mentioned above. His Majesty's Government have not themselves yet defined with any ultimate precision their detailed objectives in the prosecution of the war.

It is obvious that such a definition can come only at a later stage in the campaign, and that when it does come, it cannot be a statement of the aims of any single ally. There may be many changes in the world position and in the situation that confronts us before the war comes to an end, and much must depend on the circumstances in which it does come to an end, and on the intervening course of the campaign.

The experience of all history shows in these circumstances the unwisdom and the impracticability of precise definition at so early a stage as that which we have now reached.

But the fact that, for the reasons I have given, precise definition is not practicable does not mean, as I see it, that there is any real doubt, or any uncertainty, in the minds of the public, whether in India or in the United Kingdom or in any allied country, as to the motives which have actuated us in entering into the war, and consequently the broad general objectives which we have before us in the campaign which is now being waged.

We are fighting to resist aggression whether directed against ourselves or others.

Our general aims have been stated by the Prime Minister within the last few days as follows :—We are seeking no material advantage for ourselves. We are not aiming only at victory, but looking beyond it to laying a foundation of a better international system which will mean that war is not to be the inevitable lot of each succeeding generation. We, like all the peoples of Europe, long for peace ; but it must be a real and settled peace, not an uneasy truce interrupted by constant alarms and threats.

This statement, I think, clearly establishes the nature of the cause for which we are fighting, and justifies, if justification is needed, the extension by India of her moral support and her goodwill to the prosecution of that cause.

" GREAT POWER TRANSFERRED "

Let me turn now to the second question which has been put to me—the question of India's future and of the lines of her constitutional development.

That is a question, I am certain in the light of my conversations, which is of the greatest and most acute interest to all parties and all sections of opinion in this country.

As matters stand today, the constitutional position of India and the policy of His Majesty's Government are governed by the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

Part III of that Act, which provides for the conferment of Provincial Autonomy on the Provinces of British India, has been implemented.

For nearly two and a half years now the Provinces have been conducting their own affairs under the scheme of the Act. That they have done so, on the whole, with great success, even if now and then difficulties have arisen, no one can question.

Whatever the political party in power in those Provinces, all can look with satisfaction on a distinguished record of public achievement during the last two and a half years. The experience that they have had has shown beyond any question that whatever minor problems the application of the scheme of the Act may have presented, whatever difficulties may have confronted us in the operation of the Act from time to time in the provincial sphere, the scheme of the Act is essentially sound, and that it transfers great power and gives great opportunities to popularly elected governments dependent on the support of a majority in their legislatures.

FEDERAL STAGE SUSPENDED

The second stage contemplated by the Act was the reconstitution of the Central Government on such a basis as to achieve the essential goal of Indian unity.

The method contemplated for that purpose was the achievement of a Federation of All-India, in which the representatives of all political parties in British India would, together with the Rulers of the Indian States, form a unified Government of India as a whole. I am only too conscious of the severity of the criticisms that have been advanced from many different points of view against the federal scheme and against the arrangements embodied in Part II of the Act. I will say today no more than that, having myself had so close a familiarity not only with the framing of the provisions, but with the preliminary work which has been done with a view to putting them into force, I have throughout believed that the federal scheme in its operation would have turned out as satisfactorily as, broadly speaking, we can all of us regard the scheme of Provincial Autonomy as having turned out. I will not dilate on that subject today, for our work in connection with the federal scheme has been suspended. But in reaffirming as I do my belief in the essential soundness of the federal aspects of the Act of 1935, I do so with the greater emphasis because of the evidence which the federal provisions of the Act constitute of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to achieve, with the minimum of delay, and on the basis which appears to represent the greatest amount of agreement between the various parties and interests affected, the unity of India, and to advance beyond a further and most important milestone on the road to India's goal.

Such being the background against which we are working, what are the intentions and aims of His Majesty's Government in relation to India ?

" DEFINITE AND CATEGORICAL "

I cannot do better in reply to that question than to refer to the statement made on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and with their full authority, by the late Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the 6th February 1935.

> **That statement makes the position clear beyond a shadow of doubt. It refers to the pledge given in the Preamble of the Act of 1919, and it makes it clear that it was no part of the plan of His Majesty's Government to repeal that pledge. It confirms equally the interpretation placed in 1929 by Lord Irwin, as Viceroy, again on the authority of the Government of the day, on that Preamble, that " the natural issue of India's progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status." I need not dilate on the words of that statement. They are clear and positive. They are enshrined in the parliamentary record. They stand as a definite and categorical exposition of the policy of His Majesty's Government today, and of their intentions today in this end, the future constitutional development and position of India.**

I would add only that the Instrument of Instructions issued to me as Governor-General by His Majesty the King-Emperor in May 1937, lays upon me as Governor-General a direction so to exercise the trust which His Majesty has reposed in me " that the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within our Empire may be furthered to the end that India may attain its due place among our Dominions."

That is the policy and that is the position. Those are the intentions of His Majesty's Government.

MODIFICATION OF 1935 ACT

Let me go on to say another word about the Act of 1935. That Act was based on the greatest measure of common agreement which it was possible to obtain at the time when it was framed. It was based, as is well known to all of us, on the common labours of British and Indian statesmen, and of representatives of British India as well as of the Indian States over a long period of years.

All parties were at one stage or other closely associated with those deliberations.

And I can speak from personal experience when I bear tribute to the extreme anxiety of all those of us on whom, in the Joint Select Committee, there fell the more particular responsibility for devising proposals for the consideration of Parliament, to ensure that the fullest account had been taken of all interests ; of the views of all political parties ; and that nothing had been left undone to ensure that the outcome of our labours reflected the greatest measure of agreement practicable in the conditions that confronted us.

Be that as it may, His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State, to which I have just referred, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate.

And I am authorised now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties and interests in India and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable.

I have, I trust, in what I have just said, made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His Majesty's Government is, as stated in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions.

The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process.

But I have made clear in what I have just said that His Majesty's Government will, at the end of the war, be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views.

And I would make it clear, too, that it will be their object, as at all times in the past it has been, to spare no pains to further agreement by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to the ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal.

ASSURANCE TO MINORITIES

Let me in that connection add that in the conversations I have had, representatives of the minorities have urged most strongly on me the necessity of a clear assurance that

full weight would be given to their views and to their interest in any modifications that may be contemplated.

On that I need say no more than that, over more than a decade, at the three Round Table Conferences, and at the Joint Select Committee, His Majesty's Government consulted with and had the assistance of the advice of representatives of all parties and all interests in this country.

It is unthinkable that we should now proceed to plan afresh, or to modify in any respect, any important part of India's future Constitution without again taking counsel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated in a like task with His Majesty's Government and with Parliament.

That some even more extensive scheme than I have mentioned, some even more widely phrased indication of the intentions of His Majesty's Government, is desired in certain quarters in this country, I am fully aware from the conversations I have had during these last few weeks. That that is a desire held with sincerity, and that those who hold it are convinced that it is in the manner in question that the future progress and development of India and the expressed intentions of His Majesty's Government can best be fulfilled, I fully and readily accept.

A WORD OF CAUTION

I would utter one word only of caution.

And if I say that the situation must be faced in terms of world politics and of political realities in this country, I do so from no lack of sympathy, and no lack of appreciation of the the motives that weigh with the people of India and the ideals that appeal to them. But I would urge that it is essential in matters of this nature, affecting the future of tens of millions of people, affecting the relations of the great communities, affecting the Princes of India, affecting the immense commercial and industrial enterprises, whether Indian or European in this country, that the largest measure of agreement practicable should be achieved. With the best will in the world, progress must be conditioned by practical considerations.

I am convinced myself, if I may say so with the utmost emphasis, that, having regard to the extent of agreement which in fact exists in the constitutional field, and on this most difficult and important question of the nature of the arrangements to be made for expediting and facilitating the attainment by India of her full status, there is nothing to be gained by phrases which, widely and generally expressed, contemplate a state of things which is unlikely to stand at the present point of political development the test of practical application, or to result in that unified effort by all parties and all communities in India on the basis of which

alone India can hope to go forward as one and to occupy the place to which her history and her destinies entitle her.

I would ask that these words of caution be not taken as indicating any lack of sympathy on the part of His Majesty's Government for the aspirations of India, or any indifference to the pace of her advance ; and I would repeat that His Majesty's Government are but concerned to use their best endeavours, now as in the past, to bring about that measure of agreement and understanding between all parties and all interests in this country which is so essential a condition of progress towards India's goal.

ASSOCIATING INDIAN PUBLIC OPINION WITH CONDUCT OF WAR

I turn now to the arrangements to be made to secure the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war. India's contribution has already been great, great to a degree which has impressed the imagination of the world.

At the head of the list I would put the contribution which India has made in spiritual, and not in material, terms—the support of her peoples for a cause which they can regard as a good and a righteous cause.

In the material field equally her contribution is already most significant, and may be greater still.

And in the circumstances, the desire, the anxiety, of public opinion in India to be associated with the conduct of the war is naturally one with which I personally have throughout felt the greatest sympathy. In the circumstances I have described, the desirability of steps to ensure that leaders of public opinion should be in the closest touch with developments is of the first importance.

I have discussed with the utmost frankness with the leaders of the various parties who have been good enough to come to see me in connection with the constitutional position, by what machinery we could best give effect to this desire.

CONSULTATIVE GROUP

We have examined a variety of expedients, and there has been no hesitation on the part of any of us in assessing the advantages and the disadvantages presented by each of them. I do not propose to examine those various alternatives in particular detail.

I will only say that in the light of my conversations and of the views (by no means always in accord) of representatives of the great parties and of the Princes I am of opinion

that the right solution would be the establishment of a consultative group, representative of all major political parties in British India and of the Indian Princes, over which the Governor-General would himself preside, which would be summoned at his invitation, and which would have as its object the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war and with questions relating to war activities.

This group, for practical reasons, would inevitably be limited in size. But His Majesty's Government contemplate that it should be fully representative, and in particular that its personnel should be drawn by the Governor-General from panels prepared by the various major political parties, from which a selection of individuals to attend meetings of the group would be made by the Governor-General. I hope in the very near future to enter into consultation with political leaders and with the Princes on this question. I have no doubt whatever that an arrangement of this nature will most materially contribute to associating the Indian States and British India with the steps which are being taken for the prosecution of the war and with the arrangements that are being made in that connection.

And I am confident, too, that in an association of this nature of representatives of all parties and all interests there lies the germ of that fuller and broader association of all points of view in this country which contain in it the seeds of such advantage for the future of India as a whole.

APPEAL FOR UNITY

When I spoke to the Central Legislature a month ago, I made an appeal for unity. I would repeat that appeal today.

It is my earnest hope that the explanations I have given will have contributed materially to the removal of misunderstandings.

Even if on certain points I have not, to my knowledge, been able to give assurances so comprehensive as those which would I know have been welcomed in certain political quarters in India, I would urge insistently that this is not a moment at which to risk the splitting of the unity of India on the rock of particular phrases, and I would press that we should continue to aim at the unity of India even if differences of greater or less significance continue to exist.

We live in difficult and anxious days. Great ideals are in issue. Dangers real and imminent face our civilization. Those dangers are as real and as imminent in the case of India as of any other member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Those ideals are as precious to India as to any country in the Empire or in the world.

At this grave moment in the destinies of nations my prayer to all parties would be not to dissociate themselves from the common effort, but to lend their co-operation and their assistance in the prosecution of the war. There could be no more decisive proof of India's fidelity to her best traditions than the full use of the opportunities afforded to her by the war for concerted endeavour. The ideals we have set before us, the objects to secure which we are engaged in the present struggle, are such as to command widespread sympathy and widespread support in India. They are in harmony with her past history and her highest traditions. It is my hope that in the grave juncture which we face India will go forward as a united country in support of a common cause.



CONTEXT.

EXPANSION OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

FAILURE OF CONGRESS-LEAGUE DISCUSSIONS

Text of His Excellency the Viceroy's statement of Nov. 5, 1939.

The discussions which have been taking place between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League have not ended in agreement. No one can regret more than I do that this should be the case, and I think it is only proper as the issues involved are so important, to recall the history of the last few weeks.

War was delcared on the 3rd September. In a broadcast that night I appealed to all parties and all sections in India to co-operate in its prosecution. On the following day I saw Mr. Gandhi in Simla, and I discussed the whole position freely with him. I similarly took immediate steps to see Mr. Jinnah as representing the Muslim League. Nor did I fail to see the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

Thereafter the general question came for consideration before the Congress Working Committee and the Working Committee of the Muslim League. The Working Committee of the Congress met on the 15th of September. They condemned Nazi aggression in decisive terms. But they postponed a final decision so as to allow for the full elucidation of the issues at stake, the real objectives aimed at, and the position of India in the present and in the future, and they invited the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what were their war aims and how those aims would apply to India, and be given effect to in the present.

Mr. Gandhi, expressing his full agreement with the Working Committee's statement, remarked that he had been sorry to find himself alone in seeking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally.

MUSLIM LEAGUE ATTITUDE

The Working Committee of the Muslim League on the 18th of September similarly asked, " if full, effective, and honourable co-operation of the Mussalmans is desired," that " a sense of security and satisfaction " should be created amongst Muslims, and referred in particular to the position of the Muslims in Congress Provinces, and to the necessity for consulting the Muslims fully regarding any change in the existing constitution and securing their consent and approval.

I now again got in touch with Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. I decided that, given the great divergence of view which clearly existed between the two major political parties in British India, I must satisfy myself as to the trend of feeling in the country. In pursuance of that object I interviewed over 50 people, representing all parties, communities, and interests. While those conversations were proceeding, the All-India Congress Committee, on the 10th of October, passed a resolution repeating the demand of the Working Committee for a statement by His Majesty's Government of their war aims and peace aims. They demanded also that India should be declared an independent nation and that present application of this status should be given to the largest possible extent.

DECLARATION OF OCTOBER 18

I reported my conversations in detail to His Majesty's Government, who, at a time of overwhelming pressure, have been devoting the closest attention to the problems of India. It was in the light of profound consideration and long discussion that on the 18th October I made a Declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government. That Declaration emphasized first that Dominion Status remained the goal for India ; second, that His Majesty's Government were prepared to reconsider the scheme of the present Act at the end of the war in consultation with leaders of opinion in India ; third, that His Majesty's Government attached importance to associating public opinion in India with the prosecution of the war, and that for that purpose they contemplated the formation of a Consultative Group, the details of which were to be settled after I had further consulted with Party leaders.

The announcements in my statement are of great importance. Their importance has been belittled, but they represent points of real substance. The debates in Parliament which

followed the publication of my statement brought out another important point—the readiness of His Majesty's Government, if certain conditions were secured, to associate Indian opinion in a still closer and more responsible manner with the conduct of the war by a temporary expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council. But the reception in British India both of my Declaration and of the subsequent debates in Parliament was, so far as the Congress was concerned, definitely hostile.

CONGRESS MINISTRIES ASKED TO RESIGN

The Congress Working Committee on the 22nd of October passed a resolution to the effect that my Declaration was entirely unsatisfactory, and called upon the Congress Ministries in the Provinces to resign. The Muslim League on the same day asked that certain doubts should be removed, and complete clarification of the Declaration secured, subject to which they empowered their President, if fully satisfied, "*to give an assurance of co-operation and support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war.*"

I next invited Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and Mr. Jinnah to come to see me on November 1st, and I discussed the whole position with them frankly. I had already in my previous conversations discussed with them, as with almost all my visitors, from various aspects the possibility of an expansion of the Governor-General's Council. I now told them that if in regard to association at the Centre, we had been unable to go further than the Consultative Group it was because of the lack of prior agreement between the major communities such as would contribute to harmonious working at the Centre. I added that the manifestoes issued on 22nd October by the Congress Working Committee and the Muslim League had shown only too clearly the gulf that existed between the attitude of these two great parties.

I begged my visitors in these circumstances to meet and to have discussions among themselves on the provincial position, with a view there after to putting forward in agreement proposals which would be considered for some expansion of the Governor-General's Council at the Centre. I told them that I saw no necessity for every detail of the differences between them in the Provinces to be resolved. What was needed was a sufficient resolution of those differences to make the devising of a scheme for harmonious co-operation at the Centre practicable. I begged them in the most earnest manner to spare no endeavour to reach agreement ; and I emphasized that this was essentially a question affecting Indians on which agreement between Indians themselves was what I was anxious to secure. I repeated the profound anxiety not only of myself but of His Majesty's Government to leave nothing undone which would contribute to achieve that agreement.

ENTIRE DISAGREEMENT

The discussions which I suggested have taken place. But the result to me has been a profound disappointment. *There remains today entire disagreement between the representatives of the major parties on fundamental issues.* All I will say now is that I am not prepared to accept this failure. I propose in due course to try again, in consultation with the leaders of these great parties and the Princes, to see if even now there may still be the possibility of securing unity.

> **During all the time I have been in India there is nothing I have been more anxious to secure than unity. And unity matters far more to India than is perhaps always realised. Unity, too, means that Indians, whatever their community or whatever their party allegiance, and whether they dwell in British India or in the Indian States, must work together in a common scheme. It is worth a great deal to try to bring that about. I may have been unsuccessful so far. But I will try again. And when I try again I would ask India to remember my difficulties, and give me credit for an earnest goodwill and an earnest desire to assist.**

We are dealing with a problem that has defeated the united endeavours of the greatest organizations in this country. There are grave differences of view which have to be taken into account, which should be bridged. There are strong and deeply-rooted interests which are entitled to the fullest consideration and whose attitude is not a thing lightly to be brushed aside. There are minorities which are great in numbers as well as great in historic importance, and in culture. Those are all factors to which full weight has to be given. But complex as the problems are, I refuse to regard them as insoluble, and I prefer to believe that, like other human problems, they will yield to patient discussion in a spirit of goodwill. In this belief I am encouraged by the friendly feeling which has pervaded my discussions with the leaders of parties. I would ask the country, and I would ask the leaders of the great political parties and their constituents, who I know have faith in those leaders, and are ably led by them, to give me the help which I so much need if there is to be any hope of overcoming our difficulties and reaching the result which I am sure that we all of us desire.

CORRESPONDENCE

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy, to Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian National Congress, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, M. L. A., President, All-India Muslim League, dated The Viceroy's House, New Delhi, November 2, 1939:

You will remember that I agreed during our conversation yesterday to let you have in concrete form the proposition which I put to you and the other gentlemen who were present at the meeting, emphasizing that I did so with a genuine desire to help, a desire fully shared by His Majesty's Government.

2. The proposition which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider, as leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre, you should enter upon discussions between yourselves with a view to discovering whether you could reach a basis of agreement between yourselves in the Provincial field, consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organisations immediately participating in the Central Government as members of my Executive Council. I brought out, too, that in my judgment it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of such differences as may exist in the Provinces. What was required, as was remarked in the course of the discussion, was a degree of agreement in respect of the Provinces such as to make it possible for my visitors, and the organizations which they represented, to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre.

3. I added, in regard to any arrangement at the Centre—

First, that one would hope that it might be found practicable to include also one or possibly more representatives of other important groups, and that that was a question on which I should value your advice when we came to grapple with the details ;

Secondly, that the arrangement which I invited you to consider for the Centre would be an *ad hoc* arrangement for the period of the war, and quite distinct from the much wider question of constitutional reform at the end of the war ; and I mentioned that on that last point my declaration had set out the position of His Majesty's Government. I attach a copy of the extracts from that declaration which I brought to the notice of the meeting yesterday ;

Thirdly, that the position of anyone appointed to my Executive Council as a member of a political party would be identical, in privileges and in obligations, with that of the existing members of my Council ; and

Fourthly, that the arrangement would be within the general scheme of the existing law. It would be admittedly and inevitably a makeshift arrangement for the duration of the campaign. I brought out that what was required now, if we could get a workable scheme together, was to put it into operation with as little delay as possible pending the more general review of the whole constitutional position which His Majesty's Government have expressed their readiness to undertake after the conclusion of hostilities.

4. I think the above makes the position clear. Let me in conclusion repeat that, as I said yesterday, I am at any time at your disposal or that of the other gentlemen who attended our meeting, whether jointly or singly, to give any assistance in my power in reaching conclusions on these most important matters. I feel certain, as I said yesterday, that the suggestions I have put to you, reflecting as they do very real and substantial evidence of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to reach a complete understanding, will receive full and sympathetic consideration from you.

ENCLOSURE.

Extracts from the Viceroy's Declaration of October 18, 1939:

" His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate. And I am authorised now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties and interests in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable."

I added—

" I have, I trust, in what I have just said, made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His Majesty's Government is, as stated in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions. The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process. But I have made clear in what I have just said that His Majesty's Government will, at the end of the war, be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views. And I would make it clear, too, that it will be their object, as at all times in the past it has been, to spare no pains to further agreement by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to the ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal.

I remarked finally, speaking of the demands of the minorities for an assurance that full weight would be given to their views and interests—

It is unthinkable that we should now proceed to plan afresh, or to modify in any respect any important part of India's

future constitution without again taking counsel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated in a like task with His Majesty's Government and with Parliament."



DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD'S REPLY

Letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, Indian National Congress, to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated Birla House, New Delhi, November 3, 1939 :

I thank you for your letter of November 2nd, embodying in concrete form the proposition which you had placed before us when we saw you on November 1st. My colleagues and I have given our earnest consideration to it. We have had also the advantage of full talks with Mr. M. A. Jinnah. But we find ourselves unable to vary the answer we gave you during the interview.

At the outset I would like to say that both Gandhiji and I missed at the interview any reference to the main and moral issue raised by the Congress about clarification of war aims without which it was impossible for the Congress to consider any subsidiary proposal.

The present crisis has arisen owing to the outbreak of the war in Europe and the action of the British Government in declaring India a belligerent country without the consent of the Indian people. *This crisis is entirely political and is not related to the communal issue in India. It raises vital questions in regard to the war aim of the British Government and the position of India in relation to them.*

The Congress Working Committee, as you are aware, issued a lengthy statement on September 14th, 1939, in which they invited the British Government to declare these war aims and, in particular, how these aims were going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. It was further stated that the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly, without external interference, and should guide their own policy.

On the 10th of October, 1939, the All-India Congress Committee approved of and endorsed this statement, and stated that in the declaration to be made by the British Government, *India must be declared an independent nation and present application should be given to this status to the largest possible extent.* The Committee further added that Indian freedom must be based on democracy and unity and the full recognition and protection of the rights of all minorities.

" WHOLLY UNSATISFACTORY "

Subsequent to this, the policy of the British Government was declared in the Viceregal statement, extracts from which you have been good enough to send me. This statement was considered by the Congress Working Committee soon after and the Committee expressed their opinion that it was unfortunate and wholly unsatisfactory. As a consequence of this, they felt compelled to declare that they were unable to give any support to Great Britain and to call upon the Provincial Governments, in provinces where the Congress is in a majority, to tender their resignations.

It is worthy of note that the Viceregal declaration of British policy met with disapproval of the overwhelming body of opinion in India, even outside the Congress.

Subsequent statements made on behalf of the British Government in Parliament have not made any essential difference to the policy outlined in the Viceregal statement, and as you have rightly pointed out, that policy is still governed by the extracts from it that you have kindly sent us. I am afraid it is quite impossible for us to accept this policy or to consider any steps to further co-operation unless the policy of the British Government is made clear in a declaration on the lines suggested by the Congress.

" MAIN ISSUE CLOUDED "

It has pained us to find the communal question being dragged in in this connection. It has clouded the main issue. It has been repeatedly said on behalf of the Congress that it is our earnest desire to settle all points of communal controversy by agreement and we propose to continue our efforts to this end. But I would point out that this question does not in any respect come in the way of a declaration of Indian freedom as suggested above. Such a declaration applies to the whole of India and not to any particular community, and the Constituent Assembly which will frame India's constitution, will be formed on the widest possible basis of franchise and by agreement in regard to communal representation.

We are all agreed that there must be full protection of minority rights and interests and this protection should be by agreement between the parties concerned. The British Government taking or sharing the burden has, in our opinion, made a settlement of the question much more difficult than it should have been. It should allay all real anxiety on the part of the British Government when the Congress declares that it contemplates no constitution which does not carry with it the protection of real minorities to their satisfaction.

It seems to us that a clear declaration of the kind suggested is an essential preliminary to any further consideration of the matter. I should like to add that recent developments

in the European war have made it all the more necessary for a clear enunciation of war aims. If a satisfactory declaration is made, a discussion of the proposal made by Your Excellency will be appropriate and useful and we shall gladly discuss it with you.

It is perhaps unnecessary to state that Gandhiji is in full agreement with this letter. We propose to leave tomorrow evening for Wardha unless Your Excellency desires otherwise.

MR. JINNAH'S REPLY

Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah, M.L.A., President, All-India Muslim League, to His Excellency the Viceroy, November 4, 1939 :

With reference to the joint interview which Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Congress, and myself had with you on the 1st of November and in reply to your letter, dated the 2nd of November, I beg to inform you that I understood that the Congress leaders and myself were to consider the proposals of Your Excellency, namely—to quote from Your Excellency's letter—

"The proposition which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider, as leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre, you should enter upon discussions between yourselves in the Provincial field, consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organizations immediately participating in the Central Government as Members of my Executive Council. I brought out, too, that in my judgment it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of such differences as may exist in the Provinces. What was required, as was remarked in the course of the discussion, was a degree of agreement in respect of the Provinces such as to make it possible for my visitors, and the organizations which they represented, to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre," without prejudice to the resolution of the Muslim League of the 22nd of October stating that the Declaration of Your Excellency on behalf of His Majesty's Government was not satisfactory and required further clarification and assurances and also without prejudice to the demand of the Congress for a Declaration as adumbrated in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee on the 10th of October 1939.

In consequence I met the leaders of the Congress and I was informed by them finally that they had come to the conclusion that they could not discuss any questions with regard to matters referred to in your letter of the 2nd instant relating to the Provincial field or "at the Centre" until the British Government had complied with their demand as

embodied in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee; hence these two questions were not further discussed.

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CONTEXT.

APPEAL FOR PATIENCE

VICEROY'S BROADCAST OF NOVEMBER 5, 1939

Text of the Viceroy's broadcast on Sunday, November 5, 1939.

It is with profound regret that I have to announce that the conversations which at my instance had been inaugurated between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League have so far not achieved what I had hoped.

The country is entitled to know in a matter of such moment and at a time of such gravity what the nature was of the proposition which I invited my friends in those two organizations to consider. I shall tomorrow publish correspondence which will make the position perfectly clear.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Let me only say that my object has been in these discussions to bring together the leaders of the great parties and to endeavour to secure, as a result of personal contact between them, and with what personal assistance I could myself give, that measure of agreement in the provinces which in their view would enable them to put forward proposals for constructive advance at the Centre for the period of the war such as would be represented by some expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and by the inclusion in it of political leaders.

My declaration of 18th October contemplated a consultative group. It offered an arrangement relatively so limited as that Group only because of the marked divergences of view between the great communities, divergences the existence of which held out no hope of harmonious working at the Centre on the basis of joint membership of my Executive Council at a time when harmonious working was of the first importance. Nevertheless, I am persuaded that that Group holds great possibilities for the future; possibilities, I feel sure, greater than are commonly realised.

It is, I need not say, a profound disappointment to me after so much endeavour on the part of His Majesty's Government, on the part of those leaders with whom I have conferred and of their friends, as well as on my own part, that we have no more to show, and that in

so many provinces we should be left with no choice but to use the emergency provisions inserted for that purpose in the Government of India Act.

" LIFE IS A BRIDGE "

As for those provisions, let me emphasize that they are an expedient, not a sanction. My own strong feeling in regard to their use I cannot better convey than a paraphrase of the quotation that appears in Arabic characters upon the great Gateway at Fatehpur Sikri. That quotation says:

" Life is a bridge, a bridge that you shall pass over;
You shall not build your house upon it."

Nor in the wider field do I propose to take this disappointment as final, or to abandon the efforts I am making to bring about the friendly adjustment of differences in this country to the end that we can continue to co-operate over the achievement of our common objectives.

Differences and difficulties such as those which now threaten to retard—even to reverse—the course of constitutional development in India and the earliest attainment of the common goal, will not disappear spontaneously, nor will they be conjured away by any refusal to recognise their existence. They will be resolved only by negotiations carried out in a spirit of mutual accommodation and trust and with a firm resolve to succeed.

I will say no more than that tonight. But I would ask for patience and for the goodwill of the Indian people, and of the great political organizations, whether of the members of those organizations or their leaders, in the efforts I propose to continue to make.

The difficulties are great. How great they are has been most clearly revealed by the events of the last six weeks. But the attempt to reconcile them is one which it is imperative to make and in which, whether I fail or I succeed, I shall spare no effort to bring about the result which is I know at the heart of all of those who care for India and for her future.

CONTEXT.

ORIENT CLUB SPEECH

DOMINION STATUS OF STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER VARIETY

Extract from H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the Orient Club, Bombay, on January 10, 1940.

To my deep regret there has been in this province a temporary interruption in the normal working of the scheme of Provincial Autonomy. We have no longer in power Ministers

backed by a majority in the legislature ; and the administration is perforce being carried on under the emergency provisions of the Act of 1935. No one regrets, I am sure, more than you do yourselves that this should be the case, or that at a time when the burdens and the responsibilities to be carried on behalf of the public are greater than they have ever been Ministers should not be in power to assist in carrying those burdens. We can but trust that this interruption will be temporary, and that the re-establishment of the normal working of the constitution in the provincial sphere will before long be practicable.

But in the provincial field we have at any rate been able to bring into being, and to test by practical application, those portions of the Act of 1935 which devolve great powers and responsibilities on elected Ministers. We had not reached that point in the Centre when the war broke out, though our preparations were being pushed on with all possible energy.

At the beginning of the war, which we had every reason to believe would develop on lines which would make it immediately necessary to concentrate every atom of our energy on the prosecution of the war to the exclusion of all other matters, the course of wisdom, much as all of us might regret it, was clearly for the time being to suspend the preparations afoot for the establishment of the Federation of India.

I deeply regret myself that that should have been necessary, since whatever criticisms on one ground or another have been levelled against the scheme of federation in the Act, could it but have been brought into operation, it would have provided us with the solution of almost all the problems that confront us today—the presence of Ministers at the Centre ; the association of the Indian States—a point of such vital importance to British India—in a common government ; the representation of all minorities on the lines elaborated after a full consideration of the claims and proposals of the minorities themselves ; and the unity of India.

THE OFFER

You know only too well how things have gone since September. I do not propose to dilate on that today.

As you know, in response to requests for a clarification of the aims of His Majesty's Government and of their intentions towards India, His Majesty's Government have made it clear, both through statements issued by myself, and in Parliament, that their objective for India is full Dominion Status, Dominion Status, too, of the Statute of Westminster variety ; that, so far as the intermediate period is concerned (and it is their desire to make that intermediate period the shortest practicable), they are ready to consider

the reopening of the scheme of the Act of 1935 as soon as it is practicable after the war with the aid of Indian opinion ; that they are prepared in the meantime, subject to such local adjustments between the leaders of the great communities as may be necessary to ensure harmonious working, and as an immediate earnest of their intention, to expand the Executive Council of the Governor-General by the inclusion of a small number of political leaders ; and that they are ready and anxious to give all the help they can to overcome the difficulties that confront us and that confront India today.

But those assurances have not, to my profound regret, dissipated the doubts and the uncertainties which have led to the withdrawal from office of the Congress Ministries, and which have made it necessary in seven provinces to make use of the emergency provisions of the Act.

The pronouncements made on behalf of His Majesty's Government since the beginning of the war make clear, I think, beyond any question whatever, their intentions and their anxiety to help.

BRITAIN'S GOOD FAITH

The federal scheme of the Act was itself designed as a stage on the road to Dominion Status ; and under that scheme, devised, I would remind you, long before there was any question of a war, *very wide and extensive powers* were to be placed in the hands of a Central Government representing the Indian States as well as British India, and constituted on a very broad basis indeed.

There can be no question of the good faith and the sincerity of His Majesty's Government in the efforts they have made to deal with the constitutional future of India.

I well know that there are many people who press for swifter and more radical solutions of the problems before us.

I do not question the sincerity or the good intentions of those who feel that way.

But all those of us who have to deal with problems of this magnitude know only too well how often we are attracted by apparently simple solutions ; how often those apparently simple solutions, when more closely investigated, reveal unexpected difficulties, and difficulties, too, of unexpected importance, anxious as we may all be to take what seems to be the shortest course.

Short cuts, as many of us know to our cost, are too often prone in experience to lead to a considerable waste of time. Nowhere I fear is that truer than of the political problems of India, for there are difficulties, and real difficulties, of which

we are all aware, and which we all regret. But they will not be avoided or disposed of by ignoring their existence.

The wise course is to face up to those difficulties and to try to find a solution of them that will result in the subsequent co-operation of all the parties and interests concerned. *We are after all, dealing not with one political party only, but with many.*

THE MINORITIES

Nor must we forget the essential necessity, in the interests of Indian unity, of the inclusion of the Indian States in any constitutional scheme.

There are the insistent claims of the minorities.

I need refer only to two of them—the great Muslim minority and the Scheduled Castes—there are the guarantees that have been given to the minorities in the past; the fact that their position must be safeguarded, and that those guarantees must be honoured.

I know that you appreciate the difficulty of the position of the Viceroy and the difficulty of the position of His Majesty's Government, faced as they are with strong and conflicting claims advanced by bodies and interests to whose views the utmost attention must be paid, and whose position must receive the fullest consideration. Justice must be done as between the various parties, and His Majesty's Government are determined to see justice done.

But I would ask my friends in the various parties to consider whether they cannot get together and reach some agreement between themselves which would facilitate my task, and the task of His Majesty's Government, in dealing with this vital question of Indian constitutional progress; and I would venture again to emphasize the case for compromise, the case for avoiding too rigid an approach to problems such as those with which we are dealing today.

"THE OFFER IS THERE"

As to the objective there is no dispute. I am ready to consider any practical suggestion that has general support, and I am ready, when the time comes, to give every help that I personally can. His Majesty's Government are not blind—nor can we be blind here—to the practical difficulties involved in moving at one step from the existing constitutional position into that constitutional position which is represented by Dominion Status. But here again I can assure you that their concern and mine is to spare no effort to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing state of things and the achievement of Dominion Status.

The offer is there. The responsibility that falls on the great political parties and their leaders is a heavy one, and

one of which they are, I know, fully conscious. They have helped me in the past. I ask today that they will help me again and help India, and I ask for their co-operation and their assistance in terminating at as early a date as possible a state of things which all who have faith in the virtue of constitutional progress must deplore; a state of things which every lover of India—everyone who is concerned to advance her interests—must feel today to be a bitter disappointment.

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CONTEXT.

COMMUNIQUÉ OF FEB. 5, 1940

VICEROY-GANDHI MEETING

Communiqué, dated Feb. 5, 1940, the text of which had been agreed upon between H. E. the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi.

IN RESPONSE TO AN INVITATION FROM HIS EXCELLENCY Mr. Gandhi today came to see the Viceroy.

A prolonged and very friendly discussion took place in which the whole position was exhaustively examined.

Mr. Gandhi made it clear at the outset of the conversation that he had no mandate from the Congress Working Committee, that he was not empowered to commit it in any way, and that he could speak on behalf of himself only.

His Excellency set out in some detail the intentions and the proposals of His Majesty's Government.

He emphasised in the first place their earnest desire that India should attain Dominion Status at the earliest possible moment, and to facilitate the achievement of that status by all means in their power. He drew attention to the complexity and difficulty of certain of the issues that called for disposal in that connection, in particular the issue of Defence in a Dominion position. He made it clear that His Majesty's Government were only too ready to examine the whole of the field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India when the time came.

He made clear also the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to shorten the transitional period and to bridge it as effectively as possible. His Excellency drew attention to the fact that, as he recently repeated at Baroda, the federal scheme of the Act, while at present in suspense, afforded the swiftest stepping stone to Dominion Status, and that its adoption, with the consent of all concerned, would facilitate the solution of many of the problems that had to be faced in that connection.

He added that the offer put forward by him in November last of an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council on the lines and on the basis then indicated remained

open and that His Majesty's Government were prepared to give immediate effect to that offer.

Subject to the consent of the parties affected, His Majesty's Government would be prepared also to reopen the Federal scheme so as to expedite the achievement of Dominion Status and to facilitate the settlement after the war of the issues to which it gave rise.

Mr. Gandhi expressed appreciation of the spirit in which these proposals were put forward, but made it clear that they did not, in his view, at this stage meet the full demand of the Congress Party. He suggested, and the Viceroy agreed, that in the circumstances it would be preferable to defer for the present further discussions with the object of a solution of the difficulties which had arisen.

MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT

Mr. Gandhi issued this statement on February 6, 1940 :

The vital difference between the Congress demand and the Viceroy's offer consists in the fact that the Viceroy's offer contemplates final determination of India's destiny by the British Government whereas the Congress contemplates just the contrary. The Congress position is that the test of real freedom consists in the people of India determining their own destiny without outside interference. I see no prospect whatsoever of a peaceful and honourable settlement between England and India unless the vital difference is obliterated and England decides upon the right course, namely, accepting the position that the time has come when India must be allowed to determine her own constitution and her status.

When this is done the question of defence, the question of minorities, the question of Princes and the question of European interests will be automatically dissolved.

Let me make this a little clearer. Safeguards for the rights of minorities is not only a common cause but a representative assembly of Indians cannot evolve a stable constitution without the fullest satisfaction being given to the legitimate minorities. I use the word " legitimate " advisedly because I see that minorities crop up like mushrooms till there will be no majority left. By the fullest satisfaction I mean satisfaction which will not militate against progress of the nation as a whole.

I would, therefore, in the event of differences refer them to the highest and most impartial tribunal that can be conceived by human ingenuity. Its voice shall be final as to what will amount to the fullest satisfaction of minority interests.

DEFENCE

So far as defence is concerned surely it will be the primary concern of free India to make her own arrangement. It may well be that India would want elaborate preparation and would want Britain's help if it is given to enable her to do so. Thanks to imperial policy, unarmed India is left wholly unprotected except by British bayonets and Indian soldiers which British power has brought into being. It is a policy humiliating alike to Britain and India.

I am personally unconcerned because if I carry India with me I would want nothing beyond a police force for protection against dacoits and the like.

But so far as defence is concerned unarmed and peaceful India would rely on the goodwill of the whole world. But I admit that it is only a day-dream at the present moment.

So far as European interests are concerned the emphasis on the word European must be wholly removed.

But that does not mean that a free India should be free to confiscate European interests or any other interests. *There would be, as there should be, provision for reasonable compensation for any existing interests which are legitimate and not harmful to the nation.* It follows that there can be no question of favouritism which is being enjoyed today by European interests. I would regard them as big zemindars or capitalists and they would be placed on the same footing as these.

THE DUMB MILLIONS

So far as the Princes are concerned, they are free to join the National Assembly which will determine India's fate, not as individuals but as duly elected representatives of their own people. As Princes they are big vassals of the Crown. I fancy they have no status apart from the Crown—certainly not superior to the Crown itself. If the Crown parts with the power that it today enjoys over the whole of India, naturally the Princes have to and it should be their pride to look up to the people of India.

I hope this will not be considered to be a tall claim made by me on behalf of the unrepresented, dumb millions. No claim made on their behalf can be considered too tall. I am myself an insignificant being. But I am supposed to have some hold over these dumb millions. I know that in every fibre of my being I am absolutely one with them. Without them I am nothing. I do not even want to exist.

I want on their behalf an honourable settlement with Britain without even a non-violent fight. My dictionary has no such expression as violent fight.

Yesterday I put this view before His Excellency in as courteous and friendly language as I was capable of using.

We approached the discussion as personal friends each believing in the other's sincerity.

We understood each other and both recognised that there still existed a wide gulf between the position taken by the British Government as explained by him and the position taken by the Congress which I put forward, though not as an accredited representative of the dumb millions.

We parted as friends.

I have no disappointment in me that the negotiations have failed. That failure I am going to use, as I am sure he is going to use, as a stepping stone to success.

But if that success does not come in the near future I can only say Heaven help India, Britain and the World. The present war must not be decided by a clash of arms but must be decided by the moral strength that each party can show. If Britain cannot recognise India's legitimate claims, what will it be but Britain's moral bankruptcy ?



CONTEXT.

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S DEMANDS

VICEROY-JINNAH CORRESPONDENCE

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated New Delhi, Nov. 5, 1939 :

Correspondence between H. E. the Viceroy and Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League.

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW—I WISH TO THANK YOU FOR giving me the interview on the 4th of November as you had promised in your letter of the 28th October, wherein you stated that you will be glad at some suitable moment to endeavour further to elucidate any points that there may be in doubt as desired by the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League of the 22nd of October.

In my interview with you on the 4th of November the subject was fully discussed and now, as desired by Your Excellency, I am herewith submitting to you the following points for your consideration and early reply :—

(1) That so soon as circumstances may permit or immediately after the war the entire problem of India's future constitution, apart from the Government of India Act, 1935, shall be examined and reconsidered *de novo* ;

(2) That no declaration shall, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be enacted by His Majesty's Government or Parliament without the approval and the consent of the two major communities of India, *viz.*, the Mussalmans and the Hindus ;

(3) That His Majesty's Government should try and meet all reasonable national demands of the Arabs in Palestine ;

(4) That the Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country.

I have already, in my interview, fully explained the reasons and the grounds in support of these points over and above of what is indicated in the statement of the 18th of September and the resolution of the 22nd of October of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, copies of which have already been sent to Your Excellency.

There is one more point which was mentioned in the statement of the Working Committee of the 18th of September, *viz.*, the question of securing justice and fairplay to the Mussalmans in the Congress-governed provinces where even their elementary rights were being ruthlessly trampled upon; but as the Congress Ministries have gone out of office I do not desire to say anything regarding this matter at present.

May I inform Your Excellency that I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow morning ?

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

LETTER FROM LORD LINLITHGOW TO MR. JINNAH, DATED NEW DELHI, NOV. 7, 1939

DEAR MR. JINNAH—Many thanks for your letter of the 5th November. I fully appreciate the importance of the points which you raise and I will not fail to let you have as early a reply as practicable.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

LETTER FROM MR. JINNAH TO LORD LINLITHGOW, DATED BOMBAY, NOV. 18, 1939

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW—Thank you for your letter of the 7th November 1939. Since the receipt of your letter I have been pressed with inquiries from different parts of the country as to how and where we stand. Would you, therefore, mind if I were to publish my letter to Your Excellency, dated the 5th November and your letter under reply.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

LETTER FROM LORD LINLITHGOW TO MR. JINNAH, DATED VICEROY'S CAMP, NOV. 26/27, 1939

DEAR MR. JINNAH—Thank you for your letter of the 18th November. I quite understand your anxiety to

publish your letter to me of the 5th November and my acknowledgement of it. I should welcome it if you could postpone publication for, say, another ten days, as I am anxious that the interval between publication by you and my reply (which naturally must take some little time to prepare as I have to consult His Majesty's Government) should be as short as possible. But if you feel that it is essential for you to publish without waiting so long, I can raise no objection, though I would ask you to be kind enough to let me know in advance the date you contemplate.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

TELEGRAM FROM MR. JINNAH, BOMBAY, TO LORD LINLITHGOW, NEW DELHI, DATED NOV. 29, 1939

Hope my letter of 18th has reached Your Excellency. Am waiting for reply as soon as possible.

TELEGRAM FROM VICEROY, DATED NOV. 29, 1939 TO MR. JINNAH, BOMBAY

Many thanks for your telegram of today. I hope you will by now have received my letter of the 27th November posted from Bahawalpur—VICEROY.

LETTER FROM LORD LINLITHGOW TO MR. JINNAH, DATED CALCUTTA, DEC. 23, 1939

DEAR MR. JINNAH,—I am now in a position to reply to your letter of November 5, in which you submitted certain points for my consideration. You will, I am sure, appreciate that more than one of your questions, if considered in the light of all the implications involved in it, would raise issues affecting other communities in India, and that this correspondence between us would not be an appropriate medium for making pronouncements on them. But I hope that my answers, limited though their scope may be by this consideration, will nonetheless serve to remove your difficulties.

2. My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October 18 last does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

3. With reference to your second point, I can assure you that His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of

any constitutional developments in India. You need, therefore, have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily gives their views will be underrated.

4. In framing their policy for Palestine, His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands, and they continue to be fully alive to the importance of that issue.

5. Finally, you asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country. This question is fortunately hypothetical, since His Majesty is not at war with any Muslim power. You will appreciate, however, that it is impossible to give a guarantee in terms so wide as those of your letter, which would have the effect of limiting India's right to use its own army in its own defence in circumstances which cannot now be foreseen ; in the present situation, however, as you are aware, every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government at the instance of the Government of India to ensure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

LETTER FROM MR. JINNAH TO LORD LINLITHGOW, DATED NEW DELHI, FEB. 6, 1940

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW—I am herewith sending a copy of the Working Committee's resolution passed on the 3rd of February, 1940, regarding the correspondence that has passed between Your Excellency and myself for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

MUSLIM LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION

The following is the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, dated February 3rd :—

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League considered the correspondence that has passed between Mr. Jinnah, the President, and His Excellency the Viceroy, ending with his final reply dated 23rd December, 1939. The Committee is of the opinion that the reply of His Excellency is not satisfactory as certain important points still require further clarification and elucidation. The Committee, therefore, empowers the President to place

the views of the Working Committee before His Excellency and request him to reconsider the matter regarding the assurances asked for in the resolutions of the Working Committee dated 18th September and 22nd October, 1939, and thereby remove all doubts and apprehensions from the mind of Muslim India.

COMMUNIQUÉ OF FEB. 6, 1940

Communiqué issued on February 6 :—

In response to an invitation from His Excellency, Mr. Jinnah today came to see the Viceroy. The conversation which lasted for over an hour, ranged over the whole position.

Mr. Jinnah urged on His Excellency the great importance attached by the Moslem and other minorities to the safeguarding of their position in any settlement or discussions that might take place. His Excellency assured Mr. Jinnah that His Majesty's Government were fully alive to the necessity for safeguarding the legitimate interests of the minorities, and that he need be under no apprehension that the importance of those interests would be lost sight of.



CONTEXT.

VICEROY'S STATEMENT OF AUG. 8, 1940

INVITATION TO JOIN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Text of His Excellency the Viceroy's statement of Aug. 8, 1940.

INDIA'S ANXIETY, AT THIS MOMENT OF CRITICAL IMPORtance in the world struggle against tyranny and aggression, to contribute to the full to the common cause and to the triumph of our common ideals is manifest. She has already made a mighty contribution. She is anxious to make a greater contribution still. His Majesty's Government are deeply concerned that that unity of national purpose in India which would enable her to do so should be achieved at as early a moment as possible. They feel that some further statement of their intentions may help to promote that unity. In that hope they have authorised me to make the present statement.

Last October, His Majesty's Government again made it clear that Dominion Status was their objective for India. They added that they were ready to authorise the expansion of the Governor-General's Council to include a certain number of representatives of political parties, and they proposed the establishment of a Consultative Committee. In order to facilitate harmonious co-operation it was obvious

that some measure of agreement in the Provinces between the major parties was a desirable pre-requisite to their joint collaboration at the Centre. Such agreement was unfortunately not reached, and in the circumstances no progress was then possible.

During the earlier part of this year I continued my efforts to bring political parties together. In these last few weeks I again entered into conversations with prominent political personages in British India and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the results of which have been reported to His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government have seen also the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

EXPANSION OF COUNCIL

It is clear that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain unbridged. Deeply as His Majesty's Government regret this, they do not feel that they should any longer, because of these differences, postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council, and the establishment of a body which will more closely associate Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government. They have authorised me accordingly to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council. They have authorised me further to establish a War Advisory Council, which would meet at regular intervals, and which would contain representatives of the Indian States, and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

The conversations which have taken place, and the resolutions of the bodies which I have just mentioned, make it clear, however, that there is still in certain quarters doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government for the constitutional future of India, and that there is doubt, too, as to whether the position of minorities, whether political or religious, is sufficiently safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change by the assurance already given. There are two main points that have emerged. On those two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

POSITION OF MINORITIES

The first is as to the position of minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based. His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision has also been brought

out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government.

> **It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government.**

The second point of general interest is the machinery for building within the British Commonwealth of Nations a new constitutional scheme when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility.

POST-WAR NEGOTIATIONS

It is clear that a moment when the Commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence is not one in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved.

> But His Majesty's Government authorise me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of the war with the least possible delay of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of the new constitution and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree.

Meanwhile they will welcome and promote in any way possible every sincere and practical step that may be taken by representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly, on the form which the post-war representative body should take and the methods by which it should arrive at its conclusions, and, secondly, upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself.

They trust, however, that for the period of the war (with the Central Government reconstituted and strengthened in the manner I have described and with the help of the War Advisory Council) all parties, communities and interests will combine and co-operate in making a notable Indian contribution to the victory of the world cause which is at stake. Moreover they hope that in this process new bonds of union and understanding will emerge and thus pave

the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament.

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CONTEXT.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF NOVEMBER 20, 1940

EXPANSION OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL POSTPONED

Extract from H. E. the Viceroy's address to the Central Legislature on November 20, 1940.

I WILL NOT DETAIN YOU WITH ANY DETAILED RECAPITULATION of the discussions with political parties that have taken place since the outbreak of war. As you know, I have had discussions at various times with all the leading political figures in this country, and with representatives of all major parties and communities, and I can, I think, claim to have spared no effort to bring the parties together, and to reach an accommodation in the constitutional field which would be generally acceptable.

It is a matter of profound disappointment to me that those endeavours should not have been more successful than they have been, and that the differences which have stood in the way of that constitutional advance which His Majesty's Government have been so anxious to see should still persist. The latest and the most important of the endeavours made by His Majesty's Government is represented by the statement which I was authorised to issue three months ago.

BRITAIN'S GOAL REAFFIRMED

On August 8, I published a statement on behalf of His Majesty's Government. That statement reaffirmed the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament.

In order to remove all doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government as to the method and time of progress towards that goal, it declared the sympathy of His Majesty's Government with the desire that the responsibility for framing the future constitutional scheme of Indian self-government should—subject to due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her—be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life.

At the same time it emphasised the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in the framing of that scheme, and it

made it clear that His Majesty's Government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority was directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life.

The method by which these two indispensably linked objects were to be secured was the setting up, on the basis of friendly agreement, of a body representative of all the principal elements in India's national life to devise the framework of the new constitution. This body was to be set up immediately after the war, but His Majesty's Government expressed their desire to welcome and promote in the meantime every sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves that could prepare the way for agreement upon its form and procedure, as well as upon the principles and outline of the constitution itself.

EXPANSION OF COUNCIL

Meanwhile, in order to associate Indian public opinion more closely with the Government of India at the Centre, and in the hope of promoting the unity of India by the creation of new bonds of understanding through practical and responsible co-operation in the task of governing India and directing the Indian war effort, I was authorised to invite Indian political leaders to join my Executive Council, as well as to establish a War Advisory Council containing representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

Outside India these proposals, both in their immediate and in their larger ultimate aspects, have been welcomed as liberal in conception, and as representing the best practical solution of existing differences. In India itself, too, they have met with the support of a large body of opinion ; in their more immediate aspect, however, namely, the expansion of my Executive Council, I have not secured the response that was hoped from political leaders in India. The reasons for which they have been unable to accept the proposals of His Majesty's Government are conflicting, and, indeed, in some ways mutually destructive. However that may be, the effect is that the major political parties concerned are not in present circumstances prepared to take advantage of the opportunity offered to them.

His Majesty's Government note this conclusion with sincere regret. The proposals in question would place real power and real responsibility in Indian hands. Their acceptance would afford the most hopeful contribution which Indian political leaders could make at this critical time towards the preservation of Indian unity, and towards an agreed constitutional settlement for the future.

His Majesty's Government do not propose to withdraw them, and are still prepared to give effect to them as soon as

they are convinced that a sufficient degree of representative support is forthcoming. *But as that degree of support has evidently not yet manifested itself, His Majesty's Government have decided that I should not be justified in proceeding with the expansion of my Executive Council or the establishment of the War Advisory Council, at the present moment.*

"DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT"

I do not wish to conceal from you the deep disappointment which I feel at the failure to secure, within the framework of the constitution, due expression of that ultimate and essential unity in which the hopes and the labours of so many of us have been founded, and upon which must depend the future position and influence of India in times to come.

Nevertheless, I would counsel you not to be cast down by the immediate difficulties that beset the path of political advance in this great country. For, indeed, stress of war may well in the end come to strengthen and extend that very process of unification, and to hasten the achievement of those constitutional changes implicit in self-government with unity, which at this moment it appears to obstruct.

Meanwhile, in the circumstances of the world today, the duty of my Government is clear. It is to press forward with all speed and in every field of activity those preparations upon which rest the capacity of this country to wage war with ever-growing strength and successfully to overcome the hazards that confront her.

Many things may happen before I address you again; but whatever the trials and anxieties that lie before us, however sharp the tests to which we may be subjected, we may have faith in the capacity of India to continue to play a glorious part in this righteous war against the forces of darkness and oppression.

With all faith and confidence in your resolution and affection, I invite you and all men and women of goodwill throughout this land to support in this critical hour, with all strength of body and spirit, the cause of India and the Empire.

[redacted]

CONTEXT.

VICEROY-JINNAH CORRESPONDENCE IN FEBRUARY 1940

Text of the correspondence between H. E. the Viceroy and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, relating to the assurances asked for by the Muslim League

LETTER FROM MR. JINNAH TO H. E. THE VICEROY DATED February 23, 1940:

The Working Committee appreciate the clarification made by Your Excellency regarding the first point and are glad to note that the declaration made by Your Excellency with

and to Mr. Jinnah's interview with the Viceroy in Simla.

the approval of His Majesty's Government, on October 18, 1939, does not exclude the examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

As regards the second point, the Working Committee do not feel satisfied as the request made or as definite assurance has not been met, *viz.*, that no declaration should, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be enforced by His Majesty's Government or enacted by Parliament without the approval and consent of the Mussalmans of India. We recognise Your Excellency's assurance when you state that "His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional development in India. You need, therefore, have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily gives their views will be under-ated".

But, I regret to say, this does not meet the point raised by the Muslim League, because it still leaves the position of the ninety million Mussalmans of India only in the region of consultation and counsel, and vests the final decision in the hands of Great Britain, to determine the fate and future of Muslim India. We regret that we cannot accept this position.

ARAB DEMANDS

As to the policy for Palestine, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League wish to impress upon His Majesty's. Government that a solution should be found to the satisfaction of the Arabs. The Committee are glad to note, as Your Excellency states, that His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab Demands and they continue to be fully alive to that issue. But the eyes of the Muslim world are watching the situation keenly and a definite solution should be found without delay.

With regard to the use of Indian troops against any Muslim Power or country, the Committee feel that Your Excellency has misunderstood the position. *When we asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim Power or country, it was not intended that they shall not be used for the defence of the country in case of an attack on or aggression aggainst India.* While we thank Your Excellency for informing us that every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government, at the instance of the Government of India, to ensure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected, we feel that further clarification of the position is necessary.

It is required of the Muslim League to give an assurance of the wholehearted co-operation and active support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of the prosecution of the war. The Committee

are of opinion that before doing that they must feel confident that the future of the Mussalmans of India is not left in the region of uncertainty or doubtful possibility. Consequently, we do not consider it unreasonable on our part to ask for a definite assurance that no commitments will be made with regard to the future constitution of India or any interim settlement with any other party, without our approval and consent. If His Majesty's Government are prepared to treat with the leadership of the Mussalmans as a responsible body, then they must be trusted, especially where the question of determining their own future is concerned.

We are constrained to state that Your Excellency is unnecessarily over-anxious about the interests of other communities. It has never been our desire unjustly to harm any community. The issues that have been raised by us are due to apprehensions that the British Government may be stampeded by other powerful organisations in the country into adopting a course or agreeing to a settlement in the matter of India's constitution which may prove not only highly detrimental to the interests of the Mussalmans but may be disastrous for them.

As regards Palestine and the use of Indian troops, our demands as explained by me above cannot in any way prejudice the interests of any other community. It is not possible in a letter of this kind to state fully the various reasons and details but if Your Excellency so desires, I shall be very glad to place the views of the Committee before you in fuller detail at an early date.

The Viceroy, in reply, promised his careful attention to the views expressed.

USE OF INDIAN TROOPS

Mr. Jinnah was granted an interview by the Viceroy on March 13, and on April 19. His Excellency wrote, with reference to Mr. Jinnah's letter of February 23, 1940 :

I do not read your letter as indicating that the Working Committee of the League expects anything further from me in regard to the first and the third of your points —the scope of the re-examination of the constitutional position to follow the war, and the policy in Palestine.

You ask, however, for further clarification of the position in regard to the use of Indian troops against Muslim Powers or countries, while explaining, as I note and appreciate, that you had no intention of attempting to circumscribe their use in defending India against attack or aggression. *I presume that you do not expect a guarantee, which it would obviously be impossible to give, binding us in future contingencies which no one can foresee.* But you need have no fear that if at any time such a contingency arose the consideration underlying your suggestion would be overlooked. Fortunately

however, so far as the present situation is concerned, His Majesty's Government are in friendly and sympathetic relations with all Muslim Powers, to some of whom, indeed, they are bound by alliance, while with the rest they are on terms of most cordial friendship.

You represent that your second point was not felt by the Working Committee to be adequately met by the terms of my letter. You have no doubt noticed the passage in the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Lords on April 18, in which he used these words :

"But that does not mean that the future constitution of India is to be a constitution dictated by the Government and Parliament of this country against the wishes of the Indian people. The undertaking given by His Majesty's Government to examine the constitutional field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India connotes not dictation but negotiation. Admittedly, a substantial measure of agreement amongst the communities in India is essential if the vision of a united India which has inspired the labours of so many Indians and Englishmen is to become a reality, for I cannot believe that any Government or Parliament in this country would attempt to impose by force upon, for example, 80 million Muslim subjects of His Majesty in India a form of constitution under which they would not live peacefully and contentedly."

This statement, I am sure you will agree, has removed any possible doubts on this point.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION

The next development was a letter from Mr. Jinnah enclosing a copy of the Working Committee's resolution of June 16. This resolution read as follows :

" The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, while being of the opinion that the further clarification contained in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated April 19, 1940, with regard to the assurances asked for by the All-India Muslim League is not satisfactory, endorses the following from the statement issued by the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, on May 27 : ' Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war.'

" The provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government pending their consideration with regard to the assurance we have asked for and, in particular, that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent.

" Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing as far back as November last to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field, which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law.

" But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.

"A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency early in February, which met the same fate. Since then it seems that the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word.

" With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim leadership. There are many ways of doing so and, as confident friends, seeking our wholehearted co-operation. And we shall not fail.

MENACE OF NAZISM

" The Working Committee looks with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regards the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

" The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. *The Committee therefore authorises its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilise the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying the war effort and the defence of India.*

" The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an all-India basis—and not province-wise—between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved. The Working Committee is

of the opinion that in view of the immediate grave danger that is facing the country the real purpose will not be served by Mussalmans and others merely joining the proposed provincial and district war committees with their present scope and functions."

The Viceroy acknowledged this communication and suggested a meeting with Mr. Jinnah on June 27, which was agreed to.

THE LEAGUE'S DEMANDS

On July 1, Mr. Jinnah sent to Mr. J. G. Laithwaite, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, " a rough note of the points I discussed with him on June 27 in the course of an interview." This was as follows :—

" That no pronouncement or statement should be made by His Majesty's Government which would, in any way, militate against the basic and fundamental principles laid down by the Lahore resolution for division of India and creating Muslim States in the north-west and eastern zones ; and it may be stated that that ideal now has become the universal faith of Muslim India.

" That His Majesty's Government must give a definite and categorical assurance to the Mussalmans of India that no interim or final scheme of constitution would be adopted by the British Government without the previous approval and consent of Muslim India.

" In view of the rapid developments in Europe and the grave danger that is facing India, it is fully realised that everything should be done that is possible to intensify war effort and mobilise all the resources of India for her defence for the purpose of maintaining internal security, peace and tranquillity, and to ward off external aggression. But this can only be achieved provided the British Government are ready and willing to associate the Muslim leadership as equal partners in the Government both at the Centre and in all the Provinces. *In other words, Muslim India leadership must be fully trusted as equals, and have an equal share in the authority and control of the Governments, Central and Provincial.*

PART IN GOVERNMENT

" Provisionally, and during the period of the war, the following steps should be taken to comply with the formula, namely, co-operation with the Government with an equal share in the authority of the Government :

" (A) That the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be enlarged, within the framework of the present constitution and existing law, the additional number to be settled by further

discussions ; *but it being understood that the Muslim representation must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority of the additional members as it is obvious that the main burden and the responsibility will be borne by the Mussalmans in that case.*

" (B) In the provinces where Section 93 has to operate non-official advisers should be appointed, the number to be fixed after further discussion, and the majority of the non-official advisers should be the representatives of Mussalmans ; and, where the provinces can be run by a combination of parties or a coalition, naturally it would be for the parties concerned to adjust matters by agreement among themselves.

" (C) There should be a war council consisting of no less than fifteen members, including the president, to be presided over by His Excellency the Viceroy. I don't like the expression ' war consultative committee.' This council should regularly meet to deal with, and review, the general situation as it may develop from time to time, and advise the Government with regard to matters in connection with the prosecution of the war generally, and in particular, the fullest development of defence possible, and finance, and to make a thorough economic and industrial drive. *In this body it will not be difficult to secure the representation and full co-operation of the Indian Princes and, as far as I can judge, they would have no difficulty in joining it.* It is through this body that the association of the Princes can be secured. Here again, the representation of Muslim India must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority.

" Finally, the representatives of the Mussalmans on the proposed war council and the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the additional non-official advisers of the Governors should be chosen by the Muslim League."

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S RESPONSIBILITY

In a letter dated July 6, 1940, the Viceroy said that in the above letter, " certain of the points taken suggest that there may be some slight misapprehension, which you will, I think, agree that it would be desirable that I should clear without delay.

" As regards my expansion of the Executive Council this would, as you rightly observe in your memorandum, be within the existing constitutional scheme. In other words, any Council so expanded would co-operate as a whole and as a single Government of India. It is not a case of striking a balance between the different interests or of preserving the proportions between the important parties. As you yourself indicated in the course of our conversation, there are parties other than either Congress or the Muslim League who may fairly claim to be considered for inclusion and there is a very

definite limit of numbers to any possible expansion. At the same time, I readily accept the importance, in the event of any expansion, of securing adequate representation of Muslim interests, and that is a point which I would bear in mind.

"There is, however, as you will see from my explanation, no question of responsibility falling in greater or less degree on any particular section. *Responsibility will be that of the Governor-General-in-Council as a whole.* Again, it will be clear that under the existing law and practice it must remain with the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Governor-General, to decide upon such names as we may submit to His Majesty the King for inclusion in the Governor-General's Executive Council, and such persons cannot be the nominees of political parties, however important ; though it may of course be assumed that both the Secretary of State and the Governor-General would, in all cases, do their utmost to select persons from the various sections of the community.

"I need not remind you that under law the whole responsibility for the Government in Section 93 provinces vests exclusively in the Governor, although a Governor can, of course, take advantage of the assistance of any advisers he may appoint. Whether and if so at what point and in what strength non-official advisers from political parties should be appointed in provinces under Section 93 administration, in the event of an expansion of the Governor-General's Council, would clearly call for consideration in the light of the circumstances of each province. You will, I think, agree with me also that the importance of the community from which advisers are drawn in a particular province has a direct bearing.

WAR COUNCIL IDEA

"Your idea for a war council is, on my view, well worthwhile considering though details would have to be worked out. Here again there are, of course, many parties to be considered other than the Muslim League or Congress.

"As regards Section III of your memorandum, I ought, I think, to make it clear that it would be constitutionally impossible for the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to any expanded Executive Council or as non-official advisers to rest with the Muslim League. But in the contingency envisaged you need not fear that any suggestions you may put forward would not receive full consideration.

"Let me, in conclusion, thank you again for your very clear and valuable memorandum. I realise, of course, fully that it is not merely private and personal but that, in your own words, it embodies a tentative proposal. I am sure that you will agree with me that it is well that there should be no misunderstanding on the important points on which I have touched above."

In the course of his reply, Mr. Jinnah wrote :

" As regards the constitutional and legal position that you have been good enough to point out to me in connection with the expansion of the Executive Council, and also with regard to the appointment of Advisers to the Governor, and the position the Governor working under Section 93 administration, I fully appreciate it. I am glad that the idea of constituting a war council, in your opinion, is well worthwhile considering. No doubt the details would have to be worked out. But I do not think there is anything in my memorandum which cannot be given effect to by way of convention and, if the Secretary of State and yourself meet us in the spirit of trust and co-operation, the legal and constitutional formalities can be met and complied with. What is required is the spirit of complete understanding.

" I am, however, grateful to you for your assurance in paragraph five of your letter with regard to the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to the Executive Council or as non-official advisers, which runs as follows : ' But in the contingency envisaged you need not fear that any suggestion you may put forward would not receive full consideration.' On my part I hope that I shall meet you in every reasonable way possible.

" In conclusion, I should like to impress upon you that the Congress propaganda is going on vigorously with its work whereas I have not yet given any idea of negotiations or the talk I had with you to the public. I wonder whether you will agree that I should place before the public at least my memorandum which I had sent you."

The Viceroy, on July 24, 1940, wrote :

" I should, of course, see no objection whatever to your informing your Committee confidentially of what passed between us at our conversation (I may, incidentally, remark that I asked Mr. Gandhi, after my talk with him, to regard our conversation as confidential but told him that I had no objection to his informing the Congress Working Committee in confidence of what had passed during it—a course which he has, I gather, adopted). I cannot help feeling, though that must be a point for your consideration in the first instance, that to give publicity to our private and personal memorandum of your ' tentative proposal ' might give rise to some misunderstanding as to the position in relation to the considerations mentioned in my letter to you of July 6. But I am naturally anxious to give you any assistance I can, though I venture to think that the suggestion I have made might prove the most convenient method of dealing with the position."

Mr. Jinnah then assured His Excellency that the League Working Committee had " a fairly good idea " of the

points discussed but pressed for permission to inform the general Muslim public through the Press.

INVITATION TO INDIANS

On August 5, the Viceroy communicated to Mr. Jinnah the text of his statement made on August 8, and wrote :

" As you will see, His Majesty's Government have authorised me to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council, and they have authorised me further to establish a War Advisory Council which would meet at regular intervals and which would contain representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole. I trust sincerely that you and the organisation of which you are the President will be prepared to join with me in the Central Government and in the War Advisory Council : and I would greatly appreciate it if you are able to let me have a reply by August 21 at the latest. I hope to have an opportunity of conversation with you in Bombay on August 13, and I suggest that this would be a convenient opportunity to clear the ground for your formal reply. I would only add that I am anxious that the names of the expanded Executive Council should appear not later than the end of August and those of the War Advisory Council by the middle of September at the latest, and if possible earlier than that date."

STRENGTH OF COUNCILS

On August 14, His Excellency wrote :

" I think it may be convenient for you to have in writing the information on the points below which I gave you in our conversation today. I informed you in that conversation : first, that my statement clearly safeguarded the Muslim position in relation to future constitutional development ; secondly, that it equally provided a basis on which the Muslims could, if they so desired, co-operate at the Centre. As I explained to you in our earlier conversation I cannot yet take up the issue of the provinces ; but I do not contemplate non-official advisers, at any rate at this stage.

" You asked me the probable strength of the expanded Executive Council. I cannot, for reasons which you will appreciate, yet indicate a precise figure but the total strength of the Council will be likely to be in the neighbourhood of 11. If, as I trust, the Muslim League are prepared to accept my invitation, I would like you to let me have a panel of names, say, four with a view to my selecting two from it for appointment to my Council. As I have already made clear to you, Sir Zafrulla Khan, if he remains in my Council, will not count

against this figure. It is clearly impossible, until the discussions on which I am at present engaged are complete, to indicate precisely what would be the parties represented in the expanded Council.

"The strength and composition of the War Advisory Council can be fixed clearly only after the expansion of the Executive Council is complete. Here, too, I should be grateful if you would be good enough to let me have a panel of names for my consideration on the assumption that there would probably be, say, five Muslim League representatives out of a total of something in the neighbourhood of 20.

"As you will appreciate, I am very anxious to take very early decisions in these matters and to reach finality as regards the personnel of the expanded Executive Council and of the Advisory Council at as early a date as possible, and I hope that you will be able to assist me by letting me have a very early reply.

"There is, of course, no objection whatever to your communicating the information above to your colleagues confidentially, but I should be grateful if any publicity could be avoided for the present."

SELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Jinnah acknowledged receipt of this letter and in a further communication, dated September 5, enclosed a copy of the Working Committee's resolution of September 2.

In reply, the Viceroy said he was content that the selection of representatives to the Executive Council, while resting with the Governor-General, should be based in the case of the Muslim League (and of other parties) not on a panel but on confidential discussion between the party leader and himself. His Excellency further indicated the impracticability of a final decision as to the total strength of the expanded Council or as to the allocation of portfolios ("a matter which must, of course, rest entirely with the Governor-General") until the replies of all those who might be invited to serve had been received.

The letter continued :

"The general position of His Majesty's Government had been made clear in my statement of August 8 and in the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Commons on August 15. It is that His Majesty's Government regard the expansion of my Council and the constitution of a War Advisory Council as steps of the first importance in terms of the association of Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government and of the constitutional machinery of the Government of India pending the post-war investigations the machinery for which has been indicated in my statement and in Mr. Amery's speech. His Majesty's Government sincerely trust that the Muslim League, like the other parties

and interests which they have invited to join the expanded Council and to participate in the War Advisory Council will respond to that invitation. Their collaboration in both those bodies will, of course, be entirely without prejudice to the consideration and decision after the conclusion of the war and, on the basis already indicated in my statement of the main constitutional issue. But His Majesty's Government trust and anticipate that they and the other parties who are represented in the expanded Council and the War Advisory Council will welcome the opportunity offered to them of influencing the cause of public affairs in the immensely important period which lies ahead, and, in so doing, will, in the working throughout the period of the war of those bodies, find a basis for that general co-operation, with full regard to the interests of all concerned, on which the post-war constitution foreshadowed in my statement and in the Secretary of State's speech can be built."

In his next letter Mr. Jinnah said he would again consult his Committee and made it clear that he proposed to publish the correspondence.

DEADLOCK

On September 25, His Excellency wrote :

" You asked me yesterday to let you have a formal reply before you left for Delhi to the resolutions which you were kind enough to send me earlier this month and I accordingly send you a formal letter herewith. I have given the most careful consideration since we parted last night as to whether I could devise any form of words such as you mentioned to me which would meet the purpose which you had in view. I warned you, as you will remember, that I anticipated the greatest difficulty in doing so, and I am bound to confess with regret that I have in fact after the most careful thought found it impracticable. But knowing your mind as I do, I have endeavoured in the last paragraph of my formal letter sent herewith to do what I could to make the general position clear, and I hope that that may be of assistance to you. I trust that in the light of our talks you will now be able to let me have a definite decision once your meeting at Delhi is over, and I trust that that decision may be a favourable one, for matters have now reached a stage at which it is essential that a definite conclusion should be reached."

" VITAL POINT "

The closing letter of the correspondence is from Mr. Jinnah, and it reads :

" I thank you for your letter of September 25 and I extremely regret that you are unable to meet me on the point which I raised during the course of our conversation on the

24th, though in the course of the discussions you appreciated and recognised that it was a vital point so far as the Muslim League was concerned, namely, that in the event of any other party deciding later on to be associated with our Executive Council to assist in the prosecution of the war it should be allowed to do so on terms that may be approved of and consented to by the Muslim League Party, as we were entering into so to say, a ' war contract.'

"I thank you for your endeavour in the last paragraph of your formal letter to do what you could to make the general position clear, but I am afraid it does not meet the point raised by me and I cannot derive much assistance from it."

■ ■ ■

CONTEXT.

CONGRESS AND THE WAR

VICEROY-GANDHI CORRESPONDENCE

Correspondence between H. E. the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi released to the Press on Sept. 30, 1940.

THE VICEROY, IN A LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 30, WROTE :

" Dear Mr. Gandhi,

"I think it will be convenient if I record very briefly in writing the origin of the talks we have had on the 27th and 30th September and their outcome.

"As you will remember, you wrote to me on the 18th September to ask that I should grant you an interview, and you explained in your letter that you were anxious to discuss the situation covered by the recent resolution of the All-India Congress Committee not only in your capacity as guide of the Congress but as a personal friend. I was, I need not say, most ready to talk things over with you, and we have now had the advantage of two conversations.

"In the course of these conversations the situation has been exhaustively discussed, with particular reference to the question of free speech in time of war. On that matter, while professing yourself most anxious to avoid in any way embarrassing His Majesty's Government in the prosecution of the war, you made it clear to me that you regarded it as essential that the Indian National Congress and other members of the public should be in a position to give full expression to their views in relation to war effort provided only that such expression was fully non-violent.

"I indicated to you the nature of the special treatment laid down by law in the United Kingdom for dealing with conscientious objectors—which I may broadly describe as an arrangement under which, while the conscientious objector is absolved from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to profess his faith in public, he is not permitted to carry his

opposition to the length of endeavouring to persuade others, whether soldiers or munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort.

MR. GANDHI'S POSITION

"You made it clear to me that you would not regard treatment of that nature as adequate in the conditions of India, and that you regarded it as essential that in India, where in your judgment conditions were wholly different from those existing in Great Britain, the Indian objector, either to all war as such, or to the participation of India in the present war, should be untrammelled in the expression of his views. It emerged further from our conversation that while you would not yourself preach to workers engaged on war work at the actual works, in the endeavour there to dissuade them from working on war equipment, *you would regard it as essential that it should be open to Congressmen and non-Congressmen alike to deliver addresses and otherwise to call upon people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war effort in any way which would involve India's participation in bloodshed.*

"I listened with the utmost care and attention to your argument, and our examination of the situation has been full and close. I felt bound, however, in the outcome to make it clear to you that action such as you suggest would certainly amount not only to the inhibition of India's war effort, *but to that embarrassment of Great Britain in the prosecution of the war which the Congress state that they are anxious to avoid*; and that it would clearly not be possible in the interests of India herself, more particularly at this most critical juncture in the war, to acquiesce in the interference with war effort which would be involved in freedom of speech so wide as that for which you had asked.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) LINLITHGOW"

MR. GANDHI'S REPLY

Mr. Gandhi replied :—

"Dear Lord Linlithgow,

"I have your letter of even date.

"It fairly sets forth the Congress position as I placed it before you. It is a matter of deep regret to me that the Government have not been able to appreciate the Congress position, meant just to satisfy the bare requirements of the people, whether Congressmen or others who felt a conscientious objection to helping a war to which they were never

invited and which they regard, so far as they are concerned, as one for saving imperialism of which India is the greatest victim. Their objection is just as conscientious as mine as a war resister. I cannot claim greater freedom for my conscience than for that of those I have named.

"As I made plain in the course of our talks, the Congress is as much opposed to victory for Nazism as any Britisher can be. But their objection cannot be carried to the extent of their participation in the war.

"And since you and the Secretary of State for India have declared that the whole of India is voluntarily helping the war effort, it becomes necessary to make clear that the vast majority of the people of India are not interested in it. They make no distinction between Nazism and the double autocracy that rules India.

"Had His Majesty's Government recognized the freedom required in the special condition of India, they would have justified the claim that they were receiving from India only such effort as they could voluntarily. The war party and the no-war party would have been placed on an equal footing so far as each worked fully non-violently.

MORAL PRESTIGE

"As to the last paragraph of your letter, I wish to remind you that it was never contemplated to carry non-embarrassment to the point of self-extinction or, in other words, stopping all national activities, which were designed to make India peace-minded and show that India's participation could not benefit anyone, not excluding Great Britain. Indeed, I hold that if India were left free to make her choice which freedom of speech implied, India would probably have turned the scales in favour of Britain and true liberty by the moral prestige which Britain would have then gained.

"I must, therefore, repeat that the Congress does still want to refrain from embarrassing the British Government in their war effort. But it is impossible for the Congress to make of the policy a fetish by denying its creed at this critical period in the history of mankind. If the Congress has to die, it should do so in the act of proclaiming its faith. It is unfortunate that we have not been able to arrive at an agreement on the single issue of freedom of speech. But I shall hug the hope that it will be possible for the Government to work out their policy in the spirit of the Congress position.

"I should like to touch upon the other points I raised in our talks. But for fear of burdening this reply, I refrain. I shall hope to make a public statement on them as early as I can.

"In conclusion, let me thank you publicly for the great courtesy and patience with which you listened to my very long statement and argument.

" And though our ways seem to diverge for the moment, our personal friendship will, as you have kindly said at the time of saying farewell, bear the strain of divergence.

" As arranged, I am handing our correspondence to the Press for publication.

I am, Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI."



CONTEXT.

LORD ZETLAND (OCT. 18, 1939)

DOMINION STATUS THE GOAL

Report of speeches by Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Lords on Oct. 18, 1940.

IT WILL PERHAPS BE FOR THE CONVENIENCE OF YOUR Lordships if I preface what I have to say with a brief objective account of events in India immediately preceding and following the invasion of Poland by Germany.

On the outbreak of the war one thing was immediately made apparent, and that was that the overwhelming feeling of the Indian people from one end of the country to the other was one of violent protest against the outrage committed by the Nazi Government against the decencies of civilized existence, and of deep detestation of all that the international methods associated with the name of Hitler stands for.

And that feeling, as I pointed out in the course of a few words which I addressed to your Lordships on September 26, found expression in spontaneous offers of support from men and women of all creeds and classes and communities.

Yet while this was so, it was a fact that the most numerous and most powerful political party in India, the Indian National Congress, had committed itself some time earlier to a specific attitude in the event of a war breaking out in which Great Britain was involved. Their attitude was further defined when early in August they took exception to certain precautionary measures taken by His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, in pursuance of their obligation to secure the safety of India, and as an indication of their disapproval of the action taken they called upon Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the forthcoming session.

The particular measure to which exception was taken was the dispatch of external defence troops from India to Egypt, Aden and Singapore. This action was taken on the urgent advice of the highest naval and military authorities. The situation at that time was such that the possibility of a threat to the safety of India, both from the west and from the east, could not be excluded, and from the military point of

view it was essential that the western and eastern approaches to India should be adequately defended. *It would, clearly have been the height of folly to have given the world, by discussion in the Legislature, advance notice of our military dispositions.*

Nevertheless both the Viceroy and I were anxious to take leaders of political parties in India into our confidence, and our plans were, therefore, communicated to the leaders of political parties in the Assembly, including of course the Congress Party.

So much for precautionary measures, to which exception was subsequently taken. I now come to the outbreak of war.

TRIBUTE TO MR. GANDHI

For a long time past the Viceroy, with my full knowledge and approval, has been in close touch with the outstanding figure on the Indian political stage, Mahatma Gandhi; and here may I pause for a moment to pay a personal tribute to Mr. Gandhi, known to and beloved by the peoples of India, for the readiness which he has shown, not only to interpret to us the viewpoint and aspirations of the Congress, but to endeavour to appreciate in his turn our viewpoint and the difficulties with which we have had to grapple, and furthermore for the help which he has most willingly given us in our endeavours to surmount them.

This being so, it was natural that immediately on the outbreak of war the Viceroy should have invited Mr. Gandhi to take counsel with him. The invitation was promptly accepted and within 48 hours of the declaration of war they were in close consultation.

> **The outcome is known, for Mr. Gandhi has himself stated publicly that, speaking in his purely personal capacity, for he was not authorized to speak for the Congress, his view was that in the struggle upon which this country had entered India should give us unconditional support.**

Thereafter the Working Committee of the Congress met at Wardha to consider the situation.

It was not, however, until September 15 that the result of their deliberations was made known in the form of a comprehensive statement. Such a document, setting forth as it did the views of the most powerful political party in India, called for the most careful consideration. Your Lordships may study it for yourselves, for you will find it printed as an annex to the Viceroy's statement in the White Paper, and it is sufficient for my purpose at the moment to say that, broadly speaking, the effect of it was, while condemning unequivocally the action of the German Government, to make it clear that before they, as a party, could decide to give us their sup-

port they would wish to be informed of our war aims and, in particular, how those aims would apply to India.

Meanwhile, the Working Committee of the next most numerous and powerful political party in India—the All-India Muslim League, whose President, Mr. Jinnah, had also been in consultation with the Viceroy, met to take stock of the situation and issued a statement on September 8 from which it was apparent that while the Muslims equally with the Congress unhesitatingly condemned the aggression of which the Nazi Government had been guilty, there was between their view and that of the Congress regarding the internal political situation a substantial divergence.

TALKS WITH LEADERS

Here again I need not enter into detail, for the text of his statement also will be found in the White Paper.

The Viceroy has been at pains to acquaint himself fully with the view of these two organizations by personal discussions with their leaders.

But his consultations did not stop there, for there were the Princes, who from the first have thrown their whole weight into the scale against aggression, and who had been in close contact with the Viceroy through the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes ; and there was the National Liberal Federation of India—who, as will be seen by reference to their statement printed in the White Paper—had already made their attitude towards war plain and had offered unconditional support to Great Britain.

And over and above these there were the leaders of other communities and interests such as the Hindu Mahasabha, the Scheduled Castes, Sikhs and Parsees, to mention only some of them, who instantly made it clear that their views and interests should not be left out of account in the discussions that were in progress.

There then you have the background of the Indian picture ; what of the main features of the picture itself ? They may be said to be two in number.

> First, the desire on the part of all communities to see the overthrow of the menace which overshadows Europe in particular and the world in general ; and secondly the desire for self-expression, which takes the form in the domain of politics of self-government on a democratic basis.

But here there are qualifications, for there is on the part of minorities an insistent demand for safeguards against consequences which, rightly or wrongly, it is feared, might result from unfettered domination of the majority.

ROOT OF DIFFICULTIES

And herein is to be found the root cause of our difficulties—difficulties which those who are not burdened with the responsibility, which rests upon His Majesty's Government and the Government of India may, and frequently do, discount, but which His Majesty's Government themselves cannot ignore.

For those who confine their gaze to one part only of the picture, the problem of self-government for India may appear to be a comparatively simple one ; but for those who, like His Majesty's Government, have to view the picture as a whole, this is far from being the case. I shall have something to say on that aspect of the case before I resume my seat. Meanwhile let me say that it is in our view eminently desirable that the consultations with the leaders of public opinion in India which the Viceroy has initiated since the outbreak of war—I think he has seen more than fifty leaders —should not only be maintained, but should be provided for by some more definite machinery. The means proposed for achievement of that object are set out by the Viceroy in his statement.

Briefly stated, what we have in mind is a broadly based consultative body, whose personnel would be drawn by the Viceroy from panels of individuals nominated by various political parties and interests.

DOMINION STATUS IS INDIA'S GOAL

Responsible self-government for India is the goal set forth by Parliament in the Preamble of the Act of 1919, and it was with the full authority of the Government of the day that my noble friend the Foreign Secretary stated 10 years later that the natural issue of India's progress as there contemplated—that is to say, in the Preamble of the Act of 1919—was the attainment of Dominion Status. From that objective we never have had and have not now the smallest intention of departing.

From this main body the Viceroy—who would himself preside over its deliberations—would summon members to attend particular meetings at which, according to the business to be taken into consideration, their presence was desirable. Such a body would serve as a liaison between the Government and the people, since it would have imparted to it views and proposals of the Government, and in its turn would be in a position to give free and frank expression to its opinions on all matters laid before it. These might well include matters which in times of war it would be inconvenient to discuss in a more public manner.

Such a scheme would possess this further advantage that those concerned, representing different parties, communities and interests, would be in close association, not only with the Viceroy, but also with one another, and it would be my hope that the association and collaboration in so great an enterprise as the conduct of war would tend gradually to lessen the differences and emphasize the extent of the common interest of all those taking part in it and of those whom they represent.

The purpose of the Act of 1935 was to provide the machinery whereby the people of India might acquire that measure of political unity which surely is the prerequisite to the attainment by them of the eventual goal. Much has been said in disparagement of the measure, yet it should not be forgotten that it was the outcome of immense labour on the part of Indians and Britons alike, and was based on the greatest measure of common agreement which was then obtainable.

And I would add this, that even in the case of a written constitution provisions of the statute are no more than the bony skeleton of a structure; flesh and blood, which give it life and vigour are added day by day by those engaged in working it.

Within the framework practices take root and conventions grow up. The constitution becomes a living and growing organism, deriving from and substance form its environment.

The truth of that has been demonstrated by two years' working of the Act in so far as it affects the provinces of British India, as I feel sure the Ministers of today, some of whom a little more than two years ago rejected it as of little worth, will be willing to admit. I believe that similar experience of the working of the federal provisions of the Act would be attended by similar results.

TASK OF IMMENSE COMPLEXITY

But if at the end of the upheaval caused by the war when the circumstances may well differ markedly from what they are today, there is a desire on the part of those concerned for modifications of particular features of the plan, then His Majesty's Government declare now that they will in such circumstances be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties and interests in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may then seem desirable.

I say then, because in my view it is not practicable, nor do I believe that it would be in the true interests of the people of India themselves, to endeavour while we are all labouring

under the strain and stresses of a life and death struggle, to embark upon a task of immense complexity, and one moreover, which would inevitably give rise to no little controversy in India itself. And that brings me back to what I said earlier in the course of my remarks as to the root cause of the difficulties in the domain of constitutional building in India. What we have to work for is the elimination of those communal antagonisms which still militate against the political unity of India.

You cannot abolish them by merely closing your eyes to their existence. You must face them and search for means to remove their underlying forces. I believe that the menace, which now confronts all of us, Englishmen, Hindus, Muslims, Princes and peoples alike, may aid us to achieve what hitherto has eluded our grasp. Can we not standing shoulder to shoulder for a common purpose, banded together in comradeship of arms, learn to view in truer perspective, against the background of the supreme and imminent peril—for what would it profit India if the forces of aggression and of evil emerged victorious from this war—those internal and domestic differences which have hitherto raised such formidable obstacles along the road to that goal towards which the peoples of both countries have determined to travel ?

This then is my appeal to the peoples of India —that in comradeship with us, while presenting a united front to the forces ranged against us, they strive after that agreement among themselves without which they will surely fail to achieve that unity which is an essential of the nationhood of which those with vision among her leaders have long dreamed and which must surely be the crowning achievement of the long and intimate political relationship between the peoples of Great Britain and India.

"GOING STEADILY FORWARD"

Replying to the debate, Lord Zetland said he would like to associate himself wholeheartedly with many expressions of admiration of the Viceroy's conduct of his office, which had fallen from so many lips. No man could have brought to his task greater sympathy, greater energy, and to some extent greater knowledge of the immediate problems of India, with which he had had to grapple.

Of course there can be no going back in the constitutional field in India. We have been going steadily forward.

Surely Lord Sankey, who was himself so largely concerned with the framing, particularly of the federal provisions of the Act of 1935, must realize that these things cannot be unduly hurried, that there are many interests in India which must be taken into account, and I should have thought that the Act of 1935 itself showed considerable advance along the road towards the goal which we have set ourselves.

Dealing with the questions addressed to him regarding the constitution and functions of the proposed consultative group, Lord Zetland continued : Lord Sankey suggested that the Premiers of provinces should be members of the group. On their merits no one would welcome more warmly than I their presence on such a body. I cannot help thinking that Lord Sankey must have forgotten a little the geographical conditions of India. How are the Prime Ministers of these various provinces, some of them two or three days' journey by train from Delhi, going to discharge the onerous functions which will devolve upon them in their own provinces if they are to meet at Delhi as members of this consultative committee ? I do not think it would be a practical proposition, warmly as I would welcome it if it were.

> With regard to the composition of the proposed committee, some of you have spoken as if it were assumed that it was going to be a nominated body.
>
> The panels are either going to be nominated or elected by political parties themselves, and when I said that the Viceroy would invite from time to time members whose names occurred on the panels, what I had in mind was the difficulty in a country like India of always being able to secure the whole of a particular group.

There might be, for example, a representative of the Congress, whose habitual place of residence was Madras. When such a man was in Delhi he could, of course, serve on the committee, but if he were in Madras and the committee were called to consider matters it would in all probability be impossible for him to attend. That is why the suggestion is made that the panels should constitute a comparatively large body on which the Viceroy would from time to time be able to draw for discussion of a particular subject. On page nine of the White Paper the Viceroy says : " I hope in the very near future to enter into consultation with political leaders and with Princes on this question of constitution of this consultative group."

Lord Zetland concluded : " With regard to its functions I think perhaps the fact has been a little overlooked that the Legislative Assembly will, of course, continue to be in existence. This group is not in any sense intended to displace the Legislative Assembly, where matters can be discussed freely and openly. This is rather a group of people representing different schools of political thought in India whom the Viceroy can take into his confidence, with whom he can frankly and freely discuss matters connected with the conduct of the war activities and such matters that in time of war it might be inappropriate to discuss in a more public manner. "



SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S APPEAL FOR CO-OPERATION

Sir Samuel Hoare's speech in a debate initiated by Mr. Wedgwood Benn (who was Secretary of State for India from 1929 to 1931) in the House of Commons on October 26, 1939, on H. E. the Viceroy's statement of Oct. 17, 1939.

" SINCE MR. WEDGWOOD BENN AND I LAST TOOK PART IN these Indian debates, many events of staggering importance have taken place in the world. Catastrophes have come upon us; hopes have been frustrated, disillusionment has been common, evil has triumphed in many parts of the habitable globe. It has been a black picture but black as that picture has been, there have at any rate been some bright corners. There has been India. In the world of tumult, there has been this great sub-continent of 350 million souls at peace within its boundaries.

" At a time when democracies were being destroyed in Europe, we have seen eleven great democratic Governments come into being in India and join their forces with the democratic peoples of the world. These ought surely to be grounds for great satisfaction to every member of the House.

" Four years ago there were some who honestly thought that provincial Government would be a failure. They asked us over and over again in the long Indian debates, ' Will these Governments be able to maintain their stability ? Will they be able to control their finances ? Will they be able, most important of all, to maintain law and order for millions of human beings to whom they will be responsible ? '

" I am glad to think that if some of our hopes were dupes, at any rate most of our fears have proved to be liars and that today we can claim that in a world in which there have been a great many constitutional crashes in recent years, there stands out this great constitutional success of provincial autonomy in India.

" It was with this background on the Indian achievement that on September 3 of this year, India and the British Commonwealth of Nations were faced with war. The crisis found India united. It found India united in its determination to resist brute force, and in the realization that the danger was a common danger threatening every part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It was in face of this unity that the Viceroy, who, during the whole course of his career in India, and during many years that he was occupied in the Joint Select Committee in this country, showed his wholehearted and sincere desire for Indian goodwill and co-operation. It was at this moment that he took the steps, with the object of availing himself to the full of this united feeling in India and this common purpose, that should bind India and the rest of the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

" As Mr. Wedgwood Benn has said, the Viceroy first had a series of interviews with the leaders of Indian opinion, and as a result of those interviews he made two definite proposals. The first was rather in the nature of a pledge. It was a clear

and definite statement that at the end of the war, there would be a reconsideration of the constitutional problems in the light of the experience of recent years.

" Secondly, with a view to availing himself of Indian advice and with the intention of bringing Indian leaders within his confidence, he suggested that a consultative committee should be formed to discuss with him many problems arising out of the war, and to bring him into the closest and most constant contact with the trend of Indian opinion.

ONLY ONE KIND OF DOMINION STATUS

" The proposal regarding the consultative committee was made with the full desire to obtain the greatest possible co-operation with the principal bodies of Indian public opinion. The Congress, admittedly the greatest party in India, rejected it. Non-Congress India, representing, it must be remembered, many millions of Indians, substantially accepted it. It may be asked, would it not have been possible for the Viceroy to have gone further and made some kind of proposal that would have avoided this division of opinion between Congress and non-Congress India ?

" This is the first question, and it is a very important question to which I would invite the attention of the House. If the members are to follow its implications, they must recall to their minds some of the most important discussions that took place over the Government of India Act. They centred round the pledge of Dominion Status and the aim of Indian policy. These pledges, as Mr. Wedgwood Benn has said, were repeated time after time. They were reaffirmed in very precise terms in the speech with which I introduced the second reading of the Government of India Bill. I made it clear, and I make it clear again today, that we stood by Lord Irwin's pledge, and that when we spoke of Dominion Status we meant what we said and did not mean some system of Government that deprived India of full status of equality with other members of the British Commonwealth.

" There are no two kinds of Dominion Status as some people seem to think. The Dominion Status that we contemplated was the Dominion Status which has been described by Mr. Wedgwood Benn—the Dominion Status of 1926.

" Dominion Status is not a prize that is given to a deserving community but is the recognition of facts that actually exist. As soon as these facts exist in India, and in my view the sooner they exist the better, the aim of our policy will be achieved. If there are difficulties in the way, they are not of our making. They are inherent in the many divisions between the classes and communities in the great sub-continent. It must be the aim of Indians themselves to remove these divisions, just as it should be our aim to help Indians in their task.

" So far are we from wishing to divide and govern that we regard these divisions as a calamity and are ready to do our utmost to remove them.

" We have shown our good faith in the matter. We showed it when we made the Communal Award. At that time, supposing we had wished to divide and conquer, we might very well have said, ' Settle your own communal differences first. Until you have settled them there can be no constitutional advance.' We did not take that course but at great risk to ourselves and in the face of much criticism we made the Communal Award, without which provincial autonomy would have been impossible.

NO IMPERIAL WAR CABINET

" But in spite of our award, these divisions still exist, and until they are removed we have responsibilities to the minorities that we cannot repudiate. That was our position in 1935 and it is our position today. We wish to see these divisions removed but we shall never get them removed if we shut our eyes to their existence and refuse to admit that they are there. It is these divisions that have made so difficult the task of setting up responsible Government at the Centre and of achieving the great ideal of an All-India federation.

" The Princes are afraid of domination by British India, the Muslims are firmly opposed to a Hindu majority at the Centre. The Depressed Classes and other minorities genuinely believe that responsible Government, meaning a Government dependent on the Hindu majority, will sacrifice their interests. These anxieties still exist. I wish they did not. But as long as they exist it is impossible for the Government to accept the demand for immediate and full responsibility at the Centre on a particular date.

" If we did so, we should be false to the pledges that time after time we have given in the most solemn words to the Muslims, other minorities and the European community. It may be said : ' Supposing that full and immediate responsibility at the Centre is impossible, are there not other steps that could be taken to show our good faith and to make clear to India that that goal is just as much in our minds today as it was when we made those pledges four years ago ?' Mr. Wedgwood Benn himself made a number of these suggestions this afternoon. First, let me disabuse him of the idea that we are contemplating in the near future an Imperial War Cabinet in London, and that in it India ought to be represented by more than a single representative.

> **" At present there is no intention to set up an Imperial War Cabinet of that kind. If and when the time comes, I will certainly remember the observations he has made on the subject, and I imagine they will be given extremely careful attention.**

POLITICAL LEADERS ON VICEROY'S COUNCIL

" Next he spoke on a project that has been discussed more than once before.

> " He asked : ' Would it not be possible to introduce into the Viceroy's Council political leaders who would hold portfolios in certain of the great departments '?

" As I have said, this is not a new proposal. I remember its being made during the joint discussions of the Joint Select Committee. I think the Leader of the Opposition himself made it at one time. We went fully into it then and at that time we found ourselves confronted by certain difficulties in the way of its adoption. I do not enumerate those difficulties tonight. I wish to close no door. I wish to explore every possibility within the ambit of the Government of India Act. I agree with very much of what Mr. Wedgwood Benn said as to the impossibility of having constitutional reform by stages in wartime, or contemplating another Government of India Act when we are in the throes of this terrible struggle. I do not elaborate the difficulties that are inherent in a suggestion of this kind. He knows them as well as I do.

> " But, so far as the British Government are concerned, we see no reason why, provided that the difficulties are remembered, this proposal should not be very carefully considered.

" The second of the Viceroy's proposals was the proposal of the Consultative Committee. As Mr. Wedgwood Benn said, the Consultative Committee may mean anything or nothing. It may merely be a device for side-tracking the opposition, or it may be an attempt to obtain real co-operation.

> " I believe that the great possibilities of consultation of this kind have not been sufficiently appreciated. If they are fully used—and I give an undertaking that the Viceroy is anxious to make the fullest use of them—they may well prove to be the bridge that is needed to carry Indians over the great divide of communal bitterness that at present stands chiefly in the way of constitutional advance.

"If it be the case that these wartime meetings will make easier the constitutional discussions that will take place after the war, what a calamity it would be, if, for some reason or other, they were not started.

CONSTITUTIONAL DISCUSSIONS DURING WAR

" Mr. Wedgwood Benn spoke of the discussions that took place in the last war on the subject of the constitution. He mentioned the Montagu-Chelmsford discussions and asked whether it would be possible for discussions of that kind to to take place in the course of this war. I do not wish to give a final answer, but I would point out that in certain

respects the situation today differs a good deal from the situation at the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford discussions.

" The issues had not then become so bitter as they have today. I am thinking more particularly of the communal issue. Further, at any rate at the beginning of a war, it seems to me impossible for discussions of that kind to take place.

" The Montagu-Chelmsford discussions only took place, I think, three years after the beginning of the last war. As I have said, however, I would rather not give a final answer tonight on a point of that kind.

" Nor, indeed, would I give a final answer on another point Mr. Wedgwood Benn has raised, namely, that there should be a general election in India. At any rate at the beginning of a war a general election would seem to me to be almost impossible. In India officials are working night and day on war work. Moreover there would be the fact that communal feelings would, I am sure, be very much aroused in an election, and while again I do not want to dogmatise and use terms like ' never ' and ' in no circumstances ' I would say that *as things are today a general election to the Central Legislature would, in my opinion, be impossible.*

" To come back to the broad question of consultation. The Viceroy has not tied himself down to the exact methods of this constitution. It is essentially a question to be settled between him and the political leaders. I am able to state that he is ready to discuss the method and details with the leaders and he proposes without delay to send an invitation to meet him for these discussions. Until these and other discussions take place, I claim that it would be a blunder of the first magnitude to take up an irrevocable position. Let the Indian leaders weigh these possibilities. Let them meet and discuss them once again with the Viceroy. And let them also ponder once again upon the alternatives.

NON-CO-OPERATION

" As regards the alternative of direct and immediate responsibility at the Centre, I hope I have convinced the House that in the present circumstances it is impossible to accept an alternative of that kind. I come to another alternative and I would ask the Indian leaders seriously once again to ponder upon it. I wish indeed that I had not to make any reference to it at all.

" It is the alternative of non-co-operation, an alternative, under which the Indian Congress goes its own way and the British Government and the minority communities in India go theirs. *If it came to this issue, we should have no choice. The King-Emperor's Government must be carried on, and it would be carried on with efficiency, with strength, and with*

justice. We, like any other Government in similar circumstances, would give the Viceroy our full support.

" But let every man of goodwill in India and Great Britain contemplate the waste that such a chapter of non-co-operation would mean. There would be a waste of all our constitutional efforts with these many years of Round Table Conferences, Joint Select Committees and debates in this House. There would be the waste of all the effort we have made to bring to an end the grim chapters of non-co-operation and to make it easier for the Indians and the British to work together towards the solution of these great problems.

" When I went to the India Office I found non-co-operation in full blast. During the four years that I was the Secretary of State, like Mr. Wedgwood Benn, who was my predecessor, almost my sole effort was to bring the British and the Indian together, and to put an end to this chapter of wasted effort and miserable controversy. I hoped that when the Act came into force this chapter would be brought to an end ; but it is here now, in the face of the greatest crisis that has ever confronted the world, a crisis in which *our danger is India's and India's danger ours*, in which our determination to set up a new and better order in the world is as great as India's, and India's is as great as ours. There is grave risk of our drifting into a position in which we shall be wrangling with each other instead of fighting the enemy on the common front.

IS BRITAIN IMPERIALISTIC ?

" I claim that our position is as sound as a bell. In good faith and perfect sincerity, we have started India on the greatest constitutional experiment that the world has ever seen. *We have long set aside imperialistic ambitions. We believe that our mission in the world is not to govern other people but to help other people to govern themselves.* It was in this spirit that Parliament passed a series of great Acts which gave the Dominions their free constitution. It was in this spirit that we passed the Government of India Act of 1935 and under which, of our own free will, we transferred wide authority to the Indian Government. It is in this spirit that we intend to administer the Act, and during the war to do our utmost to remove the divisions that stand in the way of its full achievement.

" And when the war ends, and ends victoriously, as a result of the Empire's united efforts, we mean to proceed at once to deal with the constitutional difficulties that have emerged in the experience of recent years. Non-co-operation and non-co-operation alone will stop this swift steady progress. For those of us who have devoted years of our lives to the building of the new constitution, often at some risk to ourselves, for those of us who are thrilled by the antiquity of the Indian civilization, for those of us who are proud of the common effort

that Indians and we have made to give India a unique position in the continent of Asia, another chapter of strife, controversy and non-co-operation would come as a great human tragedy.

" Such a breach in the common front would be a repudiation at one of the gravest moments in the world's history of the call to both of us to resist the aggressor, to fight brute force, and to build up a new and better order in the world in which we and Indians can go about our lawful vocations without the peril that now walks by day and night in so many parts of this suffering world.

" I am told, though I can scarcely believe it, that it is being said in some quarters in India that the British Government is searching for a conflict. I repudiate that suggestion with all the power I have. The British Government wants co-operation and not conflict, the British Government wants to see the aim of its policy achieved and conditions realized in which India can take its true place in the British Commonwealth of free peoples.

" Non-co-operation may put the clock back for years. Whether its promoters desire it or not, non-co-operation leads to civil disobedience, to breaches of law and order and to a vicious circle of riot and repression from which we had hoped to have escaped for ever. Until these things actually happen, I will not believe that they are going to happen. I shall continue to believe that when these great peoples of our own and the peoples of India are faced with a common danger and inspired with a common ideal that non-co-operation of any large section of a community would be a calamity and futility of the first magnitude.

" Millions of Indians in British India and in the States agree with this view. They wish to co-operate with us just as much as we wish to work with them ; and the Congress Party itself—I quote the words of Mr. Gandhi spoken three days ago—' wanted to help Britain by giving her moral support which was its speciality. The Congress would not give this unless it was clear that Britain's morality was wholly sound.'

NO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

" It was not—I quote the Prime Minister's weighty words of October 12—with any vindictive purpose that we embarked on the war, but simply in defence of freedom. It is not alone the freedom of small nations that is at stake. There is also in jeopardy the peaceful existence of Great Britain, the Dominions, India, the rest of the British Empire, France and indeed of all freedom-loving nations.

" Whatever may be the issue of the present struggle, and in whatever way it may be brought to a conclusion, the world will not be the same world that we have known before. Looking to the future we can see deep changes will inevitably leave their mark on every field of men's thoughts and actions

and if humanity is to guide aright the new forces that will be in operation, all nations will have their part to play.

In this new world India has a great part to play, perhaps in area the greatest of any Asiatic country, a great part also in the British Commonwealth of Nations, *for it will be an outward and visible sign that with us there is no racial discrimination.* It has a great part also to play in the world at large, for India should stand out as a model of a League of Nations from which war has for generations been banished and the rule of law and justice firmly set. With this great hope before us, let us once and for all abandon the barren paths of non-co-operation and help each other to win the war and to win peace and in this double victory to take a great step towards the fruition of India's hopes."

SIR HUGH O'NEILL

Sir Hugh O'Neill, Under-Secretary of State for India, said : " I often think in controversies of the day that what Britain has done for India is rather apt to be forgotten. One cannot refrain from speculating as to the position if our administrators had not been there to guide and control its destiny. I think that there is one point above all else which stands out in this debate and that is that it has been carried on in a spirit of goodwill on all sides. I think that the spirit of goodwill can also be found in the Viceroy's statement which is the subject of our discussion. It seems to me that the only people who cannot see goodwill in the Viceroy's statement are those with preconceived determination to be hostile, and there are such people.

" Other critics, on the contrary, have given the Viceroy credit for good intentions. When the Viceroy's statement was first published as a White Paper, it was on the whole well received in some quarters which might have been expected to be lukewarm. Lord Snell, representing the Labour Party in the House of Lords, had said that in his view the statement of the Viceroy showed goodwill and represented a definite advance.

" On the day after the statement was made the *Manchester Guardian,* a paper which has always taken a very definite line in favour of Indian self-government, in a leading article said : ' The statement issued by the Governor-General of India goes a long way to repair the sins of omission and commission by the Government since the outbreak of war. It is clear, conciliatory and constructive but it must be said at once that its value in meeting the legitimate aspirations of the Indian nation will entirely depend on the degree in which the assurances given will be carried out.'

" I do not think any reasonable person could deny that the Viceroy's statement does go a long way towards meeting some of the points raised in the pronouncements or manifestoes of different parties in India. One has to remember

that this statement by the Viceroy was issued just after he had held a remarkable series of conversations and discussions with people representing all sections of opinion in India. The Viceroy actually interviewed over 50 persons and the statement he issued must obviously be to a large extent the result of those discussions and conferences which had taken place immediately before. We must assume that any proposals the Viceroy has made in the White Paper represent an attempt to reconcile, so far as possible, the views of different interests and different lines of political thought.

TRIBUTE TO VICEROY

" For instance, if the Viceroy had had only one party to deal with, I imagine that statement which he issued might have been different. All the members of the House will agree that we appreciate enormously the trouble, patience, tact, and industry displayed by Lord Linlithgow in these talks and conversations with Indian politicians. The Viceroy's statement deals first with the question of war aims. That is one of the points very strongly emphasized in the Congress manifesto. I do not think there is anything in what the Viceroy says about our war aim to which any reasonable person could take objection.

" It seems to be largely held by members of the Congress Party in India that our principal war aim is a desire to maintain what they call Imperialism. What does Imperialism mean in the sense that Congress Party uses the word ? Surely it must mean domination of the weak by the strong, overriding of the minorities, denial of self-expression and constitutional advancement, the will of force. To say we are fighting to uphold any of these things is manifestly absurd. They are the very things we are fighting against and it was the raising of the standard of such principles in the world which forced the democracies into the war.

" The Lord Privy Seal referred in great detail to what had been called pledges solemnly given on different occasions by those representing His Majesty's Government—the pledge of 1917 in Preamble to the Government of India Act, the pledge of 1929 given by Lord Irwin when he was Viceroy and said that the natural goal of India was the attainment of Dominion Status, and the final pledge given by Sir Samuel Hoare on the second reading of the India Bill in 1935. *Those series of pledges represent the clear, definite and settled policy on the part of the British Government, namely, that the attainment of Dominion Status is what we desire for India.*

VERY GREAT PROGRESS

" There are people who say that no progress has been made since 1935 when the last of those pledges was given.

But if we pause and consider, we are surely bound to acknowledge that there has been very great progress even since 1935.

"The Government of India Act of that year has been passed. That in itself surely is an advance but perhaps more important still is that responsible government has been established in the provinces for over two years and I think by universal admission that responsible government has been very successful. It has resulted in mutual trust and confidence between the Governors and the Ministers and has led to quite successful working of the administrative and governmental machine in these provinces. We have been moving forward and after all two years is not a very long time when you consider all the long history of British connexion with India.

"Mr. Grenfell has asked, 'Why wait for any advance until after the war'?

> "I think Sir Samuel Hoare made it quite clear in his speech that there was no adamantine finality about the White Paper with regard to that and that it might be that before the end of the war constitutional discussion of some kind would, in fact, take place.

"Then Mr. Grenfell referred to the consultative or advisory group which the Viceroy has suggested. Mr. Grenfell said that he hoped that would start very soon. Surely whether or not the advisory group is to function and is to function soon depends on the political parties in India themselves. If they will accept the suggestion, if they will co-operate, there is no reason that I know of why the advisory body should not meet next week."

"Though members on the whole had been full of restraint some still thought that things were going too slowly and that the advance of India towards Dominion Status should be very much more rapid.

"You cannot rush into a great constitutional change, such as is envisaged, in India. You cannot disregard the minorities. Further you cannot disregard the views of the Indian States, if what you are aiming at is an All-India Federation. That, I think, is the goal which all of us in this House would like to see reached eventually. I would like to say, further, that in any constitutional advance of this kind, you cannot proceed in accordance with the wishes of one party alone, however strong and well organized in the country such as India with all its conflicting races, creeds and interests.

DEFENCE OF INDIA

"You cannot be neglectful of the defence of India. What would happen, if by some ghastly possibility; the British

Empire were to suffer a defeat in this war ? What would then be the prospect for India ? *The Indian people know well enough that any chance they may have of constitutional advancement and development depends above all upon association with this country and not with any other country which holds entirely different views of democratic progress than we do.*

" Sir Samuel Hoare has stated that there is no reason why discussion and contact which the Viceroy established during the last few weeks should not continue. In my view the Congress had been overhasty in calling out Provincial Ministries before they had really given any full and proper examination to the proposals which the Viceroy had put forward.

" The British Government and the Government of India do not desire a conflict and if anyone thinks *that* in India or here, he is demonstrably wrong. What the British Government desire is not conflict but, above all, co-operation from the Indian people. Advance is certain and sure. It would be nothing short of a colossal disaster if we were to throw away the work of the last two years in India which has shown such promise for the future which will inevitably materialize.

" Looking at the manifesto of the Congress Party, one cannot help being struck by one outstanding fact, namely, its detestation of the principles and practices of Nazi Germany with which we are at war. I believe the same views are held by all other sections of opinion in the continent of India.

" This unity of purpose has been apparent in many directions, not least by the numerous offers of help both in men and money, received from the rulers of Indian States and for which the Empire is profoundly grateful. *The effort of India in the Great War was immense and almost decisive.* I was myself in Palestine in 1918 and I had the opportunity of seeing at first hand the achievements of the great Indian Army there, whose march forward into Syria heralded the collapse of the Germanic Powers.

"It is beyond question that India's efforts in this war will be as great. Is it too much to hope that all sections of Indian opinion may even now be able to give unstinted collaboration towards the prosecution of the war in the knowledge that Britain's pledges stand and in the cause which is as much theirs as ours ? "

LORD ZETLAND (NOV. 2, 1939)

MAIN OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS

LORD ZETLAND IN THE COURSE OF HIS REPLY TO A DEBATE on India in the House of Lords on November 2, 1939, said

that in the present circumstances the path of wisdom was to invite leaders, in the first instance of the two main communities, to meet under the auspices of a neutral and discuss differences frankly, and see whether they could find some solution of them.

That precisely was what the Viceroy was doing at the present moment. He had invited leaders to meet him for that very purpose and Lord Zetland had no hesitation in saying that if as a result of these discussions and consultations, they could find a common ground on which the two great communities would work together, then the main obstacle in the way of associating the leaders of the political parties in the actual executive at the Centre would have been removed.

Lord Zetland later said that the resignation of four provincial Governments already tendered, and the resignation of the fifth expected in the very near future would mean that the Government would be obliged to proclaim a breakdown of the constitution as far as the provinces were concerned, and to take into its own hands the administration.

BRITAIN'S WAR AIMS

Lord Zetland referred to Britain's war aims and said :

" It is sometimes said still in India that we are fighting to maintain imperialism there, but every step taken since 1919 has emphasized and ratified the determination of the people of this country to work for self-government in India. Our intentions remain what they have been ever since the Act of 1919. We are striving our best with all sincerity to assist in removing the obstacles which at present lie in the path of fulfilment of the promises which have been made.

" But I still find from my practical experience every day of the year for the past four or five years that it is no use ignoring difficulties in your path. What you may do is to work patiently and in all sincerity to remove them."

Lord Zetland (who followed Lord Salisbury and was here referring to a point in the latter's speech) said that the Secretary of State for India in these days was always apt to find himself in the unhappy position of being between the hammer on the left and the anvil on the right. " I know quite well that the noble Marquess (Salisbury) has doubted the wisdom of the Act of 1935. He had always held perfectly sincere doubts as to the workability of the Act. We all respect the sincerity of his beliefs. I disagreed with him in the early days on that matter. I disagree with him still.

" I am bound to say that on the whole the provisions of the Act under which the Ministries were set up in the provinces in British India have been fully justified, even by the short experience of three years we have had of their working.

" Lord Samuel spoke about federation He has told us that in the course of his tour of India he had found on all sides that there was agreement that the solution of the Central Government of India must be federal in character. I think he has told us that there were objections raised by different parties concerned to the particular form of federation or some part thereof in the Act of 1935. Very well, he agrees that federation is the necessary form of government for the Centre. But then Lord Samuel said, ' You have promised India Dominion Status. It is always coming but has never come'. But what, he asked, have you done to give effect to your intention ? I rather gather from the speech of Lord Samuel that he thought we could bring federation and Dominion Status into effect tomorrow, if only we had the will to do so.

" The noble Lord spoke of the pledge given by the Foreign Secretary, and said that the natural issue for India was the attainment of Dominion Status, but his comment was that that was in 1929. Does he suggest that a federation could be formed before the units have come into existence ? Surely the purpose of all one part of the Act of 1935 was to create units, which would subsequently be federated.

" The noble Lord may say we took a long time in drawing up the provisions of the Act of 1935. We did, but if he had been a member not only of the Joint Select Committee but of those series of Round Table Conferences with Indians themselves, which preceded the drafting of the Act and of the work of the Joint Select Committee, he would have realized a little more clearly than he does today the extraordinary difficulties and the complexity of the problem we have to try and solve.

" He made a reference to the Viceroy's statement and said that the promise contained therein that at the end of the war he would take into consultation leaders of the various communities and parties interested, with a view to effecting such modifications of the federal provisions as might seem desirable, was all to the good, but that the Viceroy said very little of what we are proposing to do pending the end of the war.

" I cannot agree with him if he thinks you can redraft the federal provisions of the Act with a view to bringing federation into existence, while we are all burdened with the task of carrying on a life and death struggle. But we do agree it is natural that leaders of Indian public opinion should be associated in some way with the Central Government during the progress of the war, and it was with a view to bringing them into close association with the Central Government that we proposed a consultative body."

WIDENING OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

ADVANTAGES OF CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

INDIA'S POLITICAL STATUS WAS AGAIN DISCUSSED IN THE House of Lords on November 3, 1939, when the Secretary of State, referring to his previous declaration, said it had not been received in India in the spirit in which it was intended. He spoke hopefully, however, of the negotiations in progress in New Delhi and, with a number of other speakers, deplored the resignation of the Congress Ministries.

Lord Zetland, referring to the proposal for a consultative committee said :

" That was a perfectly sincere and genuine attempt to associate leaders of Indian political parties with the Central Government with the conduct of the war.

" I remember observing to the House that, in my opinion, it would have three different advantages.

" Firstly, it would have enabled the Governor-General to communicate to leaders of political parties confidential information.

" Secondly, it would have enabled them to express opinions frankly to the Governor-General on their views of the measures the Government are proposing to take and, since the whole idea was conceived on the assumption that there would be goodwill on both sides with the Governor-General and that members would have collaborated for a common purpose and, as it is perfectly well known that all of them have at heart the successful prosecution of the war, I regarded it as axiomatic that the Viceroy would have attached the utmost worth to the views expressed by such a body in such circumstances.

COMMUNAL DIFFERENCES

"The third advantage I said it would have was that, since the representatives of different communities would be working in close association, not only with the Governor-General but with one another, it would tend to lessen the differences whereby they are at present divided and would bring to the surface such measure of common ground as would justify us inviting them to become associated with the Government in an even more responsible position. I regret profoundly that the proposal does not appear to have been received in India in the spirit in which it was given. Meanwhile, these communal differences persist. I need not lay stress upon them. They are known. The manifesto of the All-India Muslim League as well as the manifesto of the Congress are in the White Paper and since then the leader of the All-India Muslim League has

issued a statement, which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* only two or three days ago.

"I do not want to underline the differences, but they cannot be ignored. You have to try somehow or other to reconcile them. What in these circumstances is the path of wisdom? Surely to invite leaders in the first instance of two main communities—*Hindus as represented by the Congress, Muslims as represented by the All-India Muslim League*—to meet under the auspices of a neutral and discuss their differences frankly and see whether they cannot find some solution thereto.

"That is precisely what the Viceroy is doing at the present moment. He has invited leaders of the Congress and the All-India Muslim League to meet him for that very purpose, and I have no hesitation in saying that, if as a result of these discussions and consultations, we can find common ground on which the two great communities will work together, then the main obstacle in the way of associating leaders of political parties in the actual executive at the Centre will have been removed.

UNFORTUNATE MOVE

"I need hardly say I share the regret expressed by Lord Samuel at the action taken by the Congress Ministries in the provinces. I agree with him that has been a most unfortunate move and I believe that history will prove it has been most unwise. But there it is. With, it seems to me, undue haste while discussions are still proceeding, the Ministries in four of the provinces have already tendered resignations and the resignation of the Ministry in a fifth province is expected in the very near future. That will mean that the Governor will be obliged to proclaim the breakdown of the constitution as far as the provinces are concerned and to take into his own hands the administration.

"There is one comment I would make on what Lord Samuel said with regard to this communal difficulty. He admitted that in British India communal feeling had certainly not decreased in recent times, but he is apparently under the impression that the problem does not exist in Indian States."

Lord Samuel, dissenting, said that he was not generalizing and Lord Zetland, continuing, said that he accepted the explanation. "But Lord Samuel was singularly unfortunate in selecting Hyderabad as an example, because throughout last summer the communal question has presented a profound problem." It was a Hindu movement against the Muslim Government, and for months bands of Hindus had been proceeding from other parts of India into Hyderabad itself in order to carry on a campaign of civil disobedience.

"The communal problem is not confined to British India, nor is it true to say it has not become accentuated in, at any

rate, some of the Indian States during the past two or three years.

"WE ARE STRIVING OUR BEST"

"Let me only say this in conclusion with regard to our war aims in India. It is sometimes said still in India that we are fighting to maintain imperialism in that country. If by British imperialism is meant domination and exploitation of one people by another people, I say that if it ever existed it was abandoned by Parliament when it accepted the Preamble to the Act of 1919, and every step which has been taken since that time has emphasized and ratified the determination of the people of this country to work for self-government in India.

"I cannot conceive of anyone who wished to maintain imperialism in India in the sense in which I have described, having voted for the Act of 1935, which was passed by a large majority by the House of Lords and Commons. No, our intentions remain what they have been ever since the Act of 1919. We are striving our best with all sincerity to assist in removing obstacles which at present lie in the path of full fulfilment of the promises which have been made and, while I appreciate both the difficulties of the noble Marquess (Lord Salisbury) in going with me as far as that and while I appreciate the idealism of Lord Samuel, who wished to see a great quickening up of the process on which we are engaged, I still find from all my practical experience that has come to me as the Secretary of State every day of the year for the past four or five years that it is no use ignoring the difficulties in our path. What you may do is to work patiently and in all sincerity to remove them" (cheers).



CONTEXT.

BRITAIN'S OBLIGATIONS TO MINORITIES

BUT PLEDGE TO INDIA WILL BE FULFILLED

The position in India, as disclosed by the announcement and correspondence published by the Viceroy on November 5, was reviewed by Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, in a statement in the House of Lords on November 7, 1939.

"I NEED HARDLY SAY THAT HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT share the profound regret of the Governor-General at the failure of the consultations which he had been holding to produce an agreement between representatives of the Congress on the one hand and the All-India Muslim League on the other," said Lord Zetland. "May I remind the House briefly that the previous discussions which the Governor-General had been so patiently conducting for several weeks past had convinced

him that there was little, if any, prospect of securing an agreement on plans which he had been considering with the object of bringing Indians into association with the Central Government of India on the conduct of the war unless some accommodation could first be reached on the difficulties felt by Muslims as to their position in the provinces where the Congress Governments were in power.

" As the House will have seen from the documents published yesterday, the Congress has definitely refused to consider any concrete plans such as those outlined by the Governor-General unless His Majesty's Government should be willing first to make a declaration to the effect that India is an independent nation and that His Majesty's Government will raise no opposition to her future form of government being determined without their intervention by a Constituent Assembly called upon the widest possible basis of franchise, and by agreement in regard to communal representation.

" The Congress has further consistently taken the line, which it still maintains, that the fact that there are racial and religious minorities in India is of no relevance in that connexion, and that it has always been the intention of the Congress to secure, through the constitution to be framed by Indians themselves, such protection for their rights as may prove acceptable to the minorities.

" His Majesty's Government find it impossible to accept this position. The long-standing British connexion with India has left His Majesty's Government with obligations towards her which it is impossible for them to shed by disinteresting themselves wholly in the shaping of her future form of government. Moreover, one outstanding result of the recent discussions in which the Governor-General has been engaged with representatives of all parties and interests in India has been to establish beyond doubt the fact that a declaration in the sense proposed, with the summary abandonment by His Majesty's Government of their position in India would be far from acceptable to large sections of the Indian population.

" But this does not mean that we had in any sense weakened in our determination to assist India, by such means as are in our power, to reach, without avoidable delay, the position in the British Commonwealth of Nations to which we are pledged.

DOMINION STATUS

" Let me take this opportunity of removing some doubts and suspicions which appear to have been felt in India about the reference in the recent India debate in the House of Commons by the Lord Privy Seal to ' Dominion Status of 1926 ' as being the status we contemplate for India. The suggestion, I understand, has been made that the passage of the Statute of Westminster in 1931 has produced for the Dominions to which the Statute applies a status which is somewhat different

from, and is superior to, the relationship described in the Balfour Declaration contained in the report of the Imperial Conference of 1938.

" This House at all events will have no difficulty in believing me when I say that there is no foundation for any such suggestion and that my right honourable friend (Sir Samuel Hoare) referred to Dominion Status of 1926 because it was that the Imperial Conference described the status of the Dominions, and the status so described has not been altered by anything which has since occurred, the Statute of Westminster having merely given legal effect to certain consequences of the constitutional position as was then recognised.

" It was our hope that the plans which the Governor-General has indicated, including as they did the incorporation of the leaders of the main political parties in India in the Central Government, if they could have been brought into play, would have done much towards facilitating the removal of the outstanding obstacle at present in India's path. The Governor-General has made it clear that he is not deterred by his present failure in hoping for a reconsideration by the parties interested, and His Majesty's Government warmly approve the readiness which he has expressed to be of such service as he can whenever an opportunity offers.

POSITION IN PROVINCES

" Meanwhile the position at the moment is that in Bengal the Punjab and Sind, the Ministries, which in those provinces do not owe allegiance to the Congress Party, remain in office. In five of the remaining eight provinces where Congress Governments have been in power, those Governments have now resigned and in the other three provinces the Governments are expected to resign in the very near future.

" There appears to be in one province—Assam—the possibility of an alternative Government, but with this one exception the Governors have found or will very shortly find themselves with no option since alternative Ministries in a position to command the confidence of the legislature are not forthcoming, but to assume to themselves by proclamation, powers which the provisions of the Act enable them to assume in such a situation.

NOT A PENAL PROVISION

" Let me make it plain that Section 93 of the Act under which this action has been taken is in no sense a penal provision ; it simply provides machinery, the possible necessity for which Parliament in its wisdom foresaw if, to quote the words of the Act ' a situation has arisen in which

the government of a province cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Act for carrying on the King's government.'

" It is our hope that in the absence of opposition from supporters of the Congress or from other quarters, the Governors, with the aid of their official advisers and members of the public services, will succeed in conducting smoothly and efficiently the administration of the provinces, the difference being—obviously a fundamental difference—that their actions will be decided in responsibility to this House, to this Parliament, and not in pursuance of advice tendered to them by ministers responsible to the provincial legislature.

" We greatly regret that the Ministries, which have with so much zeal been carrying on the government of their great provinces, and tackling with energy and resource the many problems with which administration has naturally brought them into contact, should have found it necessary to withhold their further services from their country. But we refuse to believe that this withdrawal will be for long and we shall continue to hope, so long as any grounds for such hope remain, that the proclamations by the Governors need have only a temporary duration, for I can assure the House that the Governors will be only too ready to recall to their counsels responsible advisers as soon as they are available.

LORD SAMUEL'S VIEWS

Lord Samuel described Lord Zetland's statement as one of great gravity and the most serious statement heard in regard to India for many years past. Regrettable at any time, it was particularly deplorable in this particular time of war.

" The methods which have been adopted to meet this present emergency by the Viceroy and provincial Governors are obviously the only methods possible in the circumstances. But they can only be interim methods, as Lord Zetland has explained and while they are in force, as he has told us, the responsibility for the Government of India in the provinces must rest with these Houses of Parliament, since it no longer rests with the elected representatives of the people of India. No doubt this House and the House of Commons, will in due course have to consider very seriously what steps they can take, if they are able to take any steps in order to promote some form of settlement."

Lord Samuel concluded : " We can only share the hope expressed by the Secretary of State that the present situation will not last for long. We must sympathize with the deep disappointment of the Viceroy. While it is impossible today after first hearing the statement to enter fully into these matters, I have no doubt the House will desire at no distant date to undertake a further review of the situation."

APPEAL FOR CONGRESS-LEAGUE TRUCE

Lord Zetland's statement in the House of Lords on Dec. 14, 1939.

IN SPITE OF THE EFFORTS OF GERMAN PROPAGANDA, CARried on by broadcasting and such other means as are open to them, the Princes and the people of India continue to express in no uncertain terms their detestation of the crimes of Nazi Germany against all laws of God and man.

The Viceroy's War Purposes Fund, for which no appeal has so far been made either by the Viceroy or by the Governors, and which consists, therefore, of voluntary contributions spontaneously made, amounts now to a sum of £475,000.

Among the contributions earmarked by their donors for special purposes, your Lordships may be interested to know of the gift of £7,500 by the Maharaja of Gondal for the dependants of those who were lost in the ROYAL OAK. You will have heard already of the munificent gift of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad of £100,000 to the Air Ministry to provide a Hyderabad Squadron for aerial warfare. Another special donation is Rs. 1,00,000 by His Highness the Nawab of Rampur for motor ambulances, one only of a number of similar gifts. These are but examples which it would be easy to multiply.

INDIAN PEASANTS' RESPONSE

For the benefit of German propagandists who spend much time in explaining to the world the miserable plight of the Indian people under the rapacious tyranny of Great Britain, I feel moved to add a single example of the feelings of the Indian peasantry themselves in the matter. In one district of the Punjab, with a few people of wealth among its residents, the Governor was recently handed a wholly unsolicited gift of Rs. 7,000, all in currency notes, to aid in overthrowing Nazi Germany. Such things speak for themselves. I make a free gift of this item of information to the German gentleman known as Lord Haw Haw for inclusion in his next broadcast.

A number of Princes have not been content to limit their financial assistance to lump sums of money, but are contributing percentages of their incomes for the period of the war. Some of them with great fighting traditions behind them have placed their forces at the disposal of His Majesty, and have shown keen anxiety themselves to play a part in the actual field of battle—a gesture which is greatly appreciated by His Majesty's Government, even if it is not possible in the present circumstances to take advantage of their desires in this regard.

Offers of additional battalions of troops over and above the State-earmarked units have been made by Their Highnesser of Kashmir and Bikaner. Similarly, among the martial races, particularly in the Punjab, there has been a spontaneous and eager desire to enlist in the armed forces of the Crown.

POLITICAL PROBLEM

In the political field, I regret to say that the difficulties with which your Lordships are familiar persist. In the Punjab and in Bengal and in Sind, the Governments and Legislatures are functioning normally and with success. In Assam, where the Ministry under a Congress Prime Minister resigned, an alternative Government, under Sir Syed Muhammad Saadulla, a former Prime Minister, has accepted office. But, in the remaining seven provinces in which the Congress Ministries were in office, the administration has been taken over by the Governors, with the result that, wholly contrary to our desires, the hands of the clock have been put back 30 years, to before the days of the Minto-Morley Constitution.

I should add, for the information of your Lordships that the transition has been effected smoothly ; that there has been no reversal of policy in any important respect, and that, broadly speaking, the measures promoted by the Ministries and assented to by the Legislatures before they resigned are being given effect to by the Governors.

Since I last addressed your Lordships on the matter, there has been a further meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress and a further statement of their position. There is a sentence contained in it which I warmly welcome. It runs as follows : " It is inherent in every form of *satyagraha*"—that is to say passive resistance—" that no effort is spared to achieve an honourable settlement with an opponent." That I need hardly say is what we ourselves most earnestly desire.

CONGRESS-LEAGUE RIFT

What then, you may ask, stands in the way ? Not the least of the obstacles is the difference of opinion between the Congress and the Muslim League as to the relations of the Congress and what, for want of a better term, are described compendiously as minorities. The nature of this difference is well illustrated by another sentence in the most recent statement by the Congress Working Committee which runs as follows : " The Committee wish to declare.....that no communal considerations arise in meeting the demands of the Congress." I am sure they are sincere in holding that belief ; nevertheless, it is one which His Majesty's Government are unable to share.

In their view, no constitution could be expected to function successfully which did not meet with the general assent of the minorities who had to live under it. I am not, of course, in any way, intending to minimise the importance of such sections of the population as the Scheduled Castes, or indeed, of any other minority, when I say that by far the most important of the so-called minority communities are the Muslims. I am well aware that I need hardly say that there are Muslims to be found in the ranks of the Congress; yet the fact remains that of the 482 Muslims elected to the Lower Chambers of the Provincial Legislatures at the last general election only 26 stood as Congressmen, *and Mr. Gandhi himself has stated that the All-India Muslim League is undoubtedly the largest organisation representing Muslims*, though he also speaks of Muslim bodies which deny its claim to represent them.

There is a further consideration to be borne in mind. We speak of Muslims as a minority, because, on a purely arithmetical basis, they are less in number than Hindus. But they are a community of from eighty to ninety millions with race memories of days when, for 200 years, the Moghul Dynasty ruled over a greater part of the Indian sub-continent. They have behind them a tradition of military service which persists to this day, and is exemplified by the high proportion of the Indian Army which they fill. I have recalled these facts because they make it clear that the minorities of Europe present us with no full analogy and, God knows, the minorities of Europe have been a source of sufficient trouble in the world of today.

SATISFYING MINORITIES

I observe that Mr. Gandhi himself in his paper, *Harijan*, of November 25, speaks of summoning a Constituent Assembly "subject to safeguards to the satisfaction of minorities" and he goes on to say: "The expression, 'satisfaction of minorities,' may be regarded as vague. It can be defined beforehand by agreement." *We too regard it as essential for constitutional advance, by whatever means advance is to be obtained, that assent of the minorities should be secured as far as is possible by agreement. But it is not, within our power to impose an agreement upon them; that can only be reached by Indians themselves.*

It was with a view to promoting discussion with a view to reaching agreement on safeguards for all minorities between leaders of the Congress and of the All-India Muslim League that they were invited by the Viceroy, not long since, to meet one another. I would appeal to the leaders of the Congress as the largest and most powerful political organisation in India to endeavour to understand the difficulties which are responsible for the attitude of the All-India Muslim League.

How great is the need for such understanding is shown by the instruction issued a few days ago by the President of the All-India Muslim League to Muslims throughout India to observe the 22nd of this month as the " Day of Deliverance and Thanksgiving that the Congress Governments ceased to function".

I would equally appeal to the President of the All-India Muslim League to consider the effect of such action upon the relations between the two communities generally, and also between the Congress and the All-India Muslim League. Will they not call a truce in order that there may be a free and friendly discussion between them with a view to reaching that agreement of which Mr. Gandhi has written ?

I derive some little encouragement from the report which has reached me that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Jinnah have arranged to meet one another for further discussion.

COMMUNALISM IN LEGISLATURE

That is all to the good, and I venture to hope that they may cover a wide field ; for I am convinced that so long as the legislatures are divided on communal rather than on political lines, so long will serious difficulty be experienced in the working of democratic institutions with success.

What we have to aim at is a state of affairs under which the legislator will think of himself as an Indian first and as Hindu or Muslim afterwards. When that has been achieved, the greatest stumbling block in the way of India's progress will have been removed.

There are, of course, other matters which have to be taken into account. There is the defence of India, our obligations to the Princes, and the position which our own people have built up in India by the enterprise of generations, to mention only some of them. But the supreme problem of the moment is that of minorities, and it is for this reason that I confined myself to it this afternoon.

" INDIA ABHORS NAZISM "

Let me, however, conclude, as I began with an assurance to your Lordships that, while there are these internal difficulties, they do not lessen the abhorrence with which men of all creeds and communities in India view the Nazi system, against which we have taken up arms. I have noticed an attempt on the part of the German propaganda department to propagate the idea that Indians should look to Nazi Germany for their freedom. The conception of " Hitler the Liberator " is so grotesque as to bring a smile to the face of anyone except possibly a German, and if Hitler and his

associates imagine that they may look for aid from India, they are heading for one of the greatest disillusionments of their lives.

PAKISTAN : " COUNSEL OF DESPAIR ", SAYS ZETLAND

FUTURE CONSTITUTION NOT TO BE DICTATED

Opening the debate in the House of Lords on April 18, 1940, on the Proclamations in the provinces under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, Lord Zetland said : " No one regrets more than I do the necessity for the motions which stand in my name. They relate to the present position in seven of the 11 provinces of British India.

> **" It must, at least, be a matter for satisfaction for all those who are anxious to see the people of India progressing smoothly towards their goal that in the provinces of Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and Assam, embracing as they do not less than one-third of the population of British India, and covering 300,000 square miles, parliamentary government is functioning successfully and I have little doubt that your Lordships will wish to associate yourselves with me in offering the Governments of those provinces our congratulations on their achievements in the past and our warm good-wishes for still greater successes in the future.**

"But when we contemplate the state of affairs in the remaining provinces we find cause, not for satisfaction, but for very real regret. It is now nearly six months since the Ministers, acting on the instructions of the Working Committee of the Congress Party, withdrew from the responsibilities which they had assumed towards both the legislatures and their constituents, thereby obliging the Governors to assume powers of government.

" And since it is provided by Section 93 (3) (B) of the Constitution Act, that the proclamation conferring such powers upon the Governors shall cease to operate at the expiration of six months I have no option but to ask Parliament to approve in accordance with the provisions of the Act the continuance in force of the various proclamations for such further period, not exceeding 12 months, as developments may show to be necessary.

COURSE OF EVENTS

" Let me recall to mind briefly the course of events in India since I last had occasion to address the House on the matter. On January 10, the Viceroy delivered a speech in Bombay which was intended to be and was widely accepted

as being a gesture of conciliation and goodwill towards those who were pressing for more rapid progress in the constitutional field.

" It was followed by a meeting between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi at Delhi on February 5. The announcement of this meeting undoubtedly created a feeling of optimism in India and it was, I think, contrary to general expectations and certainly to hopes entertained in many quarters that the discussion proved barren of results and was adjourned *sine die* at the end of an exchange of views lasting for two and a half hours. Your Lordships will find in the White Paper which I have circulated the text of the official *communiqué* which was agreed between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi and issued after the meeting.

" It will be seen that the Viceroy emphasized the desire of His Majesty's Government that India should attain Dominion Status at the earliest possible moment and their desire to facilitate that object by all means in their power ; that he drew attention to the fact that while the federal scheme of the Act afforded the swiftest stepping stone towards Dominion Status, His Majesty's Government were only too willing when the time came to examine the whole field in consultation with all parties and interests in India.

" The Viceroy further explained that His Majesty's Government were prepared to give immediate effect to the offer which had already been made, to associate political parties in India with the Central Government on conditions which had been laid down in November. It will further be seen that Mr. Gandhi's response to this approach was a mere statement to the effect that it did not meet with the full demand of the Congress Party. That seemed to me to be a very unfortunate outcome of the meeting which had been undertaken with such high hopes and I expressed the fear that if the Congress Party maintained their attitude, the obstacles in the way of an honourable settlement would be greatly increased.

GROWING OPPOSITION

" I said that because reports which were reaching me from many quarters made it abundantly clear to me that the opposition of Muslims—and not of Muslims only—was increasing and the strength of their determination to resist the two main items in the demand of the Congress Party, namely, for a declaration by His Majesty's Government that India should become a completely independent country and for the drafting of the future constitution of the country by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage, was rapidly growing.

" And it seemed to me that further efforts must be made to persuade the leaders of different communities to meet and discuss their respective difficulties, if the gulf between them was to be prevented from widening disastrously.

" Mr. Gandhi thereupon accused me of closing the door on the Congress position. I have never desired to close any doors. From the first it was my desire to keep open the door which, it was only too painfully apparent to me, was being closed by others.

" Let me repeat what I said— ' I believe that only by means of discussion between those who can speak with authority for their followers, informal and in confidence in the first instance, is a helpful appreciation of their respective standpoints and the difficulties inherent in them, to be hoped for. If such discussion is to be fruitful, there must be on all sides a genuine will to succeed and a real spirit of compromise. The British Government cannot compel these things. They can only plead for them, as I most earnestly do '.

" I used these last words because the Viceroy had already attempted to bring the leaders of the Congress Party and the All-India Muslim League together and for the time being, at any rate, had failed. *Unhappily, as I think, the suggestion met with little encouragement from those primarily concerned, for Pandit Nehru is reported to have said in reply that he thought that it was futile to try to solve the problem by what he described as ' sweet talks ' between individuals.*

" Yet a similar course has been urged by men so differently placed as the Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India and the Prime Minister of the Punjab and I adhere to my view that it would be a most helpful first step towards ending the present deadlock.

LIBERALS' VIEWS

" I said a moment ago that it was not Muslims only who were viewing with growing concern the rigidity of the attitude of the Congress Party. Men like Dr. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, who speak for the Scheduled Castes, have given expression to their fears and I think that in order to give your Lordships a balanced picture I should call attention to the views expressed by the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India in their most recent pronouncement on the position, for the Council of that body contains many distinguished public men, who have rendered much service to their country and whose patriotism is unquestioned.

" They have stated categorically in a public resolution of February 18 that in their view it is impracticable in the present circumstances to talk of complete independence and that they equally reject the idea of a Constituent Assembly based on adult suffrage as being a suitable body to devise a constitution. They suggest as much more practical the calling of a small conference, representative of several parties, communities and interests in the country to determine the principles of the future constitution.

PARTITION SCHEME

" I now come to the events which followed upon the abortive meeting between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy—events which have unhappily proved my fears to have been only too well founded. At their annual meeting at Ramgarh in the middle of March, the Congress reiterated their demand. This was followed by a meeting of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore, at which a resolution was adopted unanimously putting forward a scheme for the future government of India involving the partition of the country into separate Hindu and Muslim States.

" I am bound to say that while I fully appreciate the grounds on which this proposal is based, I cannot but regard it as constituting something not far short of a counsel of despair, since its acceptance would be tantamount to an admission of failure of the devoted labour of Indians and Englishmen alike over a long period of concentrated effort ; for those labours have been based upon the assumption that even in the admitted diversity of India, a measure of political unity could be achieved sufficient to enable India as a whole to take its place as an integral unit in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

" This then is the position in which we find ourselves and when I say we, I do not mean His Majesty's Government and Parliament only, for we are only one of the parties concerned. I mean also the Congress, the All-India Muslim League and the Provinces, who, let it not be forgotten, constitute an element in the situation which cannot be ignored or brushed aside. It is all the more tragic because the interests and sympathies of the contending parties, in that still greater struggle which we are waging against Nazi Germany, are identical. And I ask myself, can we not even now find a golden path that leads to reconciliation ?

BRITAIN'S OFFER

" Are these differences between the various parties in reality so great as unhappily they appear to be ? I can speak neither for the Congress nor for the All-India Muslim League nor for the Princes. I can speak only for His Majesty's Government and I cannot but think that in the dust raised by the controversy, the significance of what we have undertaken to do as our contribution towards a solution of the problem has not been fully understood. Let me, therefore, repeat what it is that we have proposed. Though I attach real importance to it, I do not now dwell upon the offer which we have made with a view to securing the co-operation of political parties in the Central Government, since this offer may be regarded, apart from its intrinsic merits, as an earnest of our intentions with regard to the future.

" Let me explain. We realize that for varying reasons the three main parties to the controversy—the Congress, the All -

India Muslim League and the Princes—have serious objections to the federal provisions of the Act. And we have, therefore, said that we are desirous of consulting those interested with a view to ascertaining the lines on which they wish to see these provisions altered.

"We have made that offer because we accept the reasonableness of the claim that Indians themselves should play a vital part in devising the sort of constitution which they deem best suited to the circumstances of their country. But we have also said that we cannot wholly disassociate ourselves from the shaping of the future constitution of the country and I should have thought that our reasons for saying that would have been both understood and accepted as valid. But since that is not apparently the case, let me state them once more.

ROOTED IN HISTORY

"They are rooted in the history of the past 200 years and, however much you might like to do so, you simply cannot wipe out history and treat events recorded in its pages as if they had never happened. Take the case of the Princes to illustrate what I mean.

"Mr. Gandhi has described the Princes of India as things of our creation. I feel sure that on reflection, so fair-minded a critic as Mr. Gandhi will be willing to agree that the circumstances of the time, the force of events, their interaction and their consequences, which are things of which the content of history is made up, bear far greater responsibility for the existence of the Princes than do His Majesty's Government."

Lord Zetland proceeded: "We made treaties with them certainly, but we could not have done so, if they had not been there. Then too, we have a stake in the country which is equally the outcome of historical forces and there is the question of the defence of the country which, for the time being, at any rate, and possibly for many years to come, an independent India wholly dissociated from Great Britain would admittedly not be in a position to secure.

"And there are the minorities, to whom we are under obligations which once more are embodied in the very texture of the tapestry of history, in that they have enjoyed their peaceful evolution as a result, in part of the restoration of order by the British after the confusion and civil war which attended the dissolution of the Moghul Empire and in part, of the administrative unity established during the long term of British rule throughout the land. These are in the main the reasons why we cannot disassociate ourselves from the shaping of the future constitution of India.

"**But that does not mean that the future constitution of India is to be a constitution dictated by the Government and Parliament of this country against the wishes of the**

Indian people. The undertaking given by His Majesty's Government to examine the constitutional field, in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India, surely connotes not dictation, but negotiation.

" Admittedly a substantial measure of agreement amongst the communities in India is essential if the vision of a united India, which has inspired the labours of so many Indians and Englishmen, is to become a reality, for I cannot believe that any Government or Parliament in this country would attempt to impose by force upon, for example, the 80,000,000 Muslim subjects of His Majesty in India a form of constitution under which they would not live peacefully and contentedly. So far as it lies within my power to do so, I shall labour for reconciliation between these two great communities, Muslims and Hindus, who, after all, whatever their differences of religion, of culture and of outlook upon life, have lived side by side in India for nigh upon a thousand years.

" But I realize how restricted is my own power to influence, for the plain fact of the matter is that the Congress Party have raised in the minds of many Muslims apprehensions, which only they themselves can allay and that the question of vital import, so far as the future of India is concerned, is this—will the Congress refrain from closing the door upon that unity of India which they themselves so passionately desire ?

" It is not too much to say that upon the answer which the Congress Party will give to that question hangs the future fate of India."

LORD SNELL

Lord Snell said that the Opposition would not oppose the motions. The situation in India seemed to be becoming increasingly grave, and that, from every standpoint, was greatly to be deplored. There was a growing irritation of temper which, unless it could be composed, might lead not only to increased friction between Britain and India, but in India itself.

Non-co-operation at present might be very serious. The sympathy of the Indian people as a whole was undoubtedly with the Allies, and the step they had taken resulted from a sense of grievance. He asked the Indian people to remember that the position of the British Government was one of very great difficulty. If the British Government ignored the protests of the Muslim League and of the Scheduled Castes and the rest there might be a minority revolt leading to civil war in India. No Government could lightheartedly do anything which would bring about that grievous result.

The way out, if we would wait for it, would be to institute into the minds of Indian people another religion of common faith and loyalty to the Motherland as a whole, to regard

India as the thing which united them rather than their special interpretations of religion as something which divided them. Could not the Government declare as a solemn act of policy that Dominion Status should become effective at a certain time and issue an appeal to the whole of the Indian people to unite in making it possible ?

PROMISES TO BE HONOURED

On behalf of the Labour Party he appealed to the people of all classes in India, whether they were in a minority or not. The Labour Party themselves had grievances of their own which they could not get remedied. But they were good democrats, and their theory was that they must work the machine until they could control it. He assured the people of India that Labour was not without influence in the British Parliament and the country, and they engaged themselves so far as they could to see that the promises that had been made to India would be honoured. The Indian people could serve their interests without compromising any principle or withdrawing any demand by trusting the British people to see that India should have an equal and honoured place in the British Commonwealth of Nations.



FREE AND EQUAL PARTNERSHIP IN COMMONWEALTH

NO DESIRE TO DELAY INDIAN SETTLEMENT

" The attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth is the goal of our policy, " declared Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, replying to questions in the House of Commons on May 23, 1940.

" We have no desire," said Mr. Amery, " to delay any of the steps that may pave the way towards an agreed settlement that will take account of the legitimate claims of all communities and interests."

Mr. Amery made his statement in reply to a question by Mr. T. E. Harvey and another by Mr. Wedgwood Benn asking him to indicate the Government's attitude towards problems facing them in India.

MR. WEDGWOOD BENN asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could indicate the attitude of the Government towards problems facing them in India.

MR. HARVEY asked in view of the encouraging pronouncements of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, whether measures had yet been taken to promote a small conference of representative Indian leaders of all parties to agree upon the next steps towards a solution of the constitutional deadlock.

INDIANS' PART

MR. L. S. AMERY, replying, said : " I am glad to have this early opportunity of explaining so far as I can within the limits of an answer to a question the attitude of the Government to the present regrettable deadlock in India. The attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth is the goal of our policy as it was of the late Government."

Mr. Amery continued : " We recognize, as my predecessor made clear in his speech on April 18, that it is for Indians themselves to play a vital part in devising a form of constitution best adapted to India's conditions and outlook. A promise already given that the present scheme of the Act of 1935 and the policy and plans on which it is based are to be open to re-examination at the end of the war necessarily implies discussion and negotiation and not dictation."

" We have no desire ", continued Mr. Amery, " to delay any of the steps that may pave the way towards an agreed settlement that will take account of the legitimate claims of all communities and interests. On the contrary, we have been and are only too anxious to make our contribution towards such a settlement. The difficulty at this moment lies in the acute cleavage of opinion which has developed in India itself, affecting issues fundamental to the character of her future constitution and even to an approach to the problem.

" I refuse to regard that cleavage as unbridgeable. Even if no final agreement on the major issue is immediately in sight, I cannot think that it is beyond the resources of Indian statesmanship to find, at any rate, such a provisional accommodation as would admit of resumption of office with the general consent by Ministers in provinces and the appointment to the Governor-General's Executive Council of representative public men on the basis already offered.

" I believe that such a solution of the present deadlock, provisional no doubt but still easing the way to an eventual agreement, would be eagerly welcomed by an overwhelming body of Indian opinion.

INDIA'S SUPPORT FOR ALLIED CAUSE

" India has from the outset of the war made manifest her sympathy and support for the Allied cause and her anxiety to lend to that cause all aid in her power.

" It is the sincere and earnest hope of His Majesty's Government that in the situation which faces the whole civilized world today existing differences may be put aside and that the leaders of great political parties in India will come together in agreement in support of the common effort. The Viceroy with the approval of the Government has spared no effort to bring the parties together and endeavour to find a basis for progress which will be generally acceptable. His own readiness to help in any way he can remains unabated."

Further questions followed, MR. SORENSEN asking if the Secretary of State could confirm the report that Pandit Nehru had declared that under the existing circumstances civil disobedience was to be suspended and if so would he express appreciation of the action of Pandit Nehru ? Further, would the Secretary of State, if possible, pay a personal visit to India and see those responsible ?

Mr. Amery replied that a visit to India could only be considered when and if circumstances made it feasible.

He did not understand that civil disobedience had been suspended but that Pandit Nehru had declared that he would not take advantage of our difficulties in order to change the rate at which he was proposing to deal with this question. We appreciated it.

Mr. Harvey asked if any further steps had been taken to call together a small informal conference of Indian leaders.

Mr. Amery replied : " I think that is covered by the full answer I have given."

LORD DEVONSHIRE

In the House of Lords on May 23, 1940, LORD DEVONSHIRE, replying to Lord Snell, read a statement as regards the situation in India similar to Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons.

LORD CREWE expressed his and the House's pleasure that Lord Devonshire was carrying on more than the century old tradition of his family in taking a more important place than he had already occupied in the counsels of the Government. The House would agree that the statement just heard was as satisfactory as we could venture to hope for at this moment. It had so obviously been the fear of what he might call the more advanced section of opinion in India that this country would take advantage of the critical situation brought about by the war to postpone as far as possible or enact in a reactionary sense reforms which it has been generally stated and agreed would have to come about in regard to the government of India.

The House of Commons on June 26, 1940 passed all three readings of the Bill introduced by Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, delegating special emergency powers to the Governor-General to introduce compulsory service for military, and, in certain cases for civil and industrial, purposes, with the object of expanding India's war effort.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE REPLYING TO THE DEBATE, said : " I have been asked the effect of this Bill on Indian British subjects, the Indian Legislature and the powers and status of India in her progress towards self-government.

" **The Bill affects none of these things. It does not impinge upon the status of any Indian British subject or upon any of those powers under the India Act which are within the purview of either the provincial or Central Government of India.**

" Nor does it interfere in any way with consultations with leading representatives of Indian political opinion with regard to any matter concerning the defence or welfare, or future constitution or development of India, nor with closer co-operation either in the provincial Ministries or at the Centre such as I appealed for in the House the other day, such as Lord Linlithgow is at all times anxious to secure and is making special efforts to secure at this moment.

" **In none of these respects does this Bill affect or in any way prejudice development towards the constitutional goal which again and again has been clearly reaffirmed by my predecessor and by myself in this House. It does not affect the existing Constitution of India in any respect.**

" On the other hand, I think it would be hardly advisable in a measure of this purely technical character to introduce a general preamble merely reasserting what has been said before. After all later this evening I am introducing another Bill of a purely technical character, also bearing entirely upon European British subjects in India.

" I think it would be inappropriate if a general preamble referring to our political ideals in India were inserted in this Bill. It would cheapen our sincerity if we were to introduce any general terms in any Bill coming before this House. Moreover it would be clearly undesirable to introduce into a technical matter of this sort definite matters of constitutional progress not only requiring the agreement of this House but requiring some further advance towards the agreement of India itself.

NO EFFECT ON INDIANS

" This Bill in fact only deals with matters that were already reserved to this House in its relation to executive government in India. In the first place it gives a definite authority from this House to the measure affecting the Army, Navy, Air Force and Discipline Acts ; it gives the Governor-General authority from this House to frame a definite ordinance to apply this to whom it affects. It only applies to those who are concerned, namely, European subjects. It has no effect upon British Indian subjects.

" It is strictly limited in its scope and that applies also to other provisions of the measure. I think it would be a greater exaggeration to suggest that this is conferring a wide measure of autocratic home rule on the Governor-General.

" Apart from this specific permission that we are giving the Governor-General to frame ordinances affecting the services of Europeans in India, it only applies to a particular emergency which might arise within the wider emergency period. There is firstly a general emergency period under Section 3 and then a particular emergency under Section 4.

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL UNDIMINISHED

" Where it is physically impossible for the Governor-General to secure the necessary permission from home or secure the necessary authority from home and he has to act under his own discretion only for the time of that particular emergency, that does not in any way diminish the general control of the Secretary of State or this House.

" If the Governor-General or the Governor in such an emergency took a line that would be inconsistent with the general policy of Government, it would naturally be amended or corrected as soon as communications are reopened."

Mr. Amery said he imagined that the Governor-General had explained the purpose of the measure in India or no doubt would be doing so. With regard to the desire expressed that the subject of India's general contribution to the common effort during the war might form an occasion for discussion before long he added: " So far as I am concerned, I shall naturally welcome the occasion to let the House know what is being done in India and what we hope to do. "

The Bill was read a second time and passed through the committee stage without amendment and was given a third reading without division and sent to the House of Lords. Its passage through the House of Commons took 90 minutes. The House of Lords passed the Bill through all the stages the following day.

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CONTEXT.

OBJECTIONS ANALYSED

MR. AMERY EXPLAINS VICEROY'S OFFER

Initiatig the debate on India in the House of Commons on Aug. 14, 1940 Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said:

" I HOPE I MAY CLAIM THE INDULGENCE OF THE HOUSE this evening, not only because this is the first time after a long interval of years that I have spoken at this box, but also because of the importance and difficulty of the subject with which I have to deal. To keep one's balance steadily along a

knife-edge of ice in the High Alps is a much easier task than threading one's way without stumbling or offence through the intricate, pitfall-strewn maze of the present Indian situation.

" So I trust that members, before they enter upon a discussion of the important statement issued by the Viceroy last week will bear patiently with me while I endeavour to say something about the background of the political controversy and deadlock which has led up to that statement. For I think it is only in that way that the full significance and purport of Lord Linlithgow's initiative and of the decision of His Majesty's Government in this matter can be rightly understood.

REMARKABLE EFFORT

" Five years have passed since the passage of the Government of India Act. That measure, the fruit of a long series of commissions and conferences as well as of many stirring debates, represented a remarkable effort of constructive statesmanship on the part of this House. So far as the provincial part of the Act is concerned, it presently came into operation and is still being worked successfully in four out of the eleven provinces.

" If it is temporarily suspended in the other seven, that has not been due to any failure on the part of provincial Ministries to carry out the responsibilities entrusted to them or to any conflict between them and the provincial Governors or the Central Government but to purely extraneous causes of which I shall have something to say in a moment.

" Whether the Central provisions of the Act might have worked equally well if they could have been put into operation promptly may be an open question. What is certain is that the delays involved, inevitable as they may have been, have afforded occasion for the development of a volume of adverse criticism and opposition in the face of which their enforcement could no longer serve the purpose for which they were originally devised. What is, however, essential to keep in mind is that this opposition comes from different quarters and. indeed, is based on opposite reasons.

" **The constitutional deadlock in India is not so much between His Majesty's Government and a consentient Indian opposition as between the main elements in India's own national life. It can, therefore, only be resolved not by the relatively easy method of a bilateral agreement between His Majesty's Government and representatives of India but by the much more difficult method of a multilateral agreement in which His Majesty's Government is only one of the parties concerned.**

" There is, first of all the Indian National Congress. Its leaders have repudiated the Act of 1935, in its federal aspect,

as a denial both of India's right to immediate complete independence and of the principles of democracy. It is, in pursuance of that repudiation, because India's consent was not formally invited before she was committed to war, that they called out the Congress Ministries in the provinces. Their demand has been that India's independence should be recognised forthwith and that Indians should devise their own constitution in a Constituent Assembly elected by universal adult suffrage over all India, including the territories of the Indian Princes.

THE CONGRESS MACHINE

" In the last few weeks they have declared their willingness in the meantime to join in the war efforts through a National Government commanding the confidence of the elected Assembly. The Congress leaders are men inspired by an ardent national patriotism. They have built up a remarkable organisation, far the most efficient political machine in India, of which they are justly proud. They have striven to make that organisation national and all-embracing

" If only they had succeeded, if the Congress could in fact speak—as it professes to speak—for all the main elements in India's national life, then, however advanced their demands, our problem would have been in many respects far easier than it is today.

" It is true that they are numerically the largest single party in British India. But their claim in virtue of that fact to speak for India is utterly denied by very important elements in India's complex national life. These others assert their right to be regarded not as mere numerical minorities but as separate constituent factors in any future Indian polity, entitled to be treated as such in any discussions for the shaping of India's future constitution.

THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

" The foremost among these elements stands the great Muslim community, ninety millions strong and constituting a majority both in North-Western and North-Eastern India but scattered as a minority over the whole sub-continent. In religious and social outlook, in historic tradition and culture, the difference between them and their Hindu fellow-countrymen goes as deep, if not deeper than any similar difference in Europe.

" That need not and does not prevent pleasant social intercourse or fruitful political co-operation. It has not, in fact, prevented individual Muslims taking an active part in the work of the Congress Party. But, as a body, the Muslims have stood aloof.

" Their quarrel with the scheme of the existing Act is not that it fails to give that clear majority rule which the Congress asks for, but that it would give too great powers to a Hindu majority at the Centre. They will have nothing to do with a constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly elected by a majority vote in geographical constituencies. They claim the right in any constitutional discussions to be regarded as an entity and are determined only to accept a constitution whose actual structure will secure their position as an entity against the operations of a mere numerical majority.

" The same, though in a lesser degree perhaps, applies to the great body of what are known as the Scheduled Castes who feel, in spite of Mr. Gandhi's earnest endeavours on their behalf, that, as a community, they stand outside the main body of the Hindu community which is represented by the Congress.

PRINCES' OBJECTIONS

" The Indian Princes, again, with territories covering a third of all India and including nearly a quarter of its population, constitute another entity or group of entities which refuse to be assimilated to the simple democratic formula propounded by the Congress. *They object to the existing scheme as interfering too greatly with their existing powers. They naturally object even more strongly to the proposed Constituent Assembly or to any constitution which might emerge from it.*

" Yet they are an essential element in any Indian federation. What is more they can make a valuable contribution to it. In many ways their territories are the most characteristically Indian part of India. They have equally much to gain from a closer contact with the rest of India in constitutional as well as economic development, but it is idle to suppose that such a development can take place overnight or must be forced upon them before they can be allowed to play their part in a federal scheme.

INDIAN UNITY

" It is essential to keep these differences in mind when we talk of finding a solution for India's constitutional problems. They are at the moment still unbridged. I refuse to regard them as unbridgeable. Underlying them there is, after all the fact that India is a self-contained and distinctive region of the world. There is the fact that India can boast of an ancient civilisation and of a long history common to all its peoples of which all Indians are equally proud.

" Is there any Indian who is not proud to be called an Indian ? Or any Indian or any community who has not felt a thrill of pride to be a fellow-countryman of a man like Rabin-

dranath Tagore, whom Oxford has just honoured in so unique a manner ?

" Underlying them, too, is the unity not merely of administration but of political thought and aspiration, which we here can justly claim to have contributed to India's national life. India cannot be unitary in the sense that we are in this island, but she can still be a unity. India's future house of freedom has room for many mansions.

" In no respect has the essential unity of India's outlook been shown more clearly than in the attitude which all parties and communities have from the outset of the war taken up in detestation of Nazi aggression and in their endorsement of our common cause.

" The greater our difficulties, the graver the disasters that befell the Allied arms, the clearer has been the realisation in the minds of the Indian public that our cause is India's cause, the stronger the wave of sympathetic emotion for this country in its single-handed fight, the more widespread the feeling that a purely political deadlock affecting the issues of today and tomorrow should not be allowed to stand in the way of India contributing a united and wholehearted effort to the cause upon whose victory depends the preservation of all her ideals and the fulfilment of all her aspirations.

THE ACCEPTED GOAL

" It was in this atmosphere that the Viceroy felt that the moment had come for an initiative which should at the same time enlist all elements of political leadership in India behind her war effort, and also make at any rate a beginning in breaking down the existing political deadlock and so pave the way towards an early achievement of that goal of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which, to quote the concluding words of his statement, is the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament.

" The immediate offer contained in the Viceroy's statement is that of an expansion of his Executive Council so as to include in it leading members of all political parties as well as the establishment of a wider War Advisory Council on an all-India basis, associating with the conduct of the war representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole. The enlarged Executive Council will, of course, under the existing constitution, still be responsible to the Governor-General and cannot be responsible in the strict constitutional sense to the legislature.

" The Congress have asked that a provisional National Government should be constituted at the Centre which, though formed as a transitory measure, should be such as to command the confidence of all elected elements in the Central

Legislature. In inviting a certain number of representative Indians to join his Council the Viceroy will naturally take appropriate steps to ensure that the new members do, in fact, reflect the opinion of the parties from which they are chosen.

" If, however, the Congress claim is that members of the Viceroy's Council should be dependent on the support of elected members of the Legislature, it is, in fact, a demand for changing the whole basis of the Indian Government in the middle of the war.

AN OPPORTUNITY

" More than that, if the House has followed the analyss I have attempted to give of the attitude of the different elements in India to the constitutional problem, it will realise that it is a demand which really raises the whole unresolved constitutional issue and prejudges it in the sense favoured by the Congress and rejected by the minorities. There can be no agreement on a Government responsible to the legislature until there is agreement upon the nature of the legislature and upon the whole structure of the constitution.

" The Viceroy's offer, on the other hand, presents to the Indian leaders an opportunity of taking an effective and important part in the Government of India and bringing their influence to bear on the conduct of the war without prejudice to their several positions. They will have committed themselves to nothing, except working together in the present emergency for the safety and good of India and for the common cause in which they all believe.

" In spite of the discouraging attitude shown in Congress quarters, I still hope that they will all be willing to take their part. If that should unfortunately not prove to be the case, Lord Linlithgow will, of course, still go ahead, prepared to work with those who will work with him and with each other.

" The Viceroy's immediate offer does not, however, stand by itself. His initiative has been concerned, as I said just now, not only with India's fuller participation in the actual present war effort but also with paving the way towards a speedier attainment of the goal at which we are aiming.

EQUAL PARTNERSHIP

" May I say a word about that goal—Dominion Status, as it has commonly been described or, as I prefer to describe it, a free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth. It is not, as is so often implied when Dominion Status is contrasted with full independence, an inferior or dependent status. The status in the Commonwealth of the Dominions—or of this country, for that matter, for our status is the same though not, perhaps, our stature—is indeed superior to that of nations that perforce stand alone.

" How many so-called independent nations are really free to live their own lives as they will, even when they are not directly overrun or dismembered by more powerful neighbours ? We of the British Commonwealth enjoy something more. We enjoy the security, the prosperity, the friendship and, I would add, the enhanced dignity in the eyes of the world which come to each of us as a result of our free and equal association.

" There is no higher status in the world than that, and that is the status which we have declared to be the goal of our policy in India. *It should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life.*

" His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility.

" The recognition of these obligations is not an impairment of status but only a recognition of facts, historic or geographical, which differentiate the present position of India from that of other Dominions. As the late Lord Balfour pointed out in his remarkable exposition of the nature of British Commonwealth relations in the constitutional report of the Imperial Conference of 1926, ' the principles of equality and similarity appropriate to status do not universally extend to function', and he instanced in particular the functions of defence and foreign policy.

" It is in respect of these, for example, that the position of India both in virtue of her historic military organisation and of her geographical position differs from that of the Dominions. But the difference that arises from these and similar obligations is one of degree and not of kind. For in the case of every Dominion there has always been some measure of adjustment, formal or informal, to British obligations. Subject to these matters the desire of His Majesty's Government is that the new constitution of India should be devised by Indians for themselves ; and should, may I quote the words again, ' originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life.'

BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITIES

" That task is to be undertaken with the least possible delay after the war by a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life. That means a body constituted in agreement between the representatives of the elements. It does not mean a body set up on lines which may commend themselves to one particular element, however influential, but which may be regarded as wholly unacceptable to the minority elements.

" His Majesty's Government have made it clear that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life.

" In this matter, too, there is no departure from the principles which have governed the coming into existence of every Dominion constitution. In every case in the Dominions there has been antecedent agreement, not only between the geographical units, but also between the main racial elements—English and French in Canada, British and Boer in South Africa—both as to the method of framing the constitution and as to the constitution itself.

" Agreement, consent, is indeed the foundation of all free government, of all true democracy. Decision by majority is not so much of the essence of democracy as a practical convenience which presupposes for its proper working an antecedent general consent to the constitution itself. It has, indeed, in most federal constitutions been limited in various ways in order to safeguard the separate interests of the federating elements. To describe the need for such agreement as a veto on constitutional progress is, I think, to do an injustice to the patriotism and sense of responsibility of those concerned. Agreement means not veto by any element but compromise and willingness to compromise in India as elsewhere is an essential test of the sense of responsibility on which free government must be based.

OPEN TO RE-EXAMINATION

" On the other hand, within the limitations imposed by the necessity of securing agreement, the whole constitutional field is open to re-examination. It may, indeed, prove to be the case that it is by entirely novel departures from the existing scheme, whether in the relation of the Centre to the provinces or to the States or in the methods of election and representation, that an agreement can be reached which is unattainable within the framework of the existing Act based, as it is, on the traditions of India's administrative past and on our customary British constitutional conceptions.

" So much for the question of method. There is the question, no less insistently asked, as to the date. Here the answer given by the statement is also clear. The decisive resolution of these great constitutional issues, the actual setting up of a new system of Government, cannot come at the moment when we are engaged in a desperate struggle for existence. How soon it can come after the war is essentially in India's own hands.

" The experience of every Dominion has shown that these fundamental issues are not lightly or speedily settled. What I have told the House of the complexity and difficulty of

India's peculiar problems does not suggest that her experience in this respect will be essentially different from that of others.

" There is always an immense amount of preliminary discussion, inquiry and negotiation which has to be got through before the real decisive meetings take place.

" There is absolutely no reason why any of this indispensable preliminary work should wait for the end of the war. The more completely and thoroughly it is done now, the wider the agreement reached now as to the form of the post-war representative body, as to the methods and procedure by which we should arrive at its conclusions and as to the principles and outlines of the constitution itself, the more speedily can everything be settled after the war is over.

BRITAIN'S ATTITUDE

" **So far as His Majesty's Government are concerned, they have offered to welcome and promote in any way possible such preliminary friendly discussion and investigation and have equally promised to lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters when it comes to the subsequent task of finally settling the constitution. They can do no more. The responsibility for securing a speedy, as well as a satisfactory result rests upon Indian's themselves.**

" I submit that the Viceroy's initiative represents a sincere effort on our part to make such contribution as we can towards the smooth and speedy attainment of the desired goal. Others must also make their contribution. No one element or party can hope to get all that it wants, or at least to get all at once. If we agree upon the end, let us all work for it with sympathy, understanding, patience and goodwill towards each other. That, at any rate, is the spirit in which His Majesty's Government are resolved to persevere in the carrying out of the policy which they have now defined. So far as we in this country are concerned, we have every reason to be proud of what we have contributed in the past to the history and to the life of India.

" **But I, at any rate, believe with Lord Macaulay that the proudest day of our history will be the day when we see India joining, a free and willing partner, in the brotherhood of the British peoples.**

" As for India, she will give, I know, her effective answer to tyranny and aggression in the field of war. But she can give an even more conclusive answer in the field of constructive statesmanship.

" In a world threatened by all the evil forces of hatred and destruction, of partisan and racial intolerance, there could be no more hopeful portent, nor more assured omen of the ultimate victory of our cause than that the leaders of

India's millions should, in peaceful agreement, resolve not only their own perplexing discords, but also afford yet one further example within our British Commonwealth of the power of goodwill to reconcile freedom and unity and, through our Commonwealth to bridge the age-long gulf between Europe and Asia. Then, indeed, could we say with justice that the dawn of a better day for the world was heralded in the East."

REPLY TO DEBATE

Replying to the debate in which Mr. C. G. Ammon, Mr. H. Graham White, Sir Hugh O'Neill, Sir Frederick Sykes, Mr. R. Sorensen, Mr. A. V. Hill, Sir Alfred Knox, Mr. Vernon Bartlett, Sir Stanley Reed and Major Milner spoke, Mr. AMERY said :

" With regard to the numbers, composition and powers of the Executive Council, I have been asked a number of questions. As regards the numbers that, of course, must depend to some extent upon the nature of the response which is made to the Viceroy's offer, but in any case it does involve an appreciable enlargement of the present numbers on the Executive.

> **" The new members of the Executive will be on a footing of entire equality with the existing members of the Executive Council. They will hold definite portfolios (cheers). They will exercise responsibilities both of their important departmental work and of the influence which they will naturally exert in the collective discussions of the Viceroy's Council.**

" They are not, of course, nominees of the parties, but on the other hand, it is obviously implicit in the whole purpose of the Viceroy's policy that they should be representative of the parties from which they are selected and they will no doubt be selected after discussion and consideration of names informally submitted (cheers).

" They will not in the strict constitutional sense be responsible to the Assembly but, clearly, if there is that response which the Viceroy hopes for and if all the leading parties are represented in the Executive then clearly that Executive will naturally enjoy a wide measure of confidence and support in the Assembly. On the other hand, I cannot accept the suggestion that the enlarged Executive can be converted at a time like this into a parliamentary ministry responsible to the majority in Parliament. That involves a complete inversion of the present Indian situation and, what is more, prejudices all the constitutional problems which are still entirely unresolved as between the parties. Therefore, that is not in the present circumstances a practical suggestion.

" As to what is to follow in the case of the provincial Councils that, naturally, must depend again very largely upon the nature of the response at the Centre and the way the new

development works out. That would clearly have its effect upon the provinces and must be judged in the light of the result at the Centre.

WAR ADVISORY COUNCIL

" The War Advisory Council would be a considerably larger body of some twenty or more. Its function will be to bring together a wide range of experience and special knowledge from all over India in order, on the one hand to inform and advise the Government of India as regards the conduct of India's war effort and the development of India's resources and, on the other hand, to go away from these consultations in order severally to stimulate that war effort in the various fields, geographical or industrial, from which the members of the Advisory Council will be drawn."

Sir Hugh O'Neill (interjecting) said: " Will they be purely Indian members ? "

" Obviously, the European industrial and commercial community in India is of considerable importance and would naturally be considered for representation on the wider body. The great thing is that this wider body should assemble for the Government of India their knowledge in every important field of India's national life and in turn exercise influence upon the war effort in every field.

" Many questions have been asked on the nature and constitution of the future body which is to consider and frame the constitution of India after the war. The matter is described in the White Paper and I pointed out in my speech that it is most important that the body should be arrived at by agreement. It is not for me here to prescribe the nature of that body. I would certainly say that there is no type of body which is ruled out provided it is agreed upon by these principal elements and is in that sense representative of those elements. "

FRAMEWORK OF CONSTITUTION

Mr. Amery then read from the White Paper a statement regarding the body and added: " That would not mean that this body would be a merely round table conference or commission whose views may or may not be taken into serious consideration. The whole intention is that the work of this body should be taken seriously and that it should provide the main framework of the future constitution of India."

Sir Alfred Knox interposed: " The recommendations will finally come before this House ?"

Mr. Amery replied: " Exactly as in the case of the various Dominions. Our endeavour is to bring India on practical lines on the same method as has been followed in the case

of the Dominions. In every case their constitutions have, after a certain amount of discussion and consideration, come before this House and given the constitutional ratification the House has undoubtedly to give.

FUTURE POSITION OF PRINCES

" Regarding the future position of the Princes, these obligations, insofar as the Princes have not fully entered into the new constitution scheme, will, of course, remain in effect. *These are standing obligations, just as in the Dominion of South Africa there were obligations which continued after the creation of the new Dominion.*

" As to the preparations for the meeting of that body, I have been asked whether the members of the large Executive were to be the body to begin that preliminary work. They certainly have not been selected for that purpose, but for the very definite and important duties they are to perform. What is hoped is that in the atmosphere of co-operation in the war effort by a large Executive and by the War Advisory Council, the differences, which have been intensified by what I might call the long-range political cannonading of the parties at each other may get another perspective and may seem less, or their surmounting seem more desirable, in the light of greater consciousness of India's unity and India's place in the world.

" If that test of investigation, of study and discussion is begun now, the further it is carried, the more thoroughly it is worked out, obviously the more speedily can the actual reconstruction of the Government of India take place after the war. This is a matter which must rise out of agreement among Indians themselves.

TREATMENT AS EQUALS

" That does not mean that I entirely agree that we should sit aside. We shall certainly make every effort to encourage the horse to go to the water but it may not always be in our power to make him drink. That brings me to one note that ran largely through the speech of Mr. Sorensen. I entirely agree with him that it is our business to try and understand India's outlook and point of view and deal with it not from the point of view of a superior dealing with an inferior but as equals. On the other hand, I think that he greatly oversimplified the problem when he suggested that this was a question of imposing the will of this country on the will of India. It is far more, believe me, a question of reconciling the conflicting wills of India. At present that conflict of wills is still unresolved and still very serious. We must not under-estimate the seriousness of those difficulties or believe that they can be brushed aside by treating them as if India were a homogeneous country like this and as if its great ele-

ments, the elements of tens of millions could be regarded merely as those continually fluctuating minorities with which we are accustomed to dealing in this country. They are separate factors, entities which have got to be fitted somehow into the composite mosaic of India's future constitution.

"EXAMPLE TO WORLD"

"At the same time, I do believe sincerely that there is enough of a wider patriotism and of statesmanship in India to resolve those difficulties and differences. It is to that statesmanship in India that we have got to look in these matters. We can contribute, I hope, our share of statesmanship, of goodwill and of understanding."

"I am well disposed to believe," concluded Mr. Amery, "that India will also contribute her share and that out of our joint efforts there may emerge something of which the Briton and Indian alike may be proud for generations to come and it may make this contribution not only to the permanent strength and prosperity of our own British Commonwealth but also by its example to the regeneration of a distressed world."



CONTEXT.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMMONWEALTH'S CAUSE

MR. AMERY'S REPLY TO COMMONS DEBATE ON WAR EFFORT

Replying to the debate on India's war effort in the House of Commons on November 20, 1940, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, told the House something of the contribution which India had made, and was preparing to make, to the Commonwealth's cause.

Mr. Amery recalled India's great part in the last war, when she put over a million and a half trained men into the field, and said India would do it again, provided the equipment was there.

Answering criticisms about the political situa-

MR. AMERY SAID: OUR OFFER REMAINS OPEN. IT IS FOR Indians themselves to decide how far they can go in order to avail themselves of the opportunity for power and responsibility presented to them.

So far as the future of India's constitution is concerned, we have declared our willingness that the framing of India's future constitutional life should be primarily the responsibility of the Indians themselves. And so far as our own control is concerned it shall only be limited by due provision being made for those historical responsibilities which our long connexion with India imposes.

The most important of those responsibilities is the responsibility for defence and, consequently, for foreign policy.

I do not believe there is any Indian who does not know perfectly that, even if the independence of India were declared to-

tion, the Secretary of State regretted that the Congress had rejected a great opportunity of real power and responsibility. He added that there was still nothing to prevent responsible leaders in India from thinking out among themselves the difficult and complex problem of an Indian constitution.

morrow, India would still have for a considerable period of years to make use of the British framework in the Indian Army, of British troops now in India and the main body of the British Air Force while the Indian Air Force grows, and also of the British Navy.

Is it conceivable that this House would be prepared to put these forces in India at India's disposal without assuring itself of some guarantees as to the use to be made of these forces both in India's external relations and in her internal administration? That, at any rate, is the limitation which does not result from our reluctance to concede more power, but is inherent in the situation and can only be modified as India is, as I hope she will rapidly be, in a position to defend herself.

EXPANSION OF VICEROY'S COUNCIL

Let me turn to a more immediate object. Does anyone suggest really that, as a practical measure in the middle of a great struggle for existence, the whole basis of administrative and legislative power in India should be changed over and that administration of India's war effort should be placed entirely and unreservedly in the hands of an entirely new Executive responsible to a legislature elected for a very different purpose and under very different conditions ?

On the other hand, what is it we have offered ? What is the offer which is still open to leaders of political opinion in India ? It is that they should come to the Viceroy's Executive Council not as mere advisers but as Ministers responsible for great Departments of State, and to come into that Council in such numbers as to constitute a substantial majority over European members of the Viceroy's Council.

Surely a body of that sort, even though its primary responsibility is to the Viceroy and not to Parliament, is a body which must carry great weight with all sections of Indian opinion, and, with the Viceroy and with this House, a body of that sort working, unitedly together for the carrying on of India's war effort would be dealing with great issues.

OPPORTUNITY OF REAL POWER

More than that, a step of that magnitude once taken remains. *Once the principle is established that the Viceroy's Council must consist of a majority of Indian members that principle naturally remains.* I regret deeply, from the point of view of the relations between the British Government of India and the future Government of India which will be established, that the Congress should have rejected so great an opportunity of real power and responsibility.

There remains the no less important and far more difficult problem of the relationship of the various elements in India.

The future constitution of India must emerge from agreement between the main elements in India's national life.

I would again point out that to attempt to set up at this moment an Executive Council composed of Ministers responsible to anyone else but the Viceroy would at once raise all those constitutional problems which are yet unsettled.

EASTERN GROUP CONFERENCE

For nearly three weeks now representatives of the Governments of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia, East African Colonies, Palestine, Burma and Malaya have been conferring with the Government of India and with Sir Alexander Roger's Mission in Delhi.

Their immediate object is simple if important. It is to see how in co-operation they can contribute, for their own defence and for the common cause, the very maximum of those elements of supply and equipment upon which the expansion of the Empire's armies must depend. In this respect they are, if I may quote from the Prime Minister's inspiring message to the Conference, engaged in calling into being a new world of armed strength to redress the balance of the old.

> **It may well be that Delhi is laying the foundations of that army of Empire whose first contingents are defending the Middle East today, but which is destined in its ultimate plenitude of power to march in the van of a liberated Europe.**

This aspect of the Delhi Conference, important as it is, is not the only one. It is of the very essence of our conception of the British Commonwealth today that it is not of the nature of a solar system with a central sun and the satellite planets revolving round it, but of a partnership of free and equal nations girdling the globe. Its activities, the spirit of unity which binds it together, do not reside in any one part or depend upon any central member of the Commonwealth where such action can best further the causes to which we are all dedicated.

From India's point of view, too, this is a most significant gathering. It is a conference of the Empire held in India, under the presidency of an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive, Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan. That is a fact which is both a practical recognition of India's growing status in the Commonwealth, as well as a contribution between India and her British neighbours in the Southern Hemisphere.

Last but not least its outcome is destined to be that growth in India's ability to provide her own defence and that enrichment of her productive power which are the real sources of a true independence, and which will do more than anything else to strengthen her claim to that full and equal partnership for mutual security and mutual welfare to which we in this House wish to see her attain.

THE INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

I must remind the House that the resolution passed at Delhi on July 7, for which Congress representatives were responsible, not only asked for an unequivocal declaration of complete independence for India, but as an immediate step for a provisional National Government at the Centre which should be such as would command the confidence of all elected elements in the Central Legislature and in closest co-operation with responsible Governments in the provinces. To be perfectly frank, that means a Ministry in fact under the control of the same Congress Executive that called out the Ministers from the administration of the provinces which they would have been quite content to go on administering to this day.

No Muslim leader would have been prepared to serve under such conditions. Therefore, the only solution at the moment, until we have got nearer to agreement on principles, is one in which as individuals, political leaders would join the Viceroy's Executive uncommitted as regards the future constitution of India and without prejudice.

DISAGREEMENT ON DETAIL

Those proposals were rejected out of hand by the Congress. The attitude of the Congress in this matter is one of "all or nothing." It means not merely unqualified recognition of India's independence but also independence of India governed by the Congress on Congress lines. To accept that position, or even to move towards it, would at once create infinite trouble in India and would go far towards threatening all hopes of bringing about a self-governing India united in some measure at any rate within itself.

Other elements in India have accepted and welcomed our general proposals as to the future shaping of India's constitution. Even as regards the more immediate policy of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, it was not rejected by any of them in principle but only broke down on detail. In the case of the Muslim League they broke down because they asked for more places on the Executive than the Viceroy was prepared to concede, and because guarantees demanded against the Congress changing its mind and coming into the Executive later without the League's approval also, in his view, went too far.

In the case of the Mahasabha, an orthodox Hindu organization, they too put their claims too high as a rejoinder to the Muslim demand, although I believe they were prepared to modify them afterwards.

At any rate these proposals, apart from the intransigent attitude of the Congress, have made a real substantial difference to the general outlook in India.

DESIRE TO LEAVE DOOR OPEN

At the same time, in view not only of the Congress objection but of the hesitant attitude of other parties the Viceroy was put into a position of no little difficulty. It was of course always possible for him to fill up an enlarged Executive somehow with individuals of high character and ability. But that would not have carried out our clear desire to associate political leaders of India more directly with the Government of India during the war. It would have closed the door for a considerable time to come, and the Viceroy's desire is to leave the door open.

Consequently he came very reluctantly to the decision to suspend the expansion of the Executive and the formation of a War Advisory Council for the time being. After all, the Viceroy's object can be attained as soon as sufficient representative elements show their readiness to come in. Meanwhile our wider declaration as to the future still stands. There is nothing today to prevent serious-minded and responsible leaders of the Indian nation coming together and beginning to think out among themselves the great problems of India's constitution.

MR. GORDON MACDONALD : Provided they are not in jail.

MR. AMERY : That depends upon their action, but even there they will have plenty of opportunities for correspondence and study. At the end of the war they could bring forward a constructive thought-out plan upon which Indian public opinion could work which could then be converted into actuality with the minimum delay.

SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN

Perhaps I may now return to the action of the Congress. That body under Mr. Gandhi's leadership has decided to express its dissatisfaction by a campaign of defiance of law by instalments. I want to be quite clear that this is not a campaign merely to preach the doctrine of pacifism.

The Viceroy was willing to concede to Mr. Gandhi and his followers the same rights of expressing conscientious opinion about war in general, as we concede in this country. That however is not, apart from the attitude of Mr. Gandhi himself, the attitude of his colleagues. What they have demanded is the right to urge Indians not to recruit, not to work in munition factories or to contribute voluntary contributions to the war committees which have been established in almost every village in India. That is a campaign which here or in any other country no Government could entertain in time of war.

It was launched by an earnest and philanthropic follower of Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Vinoba Bhave, who was sentenced to short-term imprisonment. He was to have been followed by Pandit

Nehru, however, who outstripped Mr. Gandhi both in time and, I believe, in the character of the speeches he made. These speeches were violent and deliberately provocative and were deliberately aimed at hampering the war effort and did so in effect as well as in intention.

EARL WINTERTON: Pandit Nehru challenged the Government to arrest him.

MR. AMERY: His speech caused the gravest anxiety to the Government of the United Provinces. I ask the House whether it would have been fair that the Government should have allowed such speeches from a man of Pandit Nehru's eminent position to go unpunished while punishing lesser fry? Would it have been fair to Indian Ministers in the neighbouring provinces who are still carrying on under the Act of 1935 and are loyally helping forward the war effort and have dealt firmly with seditious activities?

In any case Pandit Nehru's sentence was a matter not for the Executive but for the law. If the sentence is judged by him to be excessive he has the right of appeal. In any case he has been in prison under "A" category, under which he is allowed books, his own quarters, the company of others, frequent letters, personal interviews and a great many compensations which deprived him of little except the liberty to go about repeating the speeches he has recently made.

I would only say in conclusion that nobody regrets more than the Viceroy and myself that we should have to deal with this matter. But we have our duty to maintain law and order, particularly at the present time, and ensure that nothing is done to prejudice the war effort. After all, India at this moment is, as we are here, fighting for her very existence.

NOT TO VISIT INDIA

For any Government to submit inertly at such a time as this to deliberate attempts, either by an individual or a political organization, to weaken the war effort, kill recruitment or hinder production would mean in India, as it would here, an abdication of all claim to be a Government and would mean an abandonment of the cause which is India's cause as well as our own.

Subject to that, the Government of India have no desire in any respect to change their policy either towards the Congress or towards any other party. Our proposals are on record in two White Papers and have been widely recognized as generous, and I cannot see in what directions we could have gone further and carried India with us. Our offer remains open. It is for Indians themselves to decide how far they can go in order to avail themselves of the opportunity for power and responsibility presented to them.

MR. G. MACDONALD : Are we to take it from this statement that His Majesty's Government in this country are not going to make any further effort whatever to ease the situation ?

MR. AMERY : The door is open all the time.

I am afraid that what I have said this afternoon will have been in vain if I have not made it clear that the difficulty lies and suspicion goes deeper, as between different elements in India, than it does between India and the British Government, *and while the situation is unchanged I think it would be only fruitless and embarrassing for the Secretary of State to pay a visit to India.*

INDIA'S WAR EFFORT

Earlier, referring to India's war effort, Mr. Amery said : In respect of something like 90 per cent of military supplies India will soon be self-sufficient so far as the requirements of her own forces are concerned. Over a very large range of supplies, indeed, she can furnish far more than her own requirements. To quote only a few instances : she has sent overseas 100,000,000 rounds of small arms ammunition and 400,000 rounds of gun ammunition, 1,000,000,000 sandbags, 1,000,000 pairs of boots, and 30,000 tents. Broadly speaking, she is aiming, in co-operation with the Dominions and Colonies east and south of Suez, at meeting in respect of a very wide and steadily increasing range, the whole field of military equipment, all the needs of our armies in the Middle and Far East to whatever number of divisions they may be raised. Even so there is still abundant room for the further expansion of India's war effort.

In order to afford India the benefit of our latest experience in this direction, as well as to furnish the Ministry of Supply here with a revised picture of India's potentialities and of the help required to convert them into actualities, the then Minister of Supply sent out some three months ago, at my suggestion, a strong technical mission under the leadership of Sir Alexander Roger. I believe that, with Sir Alexander Roger's drive and vision and with the eager co-operation both of the Government and of private industry in India, the Mission will be able to initiate substantial advance, both in volume and in range of production, the fruits of which will become increasingly apparent as the war continues.

My Rt. Hon'ble Friend the Minister of Labour and myself have been concerting arrangements both for the dispatch to India of an additional supply of competent instructors and for bringing young Indian workers over here where, working side by side with British workers, they may learn not only our most up-to-date methods but something of the spirit of British industrial organization as displayed in its co-operation with the war effort.

So much for the material aspect of India's share in the common effort against the common enemy. What of the moral and spiritual side ? Where does India stand in the struggle against the forces of tyranny and oppression ? Where are her sympathies enlisted ? With which side are her interests identified ?

One form in which that sympathy has been expressed has been in the contributions which have poured in spontaneously from Indians in every walk of life, from Ruling Princes to working men, some giving lakhs of rupees, some only a few annas, both to the Viceroy's General War Purposes Fund and to every fund raised in this country for purposes connected with the war.



CONTEXT.

" ESCAPE FROM TYRANNY OF PHRASES "

LORD ZETLAND'S APPEAL TO CONGRESS LEADERS

An appeal to leaders of the Indian National Congress to " escape from the tyranny of phrases " was made by Lord Zetland in an exclusive interview with the " Sunday Times " on February 11, 1940.

LORD ZETLAND SAID THAT EXPERIENCE OF THE WORKING of the constitution embodied in the Act of 1935 had made it clear that the problem of the minorities must be taken in hand by Indians themselves. " Long-range bombardment by leading personalities from platform and Press is little likely to lead anywhere. What is wanted is escape from the tyranny of phrases and a descent from idealism to realism, from the abstract to the concrete.

" I believe that only by means of discussion among those who can speak with authority for their followers, informally and in confidence in the first instance, is helpful appreciation of their respective standpoints and the difficulties inherent in them to be hoped for. If such a discussion is to be fruitful, there must be on all sides a genuine will to succeed and a real spirit of compromise. The British Government cannot compel these things ; they can only plead for them, as I most earnestly do."

CONGRESS ADAMANT

Asked about the termination of the Gandhi-Viceroy conversations, Lord Zetland said that he was disappointed and bewildered ; he had expected that the discussions would have been more prolonged and more fruitful but he was glad to think that the door was not closed to their resumption.

The explanation would seem to be found in the statement by Mr. Gandhi, issued after the meeting, from which it appeared that Congress leaders had not abated one jot from their original demands. He had hoped that they would have been

more appreciative than they appeared to be of the difficulties in the way of the British Government in accepting their claims.

Referring to Mr. Gandhi's statement that if the British Government would leave the framing of the constitution to Indians themselves, the questions of defence, minorities, Princes and European interests would automatically be dissolved, Lord Zetland said that, while he greatly admired Mr. Gandhi's optimism, he was unhappily quite unable to share it and felt that, as long as the leaders of the Congress maintained their present attitude, the obstacles in the way of an honourable understanding would be greatly increased.

Lord Zetland's reference to the constitutional problem, says the *Sunday Times*, came at the end of a full and enthusiastic appreciation of the remarkable war effort that India is making and of the unity of purpose among all classes and creeds in that connexion.

" INDEPENDENCE "

Lord Zetland, referring to the constitutional question, said that it was unfortunate that Congress spokesmen made a fetish of the word " independence," since he was convinced that this had created a false impression in Great Britain of the aim which the vast majority of Indians had in view.

" That they desire freedom to govern themselves I do not doubt ; that they contemplate India swinging from the orbit of the British Commonwealth I do not for a moment believe. In a mad world, they are far too appreciative of the protection afforded to them by the armed strength of Great Britain on land and sea."

Lord Zetland proceeded to refer to the ties, not only material but mental, binding the peoples of India and Great Britain which, he said, could not be rudely shattered without grave injury to both the peoples, and pointed out that the very men who led the Congress today, owed their inspiration to English literature and English political thought. Lord Zetland added that the greatest unifying influence in India had been the English language, and the greatest moral force the English reverence for law and the English ideals of justice and purity of administration. It was in the light of such considerations as these that the relations between Great Britain India should be viewed.



CONTEXT.

INDIA'S " MAGNIFICENT CONTRIBUTION TO VICTORY "

COUNTRY UNITED IN HATRED OF NAZI REGIME

" India stands united in her hatred of the Nazi regime and is contributing magnificently towards the Allied victory, " said Lord Zetland Secretary of State for India, in a broadcast from London on April 3, 1940.

APART FROM THE CONTINGENT IN FRANCE, INDIA HAD SENT two forces overseas to Malaya and Egypt, and had provided troops for Aden. The value of these military dispositions had been great, but they were only an earnest of what India was prepared to do, should the necessity arise.

Lord Zetland added that it had, in fact, been impossible, so far, to satisfy the aspirations of the great number of those who wished to put their services at the disposal of the King-Emperor. In particular, was this true of the Rulers of Indian States.

In less than two months of the present war, the Government of India's Supply Department had dealt with as large a volume of orders as was dealt with in the whole of the third year of the last war. When the present orders were completed, Britain would have received from India not far short of 1,000,000,000 sandbags. The utmost use was being made of India's large mineral resources.

Referring to political relations between Britain and India, Lord Zetland declared : " The goal which we set ourselves is to aid the people of India to acquire a measure of political unity which will enable her to take her place as a great self-governing Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

" Under the Government of India Act the Government of the provinces of British India was transferred to Indian Ministries responsible to Indian Parliaments and the Act also contained provisions for bringing both provinces and States into a single great Indian Federation.

NEED FOR RECONCILIATION

" But here difficulties have arisen. There are three main political forces, whose co-operation is essential to the establishment of Federation, namely, the Indian National Congress, the Princes and the All-India Muslim League.

" All these three bodies have for different reasons raised objections to the Federal provisions of the Act with the result that, on the one hand, the Congress is now demanding not the status of a dominion, but complete independence and a political constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly ; on the other hand, the Muslim community refuses to contemplate any such solution and demand a separate Muslim State."

Lord Zetland added : " I am convinced that no lasting settlement in India will prove possible without a real reconciliation between Muslims and Hindus and let me add that,

whatever the difficulties standing in the way, we shall continue to labour whole-heartedly and to the best of our ability for such a reconciliation.

CONGRESS AND NAZIS

"It is, of course, natural that German propagandists should attempt to make capital out of these political difficulties; but one would have thought that even Dr. Goebbels and his friends, devoid of all sense of humour though they be, would have realized the laughing stock which they make of themselves, when they parade themselves before the world as champions of freedom where India is concerned.

"The true nature of their sympathy for Indians was made manifest only the other day, when having released, with great blowing of trumpets, a number of Indian seamen, they then proceeded with the utmost brutality to bomb the steamship *Domala* in which these unfortunate people were sailing for home."

Lord Zetland quoted for the benefit of Nazi propagandists the official organ of the Indian National Congress which said: "India does not disdain the world's sympathy, but let it not come from the Nazis."

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CONTEXT.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, broadcasting from London on June 15, 1940, on "Magna Carta —then and now."

MR. AMERY'S BROADCAST ON MAGNA CARTA

"TODAY, JUNE 15, IS THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING of the Magna Carta. On this day 725 years ago our fathers established the foundations of English freedom. The detailed story of the events which led up to the great drama enacted at Runnymede is no doubt familiar to you all.

"You can picture for yourselves far better than I can describe it for you the scene on both the banks of the River Thames and on the little island between; on one side the crafty tyrant King, furious but impotent among his trembling foreign counsellors; on the other, the embattled host of barons, great and small, bishops and clerics, mayor and citizens of London—that English nation in fact, which unobserved had come into being in a century and half since the Norman conquest and which was now for the first time to assert its power and its sagacity.

"PEDIGREE OF LIBERTIES"

"It was the power of the English people which exacted the Great Charter. But it was its sagacity that refrained from the gratuitous assertion of power, which would have

weakened the sovereign authority of the realm, and accepted King John's surrender in the form of a royal grant to his obedient subjects. It is that same sagacity which based the Charter, not on any claim of abstract right, but on definite historical rights set out more than a century earlier in the Charter of Henry I and on 'the old constitution of the realm.'

"It is indeed the characteristic of the temper of our people that great landmarks in our constitutional history from the Magna Carta to the Declaration of Rights or the Statute of Westminster in our day have taken the shape of a declaration of established and admitted principles rather than that of any assertion of something avowedly new.

"We have always been concerned, in Burke's words, 'to prove the pedigree of our liberties' and to prize them as 'an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers.' At the same time we have been no less concerned to enlarge that inheritance and these professed summaries of existing and acknowledged rights have in each case marked the starting point of new and fruitful developments.

"This was true, above all, of the Magna Carta. The whole system of our freedom as it exists today throughout the British Empire and in the United States is founded on the reign of law, on the subjection of the executive and of its ministers and agents to the law of the land.

"The development of that system has taken centuries, but it is all there in essence in the famous article of the Magna Carta, which lays down that no free man shall be arrested or detained in prison or outlawed or banished or brought to ruin, nor shall we set forth against him, nor send against him, save by the judgment of his peers and in accordance with the law of the land.

COMMON HERITAGE

"Again what a potent germ was the article, which provided that 'no scutage or aid shall be imposed, save by the common council of the realm.' For out of it grew Parliament and through the centuries to come it provided an all-powerful lever, by which Parliament steadily increased its control over the whole machinery of Government. It was to this principle of 'no taxation without representation' that the American colonies appealed in their struggle with the British Parliament.

"Their Constitution since then has developed on somewhat different lines from ours. But the Magna Carta and the principles which were implicit in it are one common heritage and are still a living bond between us.

"It is no theoretical freedom that the barons at Runnymede claimed for themselves and for the whole nation, but truer freedom which comes from the enforcement of the law on

all without regard to privilege or power, from the certainty of just and speedy decisions in the courts, from protection against arbitrary taxation.

EXTENSION OF LIBERTY

"Liberty is indeed a meaningless thing except as a right of adjustment between all forces and elements in the national life. That adjustment must vary continuously with changing circumstances and continuously demand fresh methods to preserve it. A century ago we reformed the franchise in order to secure liberty of trade and industry for the mercantile and industrial middle class against the domination of the landed oligarchy. We have extended it again and again since then in order to secure the liberty of the wage-earner against the oppression of an unregulated capitalism.

"We have given woman a new position in the State in order to enlist her help against the tyranny of neglect in all those social questions most closely in touch with her life and that of home. But the franchise itself is not freedom, nor is mere majority rule, regardless of the circumstances, true democracy.

"Universal suffrage based on mere geographical constituencies may easily lead us to the most odious of class or party tyrannies. There can be no true freedom where each element, each function in the social and economical life of the nation, is not represented in some proportion to its intrinsic importance to the community.

CONTINUOUS ADJUSTMENT

"The same need for continuous adjustment has governed the development of British freedom overseas. The principle of responsible self-government in essentially local matters, which was laid down in Lord Durham's memorable report, has developed in the case of the Dominions to full-grown national stature and complete equality of status with the Mother Country. They are today, in the fullest sense of the word, independent nations. But they are more, as we are more, than ordinary isolated nations. How many nations are there whose nominal independence is not in fact seriously limited by the economic pressure of more powerful neighbours? How many have we not seen succumb in these last few years and weeks to sheer brutal aggression? Against these dangers the nations of the British Commonwealth can look to a partnership, free yet assured to sustain their mutual welfare in peace and defend their liberties in war.

THE POSITION OF INDIA

"By their free action they are showing today the price they set upon that partnership. In their case full equality and full partnership have already been achieved.

" In the case of India, we have made manifest our sincere desire that she should as a willing partner attain the same status in the British Commonwealth as is enjoyed by the Dominions or, for that matter, by ourselves. If there are obstacles apart from the immediate urgencies of the war to the speedy fulfilment of that desire, they arise more from the inherent complexities in India's own internal, religious, social and historic structure than from any reluctance on our part to hasten the transition from one control to the other. It is our genuine wish to help to bridge over the existing differences and enable Indians as soon as possible to play a vital part, which they are entitled to play in devising the permanent framework of India's future Constitution.

" Where our own responsibility is no less vitally engaged is to see to it that in the inevitable period of transition from one control to the other, security and orderly government of a united India—indispensable foundation of her freedom—should not be imperilled. That too is an end which we believe can best be secured, not by dictation, but by mutual agreement.

" The task before the leaders of India as before ourselves is one of the noblest, if also one of the most difficult, which statesmanship has ever essayed. It will need all of the spirit of the Magna Carta, its practical sense as well as its generosity, to make that task possible of achievement.

A NATIONAL LIFE

" In all that I have said I have assumed that freedom is worthwhile. I have assumed that our highest aim is a national life, which is something greater than any element in it, greater even than the State, and which can find room within itself for many independent manifestations of local and corporate activity, for free expression and organization of opinion on all questions as well as for freedom of every individual to live his own life ' by no man's leave , underneath the law.'

" I have assumed we are dedicated to the ideal of a free commonwealth, in which national patriotism and wider patriotism of the whole can find their fullest expression without any subordination of one to the other ; in which free co-operation for defence, for trade, for development of all that exalts and enriches human life can take the place of coercion and in which no attempt is made to force the infinite diversity of its peoples into a common mould.

FREEDOM IN DANGER

" Is that assumption justified ? Can a nation or commonwealth based on these principles endure ? Is freedom itself an ideal still worth pursuing ? These are questions which are at issue in the eyes of the world today. By suppression of all freedom of political organization and thought,

by cultivation of ruthless fanaticism of brute force and of an unscrupulous thirst for domination, Hitler, his associates and confederates have built up an engine of mechanized military power more terrible than anything yet dreamt of and have launched it upon a world, ill-prepared for so wanton and merciless an onslaught.

" If that onslaught succeeds then it is the end of the Magna Carta and all it has stood for, not only here in Europe but across the Atlantic and to the farthest ends of Asia and Africa. For the defeat of the Allies would mean not only the loss of their own freedom. It would mean the extinction of freedom, even as an ideal among mankind. Everywhere men would turn to worship new gods of arbitrary power, of racial arrogance and of mechanized thought. Everywhere freedom would be overthrown and trampled underfoot by the ' fifth column ' from within."

" On the anniversary of the Magna Carta, looking back on the growth of ordered freedom over the centuries between, we know that such an outcome is unthinkable. At all hazards, at all costs we must win. For us there can be no compromise, no truce, only victory—the victory which our fathers won 700 years ago."

CONTEXT.

" DARING EXPERIMENT " IN INDIA

NO BAR TO NEGOTIATION DURING WAR

The hope that Indian leaders would join the Viceroy's Council and assist India's war effort was expressed by Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a speech at Blackpool on August 11, 1940.

" IT HAS OFTEN BEEN SAID THAT VICTORY OF THE NAZIS would mean the destruction of all the spiritual and moral heritage of our Western Christian civilization. So far as Europe is concerned, that is true. We are heirs to a civilization to which ancient Greece gave a love of intellectual and political freedom, to which Rome gave a sense of law and order, to which Christianity contributed that reverence for equality of every individual human being before God, to which medieval chivalry added a regard for honour between equals, courtesy to women and pity for the weak. The Nazi creed denies and despises all these things.

" But ours is not the only civilization or the only religion. It is my privilege to serve in the British Government the interests of the Empire of India. The 350,000,000 people of India can claim a civilization more ancient even than ours. They belong to religions which differ from ours in many respects, but are at one with ours in their recognition of the spiritual value of the individual soul, in their reverence for a moral law which knows no boundaries of race and applies alike to rulers and the ruled.

"There is no common meeting ground between Nazism on the one side and on the other Islam, with its profoundly democratic sense of equality, with its emphasis on mercy and pity for the poor and the weak, and Hinduism with its concentration upon the spiritual side of life and its rejection of violence. It is not only our civilization and our religion here in Europe but all civilization and all true religion that are threatened by the barbaric forces of spiritual, even more than material destruction which are embodied in Nazi Germany today.

"This English freedom of ours we have never thought of as a monopoly to be secured for ourselves at the expense of others. We have sought to spread it wherever our adventurous people have wandered afield and wherever British influence has extended. It has been the life blood of our Empire securing unfailing allegiance across the wide world spaces converting conquest into free and equal partnership.

"Amid all the world changes of the last century, the crash of falling empires and the noisy emergence of new nations, nothing has been more remarkable than the almost unobserved growth of British emigrant colonies overseas into great nations, not by secession or disruption, but by willing enlargement of freedom, which has strengthened our Commonwealth, as it has imperceptibly transformed it.

"That has been a wonderful experiment and we see the fruits of its success in the Dominion armies which have come here and to every threatened point in the Empire to defend our common freedom and our common cause.

"We are engaged upon the even more daring experiment of applying the same principles to India with her many races and creeds, with her immensely complex political structure, with her difficult and dangerous problems of defence. I have no doubt we shall succeed, because in the long run goodwill, sincerity and statesmanship on both sides must prevail over short-sighted fears and suspicions.

"We have repeatedly declared our resolve that India shall attain to the same freedom, to the same full and equal partnership in the Commonwealth as the other Dominions, or for the matter, as this country herself. There is no greater freedom, no higher status than that in the world today.

FRIENDLY AGREEMENT

"We have in these last few days given further earnest of our intentions by making it clear that subject to due provision for those special obligations and responsibilities which our long connection with India has imposed on us, we wish to see India like other dominions framing her own constitution in

her own way and in harmony with her own political, social and economic conception. *And if that can only be finalized after the war is over, there is nothing to prevent such indispensable preliminary work of study and discussion and negotiation being taken in hand by friendly agreement even during the war.*

"Nor could anything help that atmosphere of friendly agreement more than acceptance by Indian leaders of all political parties of their share in the work of Government, making it in fact in India, as we have made it here, a truly national Government enjoying the goodwill and confidence of all main elements in India's national life.

"India is united in her detestation of Nazi tyranny and Nazi aggression. She knows the menace which Nazi victory would mean not only to the fabric of the British Empire as a whole but to India's own existence, to her political aspirations, to her moral and spiritual ideals.

"I can only hope and trust that realizing this her political leaders will accept, without prejudice and in the spirit that it has been offered to them, the opportunity of serving the immediate interest of India in this world struggle and thus pave the way most smoothly and speedily towards the realization of the goal to which we and they equally aspire."

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CONTEXT.

INDIA UNITED AGAINST NAZISM

MR. AMERY'S SPEECH TO OVERSEAS LEAGUE

Addressing the Overseas League in London on September 25, 1940, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, after references to India's magnificent war effort, asked, "What of the moral and spiritual side? Where does India stand in the struggle against the forces of tyranny and aggression? Where are her sympathies enlisted? With which side are her interests identified?"

"ON THIS POINT," SAID MR. AMERY, "THERE CERTAINLY IS no divergence among leaders of Indian opinion, whatever other differences there may be between them. They know that defeat of the British Empire and victory of the dictatorships would leave India defenceless against inevitable aggression from every quarter by land, sea or by air. They know more. *They know that it would mean the end of all their cherished hopes of constitutional progress within India and in India's relation to the outside world.*

"Whatever the domestic political difficulties that confront us in this period of transition in India, it is a bond of union between Indians and ourselves, and for us a source of legitimate pride, that the ideals of freedom which animate them have had their fountain-head there. Their political traditions and aspirations, like those of the Dominions, or for that matter like those of the United States, go back to the Magna Carta and to the whole age-long growth of social justice and constitutional liberty in this little island. For them, as for us, a Nazi victory would be a deathblow to all they care for in world politics. But India's choice in this matter goes

even deeper than the domain of political ideals. It goes to the very heart of all that she values in the spiritual field.

THREAT TO SOUL OF INDIA

" It has become common place to point out that the Nazi creed with its denial of any rights to the individual against the State, or the party or gang in control of the State, with its denial of any rights to any nation or race outside the chosen German people, with its contempt for justice and for intellectual truth, is a barbarian revolt against all influences, ancient and modern, which have created our Western Christian civilisation. But it is more than that.

> **" It is a direct attack upon the spiritual basis of all religion. It is as profoundly opposed to Islam, with its insistence on equality of all men before God and on the supreme virtues of justice and mercy, or to Hinduism, with its deep-seated hatred of violence and cruelty, as it is of Christianity. The Nazi onslaught threatens the soul of India as it threatens ours, and there is no Indian who does not realize that menace.**

" Linked with the consciousness of this underlying identity of material and moral interest, there is more directly personal sympathy for this country in its hour of danger, and admiration for our single-handed stand, which has found expression even in quarters where political criticism of the present Government of India is most vocal. Whatever else the Indian Press may say about public affairs, it has never failed to pay its tribute to our Fighting Forces or those who in civil life here are bearing the brunt of the war. The greater our difficulties and anxieties here, the more keenly have the peoples of India given expression to their sympathy.

SPONTANEOUS DONATIONS

" One form in which that sympathy has been expressed has been in contributions which have poured in spontaneously from Indians in every walk of life, from the Ruling Princes to working men, some giving lakhs of rupees, some only a few annas, both to the Viceroys' General War Purposes Fund and to every fund raised in this country for purposes connected with the war Not far off £1,250,000 has been subscribed in this way.

" Of the sums given for specific purposes, over £285,000 has been given for the purchase of aircraft, but large amounts, have also been contributed to the King George's Fund for Sailors.

" How comes it then, you may well ask, that we hear so much of political crisis and political deadlock in India. Why is it that leaders of Indian political parties have not been able

to sink their differences with each other or with the Indian Government in order to help whole-heartedly in their country's war effort ? Or why has Government for its part failed to meet India's aspiration by concessions which might secure the united co-operation of all parties and elements in India's national life ?

NO COMMON PLATFORM

" The answer to these questions would be easier if there were any common platform upon which these elements could agree, either with regard to the immediate present or the future. It would be easier if India were a homogeneous country in which the majority could fairly be entitled to speak for the whole nation and carry with it the assent, even if reluctant, of the minority. It would, in fact, be easy enough if nature and history had not made Indian national life and Indian Government the complex structures which they actually are.

" One attempt to deal with the complex problem of Indian self-government was made in the Government of India Act passed five years ago. The fruit of years of inquiry and discussion, to which the best of brains in India had made no small contribution, it represented a genuine constructive effort on the part of Parliament to balance the claims of different elements within India itself as well as to find, during the period of transition, a workable compromise between responsibilities which the British Government had inherited from the past and responsibilities which India was destined to shoulder in the future.

" In its provincial aspects it has worked successfully and is still working successfully in four out of 11 provinces which have not been affected by the calling off of Congress Party Ministries.

" If it had been found impossible to apply it in its federal aspect to India as a whole, it is not because there is general agreement among Indians that its provisions retain too much British control, but because there is vehement disagreement between Indians themselves as to the general control which it gives Indians over each other.

" The Congress Party objects on grounds of egalitarian democracy to the influence which the Act concedes to autocratically governed States. The States on their side have shrunk from the extent of interference in their affairs conceded to the elected majority in the Central Legislature. The great Muslim community refuses to entrust its fate to the control of a permanent Hindu majority.

" These are none of them trivial or factitious objections. They are all sincerely held and deeply felt. Each of these major elements in India's national life—the Congress, the Muslims, the Princes, not to speak of the representatives of

elements and parties within the Hindu community but opposed to the Congress—has a case of righteousness of which it is convinced.

BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITIES

" Nothing is more remote from truth than the suggestion that the British Government has deliberately magnified or even encouraged these differences as an excuse for delaying constitutional progress. On the contrary, it is precisely the prospect of constitutional progress that has intensified these differences by raising a question which lay dormant under autocratic control. On the other hand, it would be equally wrong if the British Government ignored them and, forgetting the responsibilities which the course of history has imposed upon it in India, light-heartedly accepted some constitutional solution which would inevitably be rejected by large and important elements in India's national life and only lead to confusion and chaos.

" The fact is that India's internal structure is complex and difficult, and no plausible formula, but only patience and genuine willingness to compromise, can find a solution. The differences are real, but I refuse to regard them as unbridgeable. Fortunately, there is a real underlying agreement as to the goal at which we are all aiming. We all wish to see India freely conducting her own affairs at peace within herself and with the world outside. I believe the agreed goal can best be achieved within the free and equal partnership of the British Commonwealth. There are some in India who would wish to see that partnership dissolved, at least in theory, for none of them would be willing to dispense with it in practice in our day, or are prepared to suggest a better alternative. In any case the ground for agreed advance is there.

" It is in the light of that situation that His Majesty's Government has made it clear in the statement issued by the Viceroy on August 8, that, subject to fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connexion with India has imposed on her, it is our wish to see the framework of India's future constitution devised by Indians for themselves in accordance with Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life and through the instrumentality of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life.

MATTER FOR INDIANS TO SETTLE

" The Act of 1935 was still in essentials the work of the British Government and Parliament and was based on the existing structure of Indian Government and inspired by British ideas. The main permanent framework of the future constitution of India as a Dominion is now a matter for the Indians to settle for themselves. The whole constitutional

field, the relations of the various parts and elements in India to the whole, the methods of election and representation, all these matters are open to re-examination. Only as in the case of every Dominion, or for that matter of any federation in the past, there must be that measure of agreement, of consent—and necessarily, therefore, of compromise—between the main constituent elements that have in the future to live and work together, which is a preliminary condition of free self-government.

" In this matter the British Government have now made clear one essential of the implications of India's future status, while imposing upon Indians one of the first responsibilities of that status. It is obvious that a change so far-reaching both in structure and in the very basis of authority of India's Government cannot take place at a moment when the whole of the Commonwealth is in the throes of a struggle for its existence. But that need not of itself involve any delay. If the actual body which is decisively to resolve these issues cannot meet until immediately after the war, there is bound to be an immense amount of preliminary investigations, discussion and negotiation which must precede any agreed conclusion and which is bound to take time. *There is no reason why this work should wait for the end of the war. The more completely and thoroughly it is done now on informal lines the more speedily can everything be settled after the war is over and the earlier the date at which India's new constitution can enter into effect.*

EXPANSION OF COUNCIL

" Meanwhile the Viceroy has offered to expand his own Executive Council in order to take into it leading men of all parties and elements in British India as well as to set up an All-India War Advisory Council, on which the Indian States as well as other interests in the national life of India as a whole will be represented.

" New members of the Viceroy's Executive Council will be heads of great Departments of State. Their individual responsibility and collective influence will be something very real and far-reaching and no greater mistake can be made by anyone here or in India than under-estimating the present importance or future significance of this offer.

" It is true that under the existing constitution the enlarged Executive will still be responsible to the Governor-General and cannot in a strict constitutional sense be responsible to the Legislature. Any other course would not only mean a complete change of the whole basis of Government during the war, but change to a new basis as to which the fundamental prerequisite of agreement is still wholly lacking.

" The Congress recently suggested in an offer, which it has since withdrawn, that it would join in a National Govern-

ment at the Centre which should command the confidence of the elected members of the present Legislature. But that at once raised all those issues upon which an agreement has yet to be sought. For there can be no agreement on a Government responsible to and subject to the moods of a Legislature until there is an agreement, which there is not today, upon the composition and nature of that Legislature. Lord Linlithgow's offer avoids these difficulties. It is no bar to harmonious co-operation between the Executive and the Legislature. It is no bar to fruitful co-operation between members of the Executive among themselves. But it commits nobody to an irrevocable position. It enables all to work together for the immediate issue of winning the war without prejudice to their position and claims when the fundamental issues of the future constitution have to be raised.

REGRET AT REJECTION

"I regret sincerely that leaders of the Congress have rejected the Viceroy's offer and are not prepared to take before India and the world the great practical opportunity of exercising real responsibility and contributing directly both to India's immediate effort in the war and to her constitutional advancement. They have chosen instead, following Mr. Gandhi's advice, to concentrate on a policy of non-co-operation based on the principle of non-violence, in other words of refusal to take part in the war or in any form of force as such.

"I fully recognize the sincerity of Mr. Gandhi's pacifist convictions. The practical question is how he is to reconcile his demand on his own behalf and on behalf of the Congress for freedom to voice those convictions with his own statement, which I sincerely welcome, that he does not wish to embarrass the Government in its conduct of the war.

"That is an issue which he is to discuss with Lord Linlithgow in the next few days and it is naturally one which I do not wish to prejudge. One can only hope that the outcome of the discussions may be an agreement consistent both with Mr. Gandhi's conscientious objections to war in general and with the Viceroy's no less conscientious conviction and duty to allow nothing to stand in the way of India's wholehearted effort to play her part in the struggle which concerns her present welfare and security and all ideals which her peoples hold dear.

"So much for the present situation. As for the future, it is for the Indians themselves to consider how and by what new expedients or by what compromises they can arrive at a solution of their own problems. They can count, at every stage, upon the willing co-operation of the Government to help in expediting progress.

"Meanwhile I do not believe that Indian differences in the political field will be allowed to obscure the genuine desire

of India as a whole to make her worthy contribution to the victory of a cause which is India's cause as much as it is our own. And I sincerely hope, to quote the closing words of Lord Linlithgow's recent statement, that in this process new bonds of union and understanding will emerge and thus pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free, equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and the British Parliament."



CONTEXT.

INDIAN STATES

CROWN REPRESENTATIVE'S ADVICE

Extracts from the speech made by the Marquess of Linlithgow in his capacity as Crown Representative, at the opening of the 1939 Session of the Chamber of Princes in New Delhi on March 13.

I AM NOT IGNORANT THAT IN RECENT TIMES THE RULERS of Indian States have been passing through in many cases a period of stress and difficulty.

Far be it from me to deny that there have been many cases in which States have been subjected to attacks which were entirely unjustified, attacks in which one has been unable to trace any scrupulous regard for strict accuracy or any real desire to promote the welfare of the State or of its people.

But making all allowance for the fact that attacks of that nature have frequently been made it is, I am sure, as plain to Your Highnesses as it is to me that it is more than ever essential in present conditions and in this changing world in which we live that the authorities of the Indian States should without exception make it their constant care to watch for and to remedy any legitimate grievances that may exist in the administrative field.

Your Highnesses will agree with me that it is, equally, as clearly in the interests of all Rulers as it is their plain and manifest duty, to ensure by their own close personal interest in the affairs of their State, in the work of their officials, and in the daily life of their subjects, that those subjects have cause for content, that they are not allowed to suffer undue exactions either on behalf of the State itself or at the call of unworthy officials, and that all genuine grievances receive prompt and active consideration.

It goes without saying that an effective machinery by which the authorities of the States can satisfy themselves that all such complaints can readily reach the ears of the Durbar is an essential necessity in present conditions ; and Your Highnesses will all agree with me that it is equally essential that the peoples of the States should feel assured that their wants, their difficulties and their representations will receive the fullest attention and the fullest sympathy. Whatever

may be the motives or the causes underlying criticisms of, or attacks on, the Indian States, the vulnerability of Durbars will obviously be increased if any legitimate grievances are left unredressed for agitation to exploit.

VALUE OF PUBLICITY

It is not to be expected, even if every care is taken in those respects, that the voice of criticism will be stilled. No Government in the world can, in these days of ever-increasing publicity, of ever-increasing public interest in the conduct of administration and in the disposal of the public revenues, hope for this.

But the importance of stating your cases will not have escaped the attention of Your Highnesses, and there can be no more effective method of disposing of unjustified criticism of the administration of a State than publicity designed to set out the true facts. There are many States which publish admirable Administration Reports, setting out in detail the true condition of affairs in the State, for all to see. Those States in which this practice has not yet been adopted would, I suggest, do well to consider the advisability of following the example of their neighbours in this matter.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Your Highnesses will have seen the declarations recently made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government, declarations which I have myself repeated in public utterances, in regard to constitutional changes or developments in the Indian States.

Those statements will have made clear the attitude in this matter of His Majesty's Government, which is, I may repeat, that the decision as to the constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State rests with the Ruler himself to take, and that no pressure will be brought to bear on him in this respect by the Paramount Power.

Nor will any obstruction be placed in his way by the Paramount Power should he wish to give effect to constitutional advances consistent with his Treaty obligations.

The actual form of such constitutional machinery as a Ruler may in these circumstances decide to establish in his State must, I readily recognize, vary according to conditions; and it is obvious that full consideration must be given to local circumstances and conditions, and that the variation in those local circumstances and conditions may be reflected in a variation in the form of constitutional machinery to be devised or adopted in the case of a particular State.

ABSENTEE RULERS

But making the fullest allowance for that fact Your Highnesses will, I am quite certain, agree with me that the more personal the form of rule, the greater is the need for personal touch. *He who would be the father of his people must satisfy himself that all classes of his subjects are given their fair share in the benefits of his rule, and that an undue proportion of the revenue of his State is not reserved for his own expenditure.* And the fact that the normal sphere of the activities of a Ruler lies within the four corners of his State calls for no emphasis from me.

An absentee Ruler, like an absentee landlord, represents a condition of affairs that has never easily admitted of justification ; and that has never been more markedly the case than in the conditions of the present day.

That there may on occasion be reasons, over which he has no control, which make it necessary for a Ruler to absent himself for material periods from his territory I. of course, accept.

But Your Highnesses, with your long and wide experience, will agree with me that, in such an event, it is essential that the Ruler so obliged to be absent from the personal direction of affairs in his State should satisfy himself beyond any question that those to whom he entrusts the government of his State are fully worthy of his confidence.

COMBINATION OF STATES

As Your Highnesses have lately been assured, the Paramount Power stands ready to support the Princes in the fulfilment of its Treaty obligations.

That does not, I need not say, for a moment mean that the Princes themselves are not the primary custodians of their ancient and illustrious heritage. How often has it not been impressed on the Princes of India by those who have had their best interests at heart that they should sink their differences and stand shoulder to shoulder for the good of their States and for their own happiness and peace of mind ?

Can it honestly be said, looking back as we do today over any period of years, that much has been achieved in pursuance of that advice ?

There is no class and no community in the world which does not contain its weaker brethren. But it is, as Your Highnesses so well know, the common tendency of mankind to generalise, and one Ruler who ignores the welfare of his subjects is only too apt to be regarded as an embodiment of all his neighbours.

Is it not possible that the more far-sighted Princes should combine to point out to such a Ruler by means of friendly

advice the error of his ways, so that discredit may not be brought upon the entire Princely Order ?

In no case is the need for co-operation and combination more patent, more pronounced, and more immediate than in the case of the smaller States.

Those States whose resources are so limited as virtually to preclude them individually from providing for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standards have indeed no other practical alternative before them.

I would take this opportunity to impress on the Rulers of such States, with all the emphasis at my command, the wisdom of taking the earliest possible steps to combine with their neighbours in the matter of administrative services so far as this is practicable. In doing so, they can rely upon receiving all possible assistance and advice from me and from my advisers. But the need is urgent and pressing. It calls for prompt action on the part of those concerned, and it is, in my judgment, vital in the interests of the smaller States themselves that no time whatever should be lost in taking the necessary steps.

Your Highnesses, I have touched in the few remarks I have had the pleasure of addressing to you today on matters of great significance and great consequence to the States and to their Rulers. I feel sure that the significance of what I have said will not be lost upon you at a moment such as the present, of crucial importance in the development of the history of India.



VICEROY'S TRIBUTE TO PRINCES

CONTEXT.

Extracts from H. E. Lord Linlithgow's Address to the Annual meeting of the Chamber of Princes, on March 11, 1940.

THE IMPACT OF WAR HAS FOUND THE PRINCES OF INDIA, true to their traditions, staunchly loyal to His Majesty the King-Emperor. They have placed their Forces, their personal services, and all their resources at the disposal of the Crown, and they have contributed, in every way open to them, to the Empire's cause. Those offers have, I can assure Your Highnesses, been most deeply and genuinely appreciated, and, as you are aware, in every case in which it has been possible to accept them, they have been accepted with deep and real gratitude.

Many of the Rulers of the Indian States have expressed the utmost eagerness to be allowed to serve personally in the theatre of war. I sympathise sincerely with them in their disappointment that it has not as yet been found possible to take advantage of these offers of personal service. Your Highnesses will be aware that so far the course of hostilities has differed very materially from that of the last war; up to the present there has been no substantial call on the man-

power of India. If conditions alter in this respect, Your Highnesses may rest assured that your offers, so deeply valued, will be remembered.

FEDERATION

As Your Highnesses are aware, His Majesty's Government felt on the outbreak of war that in the conditions then prevailing and on a review of the probable course of hostilities, they had no option but to hold in suspense, however reluctantly, the work in connection with the preparations for Federation, while retaining Federation as their objective. But the suspension of those preparations does not mean that His Majesty's Government, to repeat the words which I used a month or two ago at Baroda, "*have in any way modified their own view as to the necessity for securing Indian unity—a unity which can only be complete if, in the constitutional arrangements of the future, the historic Indian States, with their great and special traditions, take the place which we have always looked forward to seeing them occupy.*"

Your Highnesses are well aware of my views on the question of Federation, and of its many advantages from the point of view not only of the Indian States but of India as a whole, and in particular of the unity of India. I am confident that you will appreciate the importance of continuing to apply your minds to this vitally important problem and to the questions that arise in connection with it.

STATE REFORMS

When we last met I spoke very frankly and very directly to Your Highnesses on the subject of setting the houses of the States in order. I do not wish to repeat all that I said then. My view of the profound importance of action on the lines which I then indicated remains unchanged. Indeed if anything I regard it, in the light of development over the last twelve months, as of greater importance now than I did when I addressed you in March, 1939.

I gratefully acknowledge that many Rulers have of late made earnest endeavours to improve their administrative standards, that various admirable reforms have been introduced, and that measures have in many cases been taken to ensure that all legitimate complaints on the part of State subjects receive due consideration. But I earnestly hope that Your Highnesses will not cease to give your continual and close attention to the perfecting of your administrative machinery.

The value of administrative reform remains as great and as present as ever, and it would be rash to assume that troubles, where they have for the time being subsided, will not recur.

That the Crown is anxious to give such help as it is properly incumbent upon it to give is clearly shown by the assistance rendered to various States in different parts of India, and by the establishment of the Crown Police Force, the object of which is, as you are aware, to assist the States Governments should the situation pass beyond their control.

But I am sure that it is fully present to Your Highnesses that the maintenance of order in the territories of Indian States is primarily the responsibility of the Rulers concerned.

I would like to draw particular attention to the views I expressed last year as to the desirability and the importance of the creation of joint services where small States in the same group are unable individually to maintain an adequate standard of administration. I can well understand and sympathise with the reluctance of individual Rulers to depart in such matters from the strict path of tradition. But the spirit of the times makes it essential for them in their own interests to take a longer view.

A beginning has been made in the organisation of joint services. It is in my judgment of vital importance that progress should be made in that direction, and it is my sincere hope that this movement will develop, and that I can look to you, gentlemen, who are members of this most important body, to do all in your power to encourage its growth.

I have kept in the closest touch since we met last year with the action taken by States in various parts of India consequent on my address to the Chamber. You may be certain that the interest which I have taken in this matter and the care with which I follow all developments in connection with it, will not diminish in the time that lies ahead.

Since the last meeting of the Chamber, the reforms in its constitution, so strongly advocated by the great majority of its members, have been carried into effect. I earnestly trust that those reforms will lead to greater harmony, to more effective work, and to closer co-operation between all States, whether great or small, for the good of the Princely Order, and the prosperity and welfare of the subjects of the Rulers. Let me only add that I have under my consideration the proposals which have been submitted to me by the Standing Committee for the enlargement of the Chamber.



INDIA'S WAR EFFORT

VICEROY'S APPRECIATION

CONTEXT.

Extracts from H. E. the Viceroy's Address to the Central Legislature, on Nov. 20, 1940.

"THE 14 MONTHS THAT HAVE ELAPSED SINCE I LAST addressed you has been a period of great events, events of profound significance both in their immediate effect and in

their ultimate reaction on the fortunes of civilization and the history of the world.

"I warned you in September, 1939, that we should be ill-advised if we thought that victory was easily achieved or that the course of the conflict would be free from reverses to our arms. I expressed at the same time complete and entire confidence in the outcome of the war.

"I emphasized how vitally important it was to India, the Empire, and to the world's civilization that that outcome should be satisfactory, and I added that I felt certain beyond any question that the response which India would make in a conflict for ideals so dear to her would be one of the utmost value and importance, and one worthy of her traditions and her ancient name.

"When I spoke to you we could none of us have foreseen that 14 months later the Empire would be bearing single-handed a burden so heavy as it bears today; that of its allies at the beginning of the war, Poland and France would have been overrun and conquered; that unprovoked Nazi aggression would have added to its victims Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium; and that Italy would have made an equally unprovoked attack on the gallant people of Greece, whose superb resistance commands our admiration today.

"But we should have been well content 14 months ago had we, with any foreknowledge of the events which have happened, of the vastly increased burden placed upon the Empire, of the intensification of the most ruthless and unprincipled forms of attack on human life and human property by air and sea, of the singular disregard with which our enemies have continued to treat international obligations and treaties so long as they could derive a temporary advantage in doing so, had we, I say, been enabled to foresee, too, the valour and the success of the resistance offered.

"**The work of the armed forces of the Crown by sea, by land, in the air, in every theatre of war; whether they are drawn from India, from the Dominions and Colonies, or from the Home country, is such as to fill us with pride, with thankfulness, and with confidence for the future.**

"While the war lasts, its implications, its consequences, are such that it can never for a moment be out of our minds, that in everything that we do it must always be present to us.

INDIA'S ACHIEVEMENTS

"But I do not propose today, nor would this be the place, to enlarge in this speech on the detail of India's war effort, on the splendid work which Indian troops have done and are doing in the fighting line, or on the magnificent achievements of India, whether British India or the Indian States, in the provision of men, of money, of materials. No praise could

be too warm for that achievement. It is one that has struck the imagination of the world, one for which the whole Empire is I know deeply grateful.

" And, substantial as that achievement already is, no pains are being spared to enable India to give still further effect, in all the ways I have mentioned, and with as little delay as may be, to the universal desire in this country to help the Allies and to see the triumph of the ideals for which they are fighting. The confident hope that I expressed a year ago that India would live up to her highest traditions have been fulfilled in the highest degree.

" You may be confident that in this vital matter I and my Government are fully alive to the importance not only of responding to India's desire to help, but of making her in the matter of defence as self-sufficient as possible ; and to the necessity of bringing her defensive equipment to the highest practicable pitch of adequacy and efficiency.

" I said that the war must be continually in our thoughts and must be related to everything we do. Of the matters on which I shall touch in the remainder of my speech, the great bulk arise out of, or have some connection with, war activities or the war situation. There are one or two which I shall also mention which are not so directly connected. But in their case the interest taken in them by the general public is sufficiently great to justify me making a reference which I should not otherwise have made.

TRIBUTE TO BUSINESS COMMUNITY

" It was with much regret that I learned of the refusal of the Legislative Assembly to take into consideration the Finance Bill designed to facilitate the financing of India's war effort. It will, I think, be very generally appreciated that it would be impossible for me to acquiesce in the decision of the Assembly.

" The work of the Department of Supply, which as you will remember was established shortly before the outbreak of war, has been of great value in connection with India's war effort ; and I should like to pay a tribute to the importance of this work, and to the work of the ordnance factories (which were not until recently brought under the Department). I should like to associate with that tribute the business community in this country, whether Indian or British.

" At a time of considerable strain the Department has had the most valuable assistance from business firms, and I am glad to think that that friendly collaboration and patriotic assistance, so readily given, has led to some remarkable results.

"In the field of munitions the ordnance factories since the beginning of the war have been able to export to His Majesty's Government about 100,000,000 rounds of small arms

ammunition and nearly 400,000 rounds of gun ammunition. On the stores side Indian industry has made contributions on the largest scale to the war effort in the shape of engineering stores, jute goods, and many other manufactured products.

" I and my Government have been at pains to endeavour to secure that such changes should be made in the organisation of the Department as practical working showed likely to produce still better results. You may be confident that the lessons of experience will not be lost upon us, and that such further modification of the supply organisation as experience may dictate will be made without hesitation or delay

" As I speak today, indeed, further changes in the Supply Department are in view, designed further to speed up work, and to ensure that the organisation as a whole is as compact, and as economically run, as is consistent with the magnitude and the character of the operations which fall to be performed.

EASTERN GROUP CONFERENCE

" It was with the greatest satisfaction that I recently welcomed to India the members of the Eastern Group Conference, and the mission from the Ministry of Supply headed by Sir Alexander Roger. Much as may have been done, much still remains to be done if India is to make her full contribution to the war effort , and the importance, whether to India or to the Empire as a whole, of the labours of the bodies to which I have just referred cannot be over-estimated. I should like to take the opportunity to express our deep gratitude to the non-official advisers from India who have, with such public spirit, placed their services at the disposal of these bodies.

" The need for harnessing India's economic resources to the task of making her a great centre for supplying the requirements of the military forces engaged in the war must take first place in our attention. But the Government of India are in no way blind to the pressing problems that war conditions have brought to Indian trade and industry.

" The dislocation of our export trade by the cutting off of nearly all European markets has been receiving the closest attention not only of my Government but of the Export Advisory Council, in the hope of dealing with the problem of surplus production and of reducing the size of any surplus by finding new outlets for our products and manufactures.

" This last attempt is being pursued in various ways, of which mention may be made, in particular, of the exploratory mission of Dr. Gregory and Sir David Meek to America, and of the decision to increase the number of our Trade Commissioners in continents other than Europe, beginning with Australia.

" On the other side of the picture, the cutting off of many supplies which normally came from abroad has created many gaps, not only in India itself, but also in neighbouring countries, which Indian industry can hope to fill.

" I am glad to note that business and industrial interests in the country have not been slow to undertake enterprises designed to fill these gaps, while my Government have done their best to mobilize technical skill for their assistance by setting up the Board of Industrial and Scientific Research, which, through its numerous sub-committees and in collaboration with the Director of Research, has already produced valuable results.

" The war has thrown a considerably increased burden upon the provincial police forces, for, apart from their normal responsibility for law and order, they now are under obligation to undertake the safeguarding of places of vital importance to the internal defence of the country, such as power plants, major installations, and a number of protected places, in addition to affording an enhanced degree of protection to railways, and to watch and ward against sabotage.

THE CIVIC GUARD

" That burden has been materially eased by the establishment in all provinces of the Civic Guard, and by the assistance given by that body in maintaining internal security. The response to the call for volunteers has been most encouraging. The Civic Guard has on many occasions already given practical proof of its usefulness and efficiency, and I am confident that it will, as its training progresses, play a most valuable and important part in India's war effort.

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

" Though immediate danger to India from enemy air raids may not be apparent at the moment, he would be a wise man who could accurately foretell the development of the war, and we must be prepared for all eventualities. For this reason air raid precautions in India have been initiated in a manner designed to form a solid basis on which further expansion can take place. Close liaison exists on this most important matter between the Central Government and the provinces ; and its expert advice, and substantial grants-in-aid, have been placed at their disposal.

" Good progress has been achieved in the past year, progress made possible by the willing co-operation and voluntary effort of the people of India. There is, however, still much to be done, and I need not remind you of the value of

the help which you can individually give to stimulate interest and co-operation on the part of the public and of local bodies in the areas from which you come.

"Since the last meeting of the Legislature compulsory national service has been introduced in India for European British subjects. For the smooth working of the machinery for enrolment I gratefully acknowledge the work of the National Service Advisory Committees—all of it voluntary; and the spirit of willing service has been evident on every hand. *The European community in India have yielded to none in the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which they have shown in the common cause.*

TREATMENT OF ALIENS

"In the treatment of enemy aliens the policy of my Government has been guided by the desire not to disorganise the good work of missionary institutions, and to avoid imposing unnecessary hardship on innocent and harmless people. Although, as a result of events in Europe last summer, reinternment, or restriction to parole centres, was necessary for most of those who had earlier been released on the recommendation of a special committee, the case of some priests and missionaries, of certain Jews of enemy nationality, and of other enemy aliens who can show that they have consistently and publicly opposed the Nazi or Fascist régime, is receiving special consideration.

"The outbreak of war found many Indian students in the United Kingdom. Arrangements were promptly made through the High Commissioner in London to repatriate those desiring to return to India, and to maintain a register of those who preferred to continue their studies overseas. To both categories the High Commissioner was authorised to make financial advances where necessary.

"In the case of students returning to India the Universities have all, I am glad to say, agreed that the period already spent at a British University should be recognised for the purpose of enabling them to complete their degree courses in India. Special arrangements have also been made, under the general control of the Chief Justice of India, for holding Bar examinations in this country.

PILGRIMAGE FACILITIES

"Realising as I do the importance attached by the Muslim community to the performance of the sacred duty of pilgrimage to Mecca, I am happy that, in spite of wartime difficulties, it has been possible to arrange shipping facilities—at Calcutta, this year, as well as at Bombay and Karachi—and, with the collaboration of His Majesty's Government, to prevent fares for the sea passage soaring beyond the reach of the classes from whom the pilgrims are mainly drawn.

" Indeed, I understand that, thanks to a substantial reduction in charges announced by the Saudi Arabian Government, and to our being prepared, even in wartime, to permit the taking of gold sovereigns out of India by the pilgrims to enable them to overcome exchange difficulties in the Hedjaz, the minimum cost to the pilgrim will be substantially lower than it would otherwise have been. In fact, it will be lower this year than last.

" The greatly increased burden which has fallen on the Government of India in connection with war preparation and war work has inevitably necessitated some expansion of staff and some additional expenditure. It would clearly be a short-sighted policy to reject expenditure which, on a broad view, would assist in the mobilization of the economic resources of the country and further the successful prosecution of the war. But I would take this opportunity to say that I am fully alive to the vital importance of economy in the civil administration, and of eliminating all forms of avoidable expenditure at a time when we have no choice but to spend large sums of money on defence and to augment the revenues of the Government by additional taxation.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

" In spite of their immediate preoccupation with questions arising out of the war my Government continue to keep a vigilant watch on the interests of Indians overseas. In the Union of South Africa the Broome Commission, which was appointed in May last to enquire into alleged penetration of Indians into predominantly European areas in Natal and Transvaal, commenced its labours last month. The ban on the assisted emigration of unskilled labour to Malaya continues while questions of the wages of Indian labourers and of the status of the Indian community are still under discussion with the Malayan Governments.

" In regard to Burma, my Government are awaiting the results of Mr. Baxter's enquiry into the facts concerning Indian immigration into that country, and they are also watching with close attention the course of certain recent legislation which may directly affect the Indian community. An experienced officer was sent to Mauritius to ascertain recent developments in that colony, so far as they affect Indians. I regret that the recent conversations between my Government and the representatives of the Government of Ceylon should not have had more satisfactory results.

INDIA'S NEIGHBOURS

" In the field of foreign affairs, my Government's relations with Nepal continue to be most cordial. The friendly attitude of His Highness the Prime Minister of Nepal and of his Government is evident from His Highness' offer of two

Brigades of Nepalese troops for the defence of India and from the generous donations of money made by His Highness and the members of his family. This attitude of ready and friendly co-operation is greatly appreciated by the Government of India.

" His Holiness the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, and his incarnation was discovered towards the end of 1939. The installation ceremony of His Holiness the new Dalai Lama took place in February last. A mission headed by Mr. B. J. Gould, who is responsible for the Government of India's relations with our friendly neighbour, Tibet, was deputed to Lhasa to attend the ceremony on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India.

MISSION FROM THAILAND

" In October I and my Government had the pleasure of welcoming to India a Mission of Goodwill from Thailand. The Mission were the guests of the Government of India. During their visit they were able to make wide-contacts and to cover much ground. On their return to Thailand they took with them precious Buddhist relics from Taxila presented to the Thai Government by the Government of India, who also arranged, at the request of the Mission, for earth from certain sacred Buddhist places in India to be placed on the aeroplane on which they returned to Bangkok. I am confident that the visit of this Mission will help to cement still further the bonds which already exist between India and Thailand.

" From China we are glad to welcome Dr. Tai Chi Tao, an eminent Buddhist scholar, and Chairman of the China Public Service Commission.

" His Excellency the Governor of the French Establishments in India issued an announcement in September last identifying French India with the cause of Free France.

TRIBESMEN'S SYMPATHY

" It gives me great satisfaction to be able to inform the House that the relations between India and Afghanistan continue to rest on a firm and friendly basis, and that there are signs that the bonds between our two countries are being drawn even closer in the cultural and commercial fields.

" I am glad, too, to say that in spite of the disturbance of men's minds by a period of war and intensive rumour the Frontier tribes have on the whole remained remarkably steady. The whole tribal belt from Chitral to the sea has been entirely quiet, save in Waziristan, and there are many signs that the tribesmen are in sympathy with the democratic front.

" And in Waziristan, largely as the result of measures undertaken to control portions of tribal territory which had served as harbourage for the collection of gangs, a better spirit prevails, and the peace of the districts of the North-West Frontier has recently been less disturbed than at any time during the last few years.

LABOUR'S CONTRIBUTION

" Since I last addressed you, labour in India has not been without its problems, but I am happy to say that owing to the good sense of all concerned there has been no major dislocation of work since the war began, and I believe that Indian labour will continue its substantial contribution to the war effort.

"When disputes have arisen, the influence of my Government has always been thrown in favour of adjustment and conciliation rather than dictation. Complaints of inadequate wages in the circumstances of the war situation have always received careful and anxious consideration; an examination has already been made of the cost of living in the coalfields and an enquiry has also been instituted into the claim of railway labour for a dearness allowance.

" My Government has taken steps to obtain skilled labour for those industries which are engaged on war production, ensuring at the same time that the interests of the artisan are safeguarded.

" Under the Technical Training Scheme, in the operation of which I have to acknowledge the willing assistance of provincial Governments, we have planned not only to meet the immediate needs of the war effort, but by providing well-equipped and competently staffed institutions for training thousands of our young men to be skilled technicians, we have kept in view the needs, when peace is at last restored, of India's expanding industries. "



CONTEXT.

EASTERN GROUP CONFERENCE

H. E. THE VICEROY'S SPEECH

Text of H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Eastern Group Conference in the Council Chamber, New Delhi, on Friday, Oct. 25, 1940.

" THE NEED FOR A CONFERENCE SUCH AS THIS HAS LONG been apparent to those who have studied the organisation of the British Commonwealth of Nations for a protracted war; and from the ready response to the invitations which I was recently authorised by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to send out, I judge that other Empire Governments in this part of the world are as eager as the

Government of India to make the Conference a living part of our war effort.

"India may congratulate herself on her fortunate geographical position; for her the occasion is historic, and on behalf of my Government and the people of India I extend a very cordial welcome to the visiting Delegations. I also welcome the Ministry of Supply Mission whose opportune arrival in India will enable the Conference to benefit by the advice of Sir Alexander Roger and his colleagues. I am glad, too, to think that we shall have available to us the advice of the strong and representative body of non-official advisers from India who are present here today.

WHAT CONFERENCE IMPLIES

"I would not have it thought here or elsewhere that the holding of the Conference implies any failure of the members of the "Eastern Group" of Empire countries to help one another in the war effort. Indeed, we in India have been much impressed by the eagerness of other Empire Governments to help us, and we hope that we for our part have done our best to meet such demands as they have made upon us.

"What the Conference does imply is something very different—a determination not merely to help one another, but to pool our resources so that we may as a group of Governments and countries put forth the greatest material war effort that we can.

"The idea underlying the Conference is by no means new; it arises from the Imperial Conference of 1937. But its urgency has been borne in upon us more particularly during the past six months. Many of the countries represented here played a great part in the War of 1914-18, contributing without stint men, money and material. In that war, however, material resources, though of great importance, were considerably less important than they are today, and it is probably true that the outlying Empire countries concentrated very largely upon man-power and the simpler forms of equipment, relying upon the highly organized industries of the United Kingdom and her Allies to do the rest.

"When the present War began we knew that conditions would be very different, but we could not foresee the fall of Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, and the destruction of France as a military power and ally in Europe. The British Empire now fights alone, and must not only find the men and material to defend the United Kingdom against invasion, but provide for the defence of her outlying members, and for the equipment of the remnants of the forces of her conquered Allies.

NEW RESPONSIBILITIES

"This Conference, therefore, while having a precedent in the Imperial Conference of 1937, nevertheless falls into a

category almost unique in the political experience of the British Commonwealth.

"It represents the active collaboration of a part of the Commonwealth in the interests of the whole; it implies that those parts of the Empire which lie east and south of Suez are about to investigate the assumption of new responsibilities, which will lighten the burdens on the Mother Country at a time when she is preoccupied with difficult problems peculiar to the present phase of the war; and it reflects those qualities of resiliency and adaptability which are a characteristic feature of our political institutions, for it means that those units of the Commonwealth which are situated in the Eastern Hemisphere are ready and willing to associate themselves with policies in which self-interest and self-assertion are relegated to second place in face of the menace that is confronting the Commonwealth as a whole.

"The spread of the war in the direction of the Middle East cannot disrupt the political integrity of the Commonwealth, because that integrity is rooted in freedom and justice which are component elements of that political philosophy which imbues all sections of the Commonwealth. A threat to any part of the Commonwealth is a threat to the whole and the immediate danger is being faced at present in the Mother Country.

"In this situation, our first plain duty is to relieve the United Kingdom of such of her burdens as we can bear ourselves, and I suggest that we can best do this by preparing a joint scheme showing clearly how far, viewed not as individual Governments and countries, but as a group, we are capable of meeting our own war needs and of supplying in increasing measure the war needs of the United Kingdom.

"The task of the Conference is, in brief, the preparation of such a scheme, and my Government and I are under no illusions as to the complexity of your deliberations. As or almost all the countries represented here are producers of raw materials; some are fortunate in possessing more or less highly organized industries; and some are able to manufacture munitions of war on a fairly large scale. It will be for the Delegations to declare the strengths and weaknesses of their respective countries, and for the Conference as a whole to say how far the deficiencies of one country can be made good by the actual or potential surplus of another.

ROOM FOR "RATIONALIZATION"

"It is possible that in respect of certain items of supply no planning may be needed; but there will, I believe, be room for planning and "rationalization" over a very wide field. The Conference clearly cannot stop short at recommending a comparatively easy exchange of raw materials and manufactured articles; it will have to consider

the position of the participating countries as a group and the best methods of making the group self-supporting.

"You may find, when you come to consider the establishment of new manufactures, that it is convenient that one or more countries within the group should concentrate upon particular items and that some general allocation of industrial responsibility will be inevitable. Again you may find that all the countries in the group are short of certain essentials, and the means of securing these will have to be planned.

"The procedure by which the Conference will approach and solve these important problems is, of course, for the Conference to decide. Many of the problems to be discussed are, in their detailed aspects, a matter for experts, and I should like to make it clear that my Government intends to make available to individual Delegations and to the Conference as a whole all the expert assistance at its command, whether of an official or non-official character.

"India is frequently described as a bureaucratic country, but we rely greatly both in peace and in war on the co-operation of organised industry, and I acknowledge now with gratitude the readiness and generosity with which Indian industry has responded to our wartime needs.

"The services of experts engaged in industry have been at our disposal from the first, and I am glad to think that so many of the gentlemen who have devoted so much time and thought to production problems since the war began have come to New Delhi to advise the Conference and its various Committees. Our own official experts are also available, particularly on the more specialized side of Munitions Production; and I am sure that I am speaking for Sir Alexander Roger when I say that his very capable team will give all the help they can.

STANDING COMMITTEE

"It would be idle to expect that the scheme to be drawn up by this Conference will be so complete and detailed that it will leave nothing to be settled by the participating countries. It will, we all hope, be a clear enunciation of policy and principles, but there will inevitably be a great mass of detail to be settled after the Conference disperses.

"One of the objects of the Conference is, therefore, to consider the establishment of a Standing Committee to see that the Conference policy is acted upon with promptitude and energy. Whether this Committee can be of real use, as my Government believes, what countries should be represented upon it, and when it should be established, are matters for the Conference to consider.

"What I have said so far relates entirely to war supply, and the Conference will doubtless deal with war supply and

nothing else. We know, however, that some visiting Delegations desire to make use of the facilities available here for the discussion of wider economic issues, and my Commerce Department will be most ready to undertake such discussions with them.

" Before I leave you to your deliberations, let me add that if the members of any Delegation desire while they are here to see something of this great country, with its great resources of raw materials and its growing industries, my Government will be only too glad to provide the necessary facilities. This is not an occasion for salesmanship or advertisement, and there is serious work ahead of us all. But some of those present may, as the deliberations of the Conference proceed, find it necessary to acquire at first-hand some knowledge of India's capabilities; and others who can spare the time may wish to carry away with them impressions not limited to the restricted circle of New Delhi.

SERIOUS WORK AHEAD

" I have said that there is serious work ahead of us all. The brunt of the war has so far fallen upon the United Kingdom, and our hearts go out in sympathy and admiration for the steadfast courage of its people, and of those who have been called upon to defend its shores.

" If this Conference enables us to do more than we have yet done to protect the life of the Commonwealth, if within the next few months we are able to feel that our united efforts are enabling us to exert our undoubted strength to the full, then we shall not have laboured in vain.

" I am satisfied that we have it in our power, working together, to make towards the common cause a contribution which is destined to be of the greatest value, and which may indeed prove to be decisive. But if results of the highest value are to flow from our joint endeavours, it is evident that our contribution must be timely as well as sufficient, for, in war, speed is near to victory.

" As I have already indicated it is a new conception of our Commonwealth ideals which will be reflected in your deliberations here. There is something significant, even dramatic, in the thought of Great Britain bravely bearing the brunt of the enemy's attacks while her kinsmen and associated peoples in the East are marshalling their forces for that ultimate victory which will bring an end to aggression and to that depravity of the soul which accompanies totalitarianism.

DEFENDING COMMON HERITAGE

" Those Empires of the past which have fallen have generally fallen from some inherent defect from within.

That is not likely to be the fate of the comity of peoples represented by the British Commonwealth. The British elements within that comity have a common heritage to defend, and the sister peoples associated with it also derive their aspirations from the traditions we seek to uphold.

"Together, we represent varying degrees of that political philosophy which permeates the whole, but the common denominator of all is faith in freedom and a belief in those things of the spirit which make peoples truly great. Thus what we seek to do here is not something that will redound only to our credit as individual units of a worldwide Empire; rather should it reflect the firm expression of our living faith in the splendid heritage which we enjoy as members of an association of liberty-loving peoples.

PREMIER'S MESSAGE

"The Prime Minister asks me to convey the following message from him to the Eastern Group Conference:—

> 'The Assembly of Representatives of all our Governments in the Eastern Hemisphere to plan more effective mutual integration of their resources is a remarkable event. In defence of our common freedom you are indeed building up a new world of armed strength to redress the balance of the old. We here will find fresh encouragement in your labours and look to the day when forces created by our efforts, both East and West, advance together for the final overthrow of the powers of evil'."

REPLY TO PREMIER'S MESSAGE

The delegates to the Eastern Group Conference sent the following reply to the Prime Minister through His Excellency the Viceroy:

"Representatives of India, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ministry of Supply Mission, Southern Rhodesia, Burma, Ceylon, East African Colonies, Malaya, Palestine and Hong Kong, assembled in the Eastern Group Conference received with the greatest pleasure your kind message through His Excellency the Viceroy and in reply would like to express their admiration of the fortitude with which the people of the British Isles are facing the violent and inhuman attack of the enemy and their pride and confidence in your leadership. They assure you of their determination to do all they can to formulate a co-ordinated plan for the most efficient utilization of the sources of supply and potential production capacity of the Empire east of Suez, with the sole object of strengthening the Empire's effort so as to bring the war to an early and successful conclusion."

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL IN INDIA

SIR HARRY HAIG'S SURVEY

Sir Harry Haig, former Governor of the United Provinces, in an address to the East India Association, London, said:

THE CONSTITUTION EMBODIED IN THE GOVERNMENT OF India Act of 1935 had been some eight years in incubation dating from the appointment of the Royal Commission presided over by Sir John Simon, and over a year and a half elapsed between the passing by Parliament of the Constitution Act and the introduction of the provisions relating to the Provincial Governments, generally known as provincial autonomy. No one could, therefore, reasonably complain that there had not been plenty of warning.

Nevertheless those whose interests and position were likely to be gravely affected by the transformation of the basis of government, in particular the conservative classes and the landlords, were slow to appreciate the changes that were coming. Deeply rooted in the minds of most of them was the idea that the Government as they had known it for so many years, that foundation of stability which had always intervened with effect when security was threatened, would guard them by some means even against this new constitution. They found it difficult to believe the extent to which the British Government were, as part of a considered policy, surrendering their power.

Perhaps we should not be surprised at a slowness to apprehend such novel conditions. There is reason to think that the Congress also could not bring themselves to believe that so much power was really being transferred. The landlords had received warnings of the plainest and most authoritative kind. But such warnings only penetrated the surface, and were not translated into that fundamental kind of belief that leads to action.

"LANGUID PREPARATIONS"

Many of the conservative classes, therefore, prepared themselves but languidly for the election. Moreover, they were up to a few months before the election permeated by a spirit of optimism. The second civil disobedience movement of the Congress had petered out in failure and depression in 1934. Congress activities since then had been few and, as it seemed, lacking in vigour. The landlords thought they could depend on the traditional support of their tenants. The Province was quiet. The very extensive reductions of rent and revenue with which it was necessary to counter the world slump had given adequate relief to the tenants, even if it had crippled the provincial finances.

And in this spirit of confidence the non-Congress elements did not appreciate the danger of mutual rivalries and dissensions which, in fact, gravely weakened their efforts. Moreover,

their methods were often defective. Electioneering to a great extent took the form in the large populous agricultural constituencies of obtaining the promise of the support of the landlords instead of endeavouring to get into direct relations with the tenants.

CONGRESS ELECTIONEERING

Very different were the Congress methods when they launched their campaign in earnest some months before the election. They worked as a united body with a single policy. They had their machinery already in existence, and as the time for the election approached they developed their activities, not spasmodically, but continuously, through their resident workers in every village. Meetings and processions, slogans and flags, the exploitation of grievances, promises which held out the vision of a new heaven and a new earth, stirred the countryside into a ferment such as it had never before experienced.

The sense of impending change awakened the villages. The Government, which had in past agitations opposed the Congress with the weight of its authority, now stood by inactive. It was too much to expect that the villager would understand the constitutional necessity for this attitude. He felt that the British Raj was weakening, that the Congress Raj was coming, and, as so often happens, threw himself definitely on what seemed to be the winning side. The result was an overwhelming victory for the Congress.

Excluding the 66 Muslim seats, the Congress secured no less than 133 out of the remaining 162 seats in the Legislative Assembly. They had a clear majority of 38 over all others combined, including the Muslims. And they had the great advantage of party discipline, which, as against the non-Congress elements, ensured a much larger effective majority than these figures indicate.

OFFICE ACCEPTANCE

It was generally assumed immediately after the election that a Congress Ministry would take up the responsibility of government which the victory at the polls constitutionally laid upon the party. But after long deliberations the Congress demanded of Governors, as a condition of accepting office, that the Governors should pledge themselves not to use the powers which the constitution had entrusted to them. To this demand there could be only one answer, and on the Governors declining to compromise their statutory powers the Congress refused to accept office.

It would have meant a considerable setback to the idea of constitutional progress in India if the introduction of the scheme of provincial autonomy had been marked in the majority of provinces by the suspension of all forms of

constitutional machinery and the assumption by the Governors of all powers of Government. It was beyond doubt of great advantage that it was found possible in all the Congress Provinces to form Ministries from the non-Congress parties, Ministries which represented only a minority in the Legislature, but which were able to function for nearly four months, until it was necessary to summon the legislatures for the purpose of presenting budget proposals.

My own Ministry faced a difficult situation with courage and skill, and prepared a programme which could not be described as illiberal. This period of administration by the minority Ministries was valuable in many ways. It gave the Congress time to reflect over the policy, and to appreciate the deep disappointment of their own rank and file at being deprived of the power to form the Government and to put into effect their promises and hopes.

It also enabled the administrative machinery to make, under conditions as little trying as possible, the first adjustments required by the new constitution. The Services began to accustom themselves to democratic methods of announcing and carrying out policies, and to decisions which could not but be unwelcome to them. *It was, for instance, the minority Ministry in the United Provinces which decided to abandon the move of Government to the hills.*

CONGRESS IN OFFICE

After much hesitation the Congress decided in July when the Legislatures were about to meet, to take office. The minority Ministries thereupon resigned. During the four months of administration by the minority Ministry in the United Provinces, the Province had remained quiet but expectant. When the Congress assumed office there was an outburst of immense enthusiasm by Congress supporters. *For a time it seemed that every Congressman regarded himself as a ruler.*

Having been assured that the Government was theirs, they assumed, not perhaps unnaturally in their inexperience, that Government servants were their servants. Thus individual Congressmen began to think that they were entitled to give orders to the police and to interfere with all the details of administration. The Ministers, moreover, were overwhelmed by thousands of petitions and representations.

Nothing was too petty, too local, too palpably groundless not to justify, in the eyes of the small local leaders, a reference direct to the centre over the head of the district administration.

Fortunately this phase, though very troublesome and even dangerous while it lasted, was not of long duration.

The Ministers gave instructions to their followers that these local complaints should be laid by the local leaders before the district authorities, who would handle them; and in many districts before long a satisfactory working arrangement was established between the local Congressmen and the district officers, and complaints were treated on their merits and settled locally. In many cases when the true facts were brought to the notice of the local Congress leaders they readily appreciated that no action was called for.

This system had the advantage that the headquarters administration was no longer overwhelmed with useless petitions and, on the other hand, that the authority of the district officers was upheld. The orders issued, however, gave rise to a good deal of complaint and suspicion on the part of the non-Congress elements, who declared that district officers were too much subjected to the influence of the local Congress leaders. I do not myself think this was the case.

A good district officer had no difficulty in doing what he thought was just and proper, and it was only reasonable that he should keep in touch with the local Congressmen, just as he was already in touch with the local non-Congressmen. The developments of many years had created an almost complete lack of contact between officials and Congressmen. With the Congress forming the Government the continuance of such conditions was neither desirable nor possible.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND DIFFICULTIES

I now turn to consider on the one hand the achievements, on the other the weaknesses and difficulties, of the Congress regime. I would say, in the first place, that the Congress brought into the administration of the Province the virtues and also the defects of the democratic system. *Conspicuous among the virtues were a rapid response to public grievances, a new spirit of enterprise and drive, and a courage to experiment and to take measures from which Governments under the previous constitution would have shrunk.*

These qualities were due on the one hand to the close touch of the members of the Legislature with their constituencies, and on the other hand to the support of a large and disciplined parliamentary majority on which the Ministers could depend. With regard to this majority, however, there was one serious difficulty. While the Congress Party presented a united front to their opponents, they suffered from the beginning from internal dissensions. *The left wing were not, I should judge, very numerous, but they were vigorous and persistent in their demands for action which was unwise.* Their influence seemed to me to be a constant embarrassment, and in the conduct of the administration it might

almost be said that the Congress had as much to fear from their friends as from their enemies.

A factor which greatly strengthened the position of the Congress was that for the most part they monopolized the machinery of popular appeal, and if they did not choose to set it in motion or used it positively to maintain tranquillity the country was quiet, and to a large extent measures went uncriticised. When, for instance, at one time there were some signs of a reluctance on the part of tenants to pay their rent (a development encouraged by the left wing), the full weight of the Congress machinery was brought into operation to put a stop to these ideas, and with success.

MUSLIMS' ATTITUDE

I should explain, however, that there was one conspicuous exception to this generalization. The Muslims, divided among themselves and uncertain of their policy at the time of the general election, rapidly achieved unity when they realized that the Congress did not intend to treat with them on equal terms and were endeavouring to force them into the ranks of the Congress. Thereafter the organization of the Muslim League quickly became widespread, vigorous and formidable, and the activities of the Muslims constituted by far the most serious of the embarrassments and anxieties of the Congress Government.

> **In dealing with questions raising communal issues the Ministers, in my judgment, normally acted with impartiality and a desire to do what was fair. Indeed, towards the end of their time they were being seriously criticised by the Hindu Mahasabha on the ground that they were not being fair to the Hindus, though there was in fact no justification for such a criticism. But the path of those who try to hold a middle course in these communal antagonisms is a hard one.**

Why then, it may be asked, did the existence of the Congress Ministry provoke such strong feeling among the Muslims? The cause was to be found in the general atmosphere in the Province. While the Congress leaders have always claimed that their organization is nationalist and non-communal, the overwhelming majority of their followers are Hindus, and the movement is permeated with Hindu ideas and Hindu influence.

> **The enthusiasm of the masses for Congress Raj melted imperceptibly into ideas of Hindu Raj, which were certainly prevalent throughout the Province. These ideas were deeply resented by the Muslims, who were invincibly determined not to be ruled by the Hindus.**

Had the Congress on assuming office invited the co-operation of the Muslim League, this dangerous antagonism

between the two communities need, perhaps, never have developed. But as time went on the Muslims became more and more convinced that it was the intention of the All-India Congress Party to constitute themselves the sole inheritors of the British power, and by the use of a permanent Hindu majority to become the effective rulers of the country. This was a position which the Muslims were not prepared to accept, and in consequence ideas completely destructive of Indian unity have been emerging among them with growing force.

TENANCY RIGHTS

I come now to the Congress programme. Its most important point was relief of the disabilities of the tenants. The Congress had been carried to power on the strength of the hopes held out to the tenants, and genuine conviction coincided with political necessity to put a new tenancy measure in the forefront of their plans. Legislation carried during the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution had converted the non-occupancy tenants into statutory tenants, who had the right to hold their land for their lifetime, a right which was continued to their heirs for five years. *But after the time the landlord was in a position to exact a higher rent or a substantial premium either from the heir or from a new man.* This gave rise to much dissatisfaction.

In the Province of Agra a considerable number of tenants in chief were occupancy tenants—that is, they had a hereditary right to their holdings which passed on to defined classes of heirs. But in Oudh the number of occupancy tenants was small and the grievance, therefore, more widespread. Many of the more enlightened landlords had been feeling that the time had come to grant hereditary rights to the whole body of tenants in chief—indeed, the minority Ministry had had such a proposal under its consideration.

This, therefore, was one important change which might be regarded as inevitable. Further, there was a good deal of criticism of the comparative severity of the provisions for ejectment for non-payment of rent and of the system of realizing rent by distraint. A third point on which the Congress concentrated was the extent of *sir* land—*i.e.*, land which was in theory reserved for the cultivation of the landlord himself, and in which consequently even when he let it out habitually the tenant acquired no rights, either of tenure or stability of rent. The Bill cut down drastically the amount of *sir* land possessed by the larger landlords.

CONTENTIOUS MEASURE

These were the main provisions of the Bill, but it redressed also a number of minor, though far from unimportant, grievances. On the other hand, the provisions for

determining and varying the rent were little changed from existing practice which, already to a large extent assured to the tenant in chief the fixation of a reasonable rent, and stability in the rent so fixed. This was the point at which irreparable damage might have been done to the landlords, and the villagers had been led during the election to expect great reductions of rent. *But on this point the Ministry was firm. A large reduction in rent must have involved a large reduction in land revenue, and this in turn would have led to provincial bankruptcy.*

The Tenancy Bill was a long, complicated and contentious measure, and it was fought tenaciously by the landlords. At various times negotiations took place, and though no formal agreement was ever reached, certain changes made by the Government took some of the sting out of the Opposition, and eventually the measure was passed by the Upper as well as the Lower House. *The Bill, which had taken many months to prepare, was before the Legislature for about a year and a half, and it was my last act on leaving the Province to give my assent to it.*

Personally, I believe that the measure will have a tranquillizing effect in the villages. It leaves the landlords admittedly in a position of much reduced authority, but present-day conditions are not consistent with the old power of the landlords. For the rest it may well be found that some provisions are unwise or unsuitable. It is seldom that tenancy legislation does not require some amendment in the light of experience. The principal point of doubt is whether the provisions for ejectment for non-payment of rent are sufficient to ensure prompt and regular collections. The Government are as much interested in the payment of rent as are the landlords, for it is the basis of their own land revenue, and if those provisions do not in fact turn out to be satisfactory — a point which only experience can decide— I have no doubt they will be amended.

ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES

A second point on which the Ministry concentrated was the improvement of agriculture. A big effort was being made throughout the Province to provide better seed and demonstrate better methods. In particular, very special measures were taken to improve the quality of the valuable sugar cane crop, to ensure a good price to the cultivator and to improve the arrangements for supply of the cane to the factories. These measures have had very beneficial effects, and if a vigorous and practical agricultural policy is continued on the scale contemplated, the Province will gain much.

Very large sums have also been devoted to what is known as rural development. Varying views are held about the practical effects of this. Personally I am a believer in the

general principles on which the work is being conducted, but the movement was viewed with great suspicion by the opponents of Congress, who maintained that the workers were more interested in political propaganda than in improving the conditions of the villages. In the early days, at any rate, it could not be said that these criticisms were without justification. *But if the movement can be purged of politics, it has great potentialities in raising the general level of health, wealth and intelligence.*

I have no time to discuss prohibition. I would only say that while total prohibition has been introduced into a limited number of districts of an essentially rural character, a good deal has also been done to restrict consumption generally. But these measures have led to appreciable difficulties in loss of revenue.

Education has been tackled with vigour and a fresh outlook. A strong effort is being made to put more reality into primary education, and the Ministers were considering the very thorny problem of restricting the powers of District Boards over the administration of primary education. *I think we should most of us agree that nothing would be more likely to improve standards.* Adult education and the education of girls were also being pressed forward.

I hope I have given you some general picture of the Congress administration on its constructive side. It has been inspired by enthusiasm, imagination and a considerable degree of idealism. It has, on the other hand, suffered from the defects of these qualities. There has been an impatience for quick results, the administrative machine was overdriven and decisions were sometimes hasty. But much has been achieved.

COMMUNAL RIOTS

On the side of ordinary administration the picture is less bright. I have already mentioned the serious difficulties that have arisen from the ill-feeling between Muslims and Hindus. Grave communal riots have been of unprecedented frequency. Labour, particularly in Cawnpore, has been in a state of almost continual unrest, and there have been constant strikes. *The release of many revolutionaries before the expiry of the long sentences they were serving has not helped the tranquillity of the Province. General conditions of unrest were reflected in a considerable rise in the figures of crime.*

The strain on the Services has been great, but they have met this strain with outstanding fortitude and skill, good temper and good sense, and the administrative machine remains intact. This was well illustrated by the absolute smoothness with which the transition was effected when,

to my great regret, my Ministers resigned at the beginning of November last in pursuance of the general Congress policy, and I found myself under the necessity of assuming control of the whole administration.

CONGRESS AND SERVICES

To sum up conclusions on events and tendencies of such complexity and variety is perhaps to risk misunderstanding owing to the necessary brevity of expression. But if I am to take that risk I would say that the experiment of introducing full democratic institutions among a people who still instinctively think in authoritarian terms, who view the Government as somebody's *raj*, has been launched with a success beyond expectation.

Congress and the Services, standing about as far apart as it was possible to be, learned to work together. The Congress learned the stubborn facts of administration. The Services learned the implications of democratic control. The party which has hitherto always been in opposition, and often in extreme and even unconstitutional opposition, to the Government took over the reins of Government. The revolution in the ideas of the masses caused by this change was kept, on the whole, within the bounds of safety. It is no mean achievement and both the Congress and the Services share in the credit for this.

A month before I left India the Congress Ministers resigned. This action had nothing to do with provincial conditions. It was dictated by the policy of the Congress Working Committee. It would indeed be a matter for regret if all the effort that was made on both sides for two and a half years to overcome difficulties and get into working order a system which required very careful handling should prove to have been wasted.

I had hoped when I left India that before long it would be possible for a Ministry, reconstituted by the inclusion of representatives of the Muslim League, to have taken office again. These hopes have recently receded. But I trust that what I have said will serve to show that while the constitution was in operation much was accomplished, that it gave great scope to those who had policies for the advancement of the Province, and that the initial difficulties of a new form of government had to a large extent been overcome. It can hardly be to the advantage of India that the work thus done should now be thrown away.

CONTEXT.

SUGGESTED CONFERENCE OF INDIAN LEADERS

REPLIES TO QUESTIONS IN HOUSE OF COMMONS

Extract from a Reuter report from London, dated May 2, 1940, of the reply given by Sir Hugh O'Neill to questions asked by Sir Stanley Reed and Mr. Sorensen on the Indian political question, with particular reference to Mr. Gandhi's telegram to an English newspaper in which he expressed the opinion that the suggested Committee of leaders to reach a preliminary agreement was "attractive."

"I DO NOT THINK I CAN USEFULLY COMMENT BEYOND saying that the Governor-General and the Secretary of State would welcome the coming together for discussion of such persons as are capable of leading the public opinion of the various sections in India. They are convinced that the chances of producing results would diminish proportionately with the increase in its numbers. The method of convening the members of such a body is obviously a matter for the parties they represent."

Mr. Sorensen asked Sir Hugh O'Neill whether he would say that this suggestion by Mahatma Gandhi could be further explored through the appointment of a small body on the lines he suggested.

Sir Hugh O'Neill replied that if the idea of a conference was likely to be acceptable to the different parties in India he was quite sure that the Viceroy would do everything he could to help towards such a result.

INQUIRY INTO MUSLIM LEAGUE ALLEGATION

BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TO DEMAND

A cablegram in the "Hindustan Times" of January 26, 1940.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ASKED WHETHER IT WAS proposed to hold an inquiry into the allegations made by Mr. M. A. Jinnah (President of the All-India Muslim League) with regard to the treatment of minorities by Congress Governments, Sir Hugh O'Neill said that he could not believe that the interests of either party to the dispute or of the peoples of India as a whole would be served by a formal enquiry into the matter.

Any such enquiry would necessarily have to proceed on the evidence taken all over India, and would last many months, during the course of which the communal feeling which had already been displayed might be embittered.

to my great regret, my Ministers resigned at the beginning of November last in pursuance of the general Congress policy, and I found myself under the necessity of assuming control of the whole administration.

CONGRESS AND SERVICES

To sum up conclusions on events and tendencies of such complexity and variety is perhaps to risk misunderstanding owing to the necessary brevity of expression. But if I am to take that risk I would say that the experiment of introducing full democratic institutions among a people who still instinctively think in authoritarian terms, who view the Government as somebody's *raj*, has been launched with a success beyond expectation.

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EXPANSION OF INDIA'S ARMED FORCES

Communique of May 25, 1940 934

H. E. the Commander-in-Chief's broadcast speech of May 31, 1940 935

Communiques of June 17, 1940 .. .. 939—940

CONTEXT.

Text of the Government of India's communique, dated May 25, 1940.

COMMUNIQUE OF MAY 25, 1940

DURING THE PAST FEW WEEKS THE GOVERNMENT OF India, in common with the peoples of India, has followed closely the events in Europe and the developments in the war against Germany with anxiety and concern. In addition, Government has had India's position in relation to these events under constant and most careful review.

In considering what further and immediate steps ought to be taken by India to increase her own security, Government has had to bear in mind not only how India is indirectly affected by the situation in Western Europe but also how, should the struggle spread and involve countries and peoples not yet at war, India will be directly placed as regards her own defence.

The best way in which India can contribute to the common cause and to the interests of humanity as a whole, as well as to her own safety, is to increase her preparedness so as to be able to protect herself to the utmost extent practicable.

PLANS ALREADY PREPARED

In the view of the Government of India, the new dangers to India which may develop in the near future, arising indirectly out of the situation in Western Europe, render it essential that immediate effect should be given to the plans already worked out so that, should these new dangers materialise, India, in a war which bids fair to be a long one, will be in a position to meet them.

Orders have been issued to implement these plans forthwith. They involve, in brief, the raising and equipping of forces to India's maximum capacity, having regard to the limitations of her indigenous resources in *material* and of such similar assistance as can be obtained from overseas. In preparing these forces the capabilities of the Indian Territorial Force and the Indian States Forces will be utilised to the full, while personnel for further squadrons of the Indian Air Force will be raised and trained forthwith.

The land forces to be raised will include mechanised forces, infantry, signals, engineers, medical and motor transport

units and other ancillary units to serve and maintain the new formations.

The Government of India is glad to think that the raising of these forces will give opportunity for the increased employment of Indians in commissioned and in other ranks.

EXPANSION OF PRODUCTION

In addition India will continue to expand her productive capacity to the maximum extent possible for war materials and manufactured products for use in India and overseas in connection with the war.

The additional preparations which are now being undertaken are in addition to those which India has already made both for her local and for her external defence. As is well known, India has despatched land forces to Malaya, the Middle East and France ; she has arranged for the Royal Indian Navy to collaborate with the Royal Navy in Indian waters ; and she has also organised the supply of large quantities of munitions, clothing, tentage, equipment, stores and foodstuffs to overseas theatres of war.



COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S BROADCAST ON MAY 31, 1940

CONTEXT.

Text of a broadcast from Simla on May 31, 1940, by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, General Sir Robert Cassels, G.C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O.

" ALL OF YOU WHO HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING THE COURSE of events during the past week will have realised Germany's aim at the present juncture. She has in fact chosen to try to force a decision on the Western Front. The speed and weight of her attack, pressed forward with the utmost determination and without regard to risks or losses, has so far resulted in a remarkable initial success. The final result, however, of this ' first round ', as it were, is still uncertain and must remain so for some days.

" The point I should like to make, however, with the utmost conviction at my command, is that even the loss of the ' first round ', which would to some extent approximate to the course of events in 1914, does not by any means mean that we have lost the war. On the contrary, I see every reason why the final outcome of the present war should be identical with the result of the struggle which started in 1914—in other words, my faith in ultimate victory remains entirely unshaken.

DANGER OF WAR SPREADING

" In this connection I would remind you that sea power played a predominant part in our victory in the last war and that today the Allied fleets are in a stronger position than they ever were in the last war. The present situation in France, however, does indicate that the war will be protracted and there is also a definite danger of its spreading, which may also mean that India might cease to enjoy the immunity from enemy action which has been hers for so long.

" My intention in speaking to you tonight is to give you as much information as I can of what has been and is being done in India to meet possible developments of the war. You will, of course, understand that there is much that I cannot reveal, without giving away valuable information. But all that I can tell you I will, as I fully realise the anxiety which you must be feeling and the keen and the natural interest which you are taking in our readiness to meet whatever dangers the future may bring forth.

PRODUCTION OF WAR SUPPLIES

" During the past nine months we have ceaselessly striven to perfect our preparations with a view to being ready to expand our forces should the need arise. I have felt no anxiety as regards India's resources in man-power, but I must remind you that under modern conditions of war manpower alone will not suffice—men must be suitably equipped to deal with the enemies they might have to meet.

" The production of the necessary arms, ammunition, equipment and supplies is a most essential factor in the preparation of modern forces. We have, therefore, since the very start of the war concentrated on the provision of these essentials to the maximum extent possible.

" In the production of war supplies of every kind procurable in India our supply organisations have already far outstripped the achievement of the Indian Munitions Board in the final year of the last war. The factories in the charge of the Master-General of the Ordnance have been expanded with the utmost rapidity and are now turning out six or seven times the quantity of lethal stores that they did eight or nine months ago. In the case of shell production, the outturn has been multiplied no less than twelve times.

" **Apart from the main items of arms and ammunition, what are known as ordnance stores comprise something like 40,000 items, of which approximately 20,000 can now be produced in India, and the success of our supply organisations in dealing with the vast and intricate problems entailed by the requirements of a modern army has been outstanding.**

" When I last spoke to you on the occasion of the outbreak of war, I said that it was up to Indian industry to take advantage of the new opportunities which would undoubtedly arise. I am glad to be able to congratulate the industrialists of this country, British and Indian, on the way in which they have risen to the occasion and on the promptness, vigour, initiative and adaptability which they have shown. I must not forget the Indian workman whose skill, patience and ungrudging toil have earned the gratitude and admiration of his country.

EXPANSION ALREADY ACHIEVED

" The general position is such that we are now able to expand our armed forces and the time has come to do so. The regular Indian Army has already undergone its first expansion. Up-to-date, in fact, including regular forces, the Indian Territorial Force and the Garrison Companies, over 53,000 men have been enrolled since the beginning of the war. It has now been decided further to increase the strength of our forces very considerably.

" The new formations will include mechanised and motorised units, infantry, artillery and technical troops, and this will necessitate the increased recruitment of Indian personnel, both technical and non-technical and for all ranks. The total numbers involved will be in the vicinity of 75,000, which figure will have to be maintained. This will involve a total ultimate enrolment of 100,000 men or more.

" The Territorial Army has already been increased. Many of its units have now received extensive training and are capable of fulfilling their role side by side with regular troops. The new units that are now being raised, and others which are still to be raised, will be embodied like their predecessors, and on becoming fully efficient will be assigned a definite role in the defence of their country.

" The Royal Indian Navy has grown out of knowledge since the declaration of war. In addition to the escort vessels, it now includes a large fleet of anti-submarine craft, minesweepers and patrol boats, armed and equipped to deal with the menace of sea raiders against our ports and harbours.

" The strength of the personnel is now two and a half times what it was, and the new ratings have been intensively trained and are now fully prepared to maintain the ancient traditions of their service should the need arise.

NEED OF SKILLED MECHANICS

" The expansion of the Indian Air Force has been more difficult. Potential pilots and observers are available in considerable numbers and can be trained fairly quickly, but the provision of adequate numbers of skilled mechanics

is a grave problem. In the last war aeroplanes were comparatively simple things and their maintenance, though never easy, was child's play compared to what is required for the highly developed and extremely complicated machines of today. Indians make good mechanics, but they have to be made and the making takes time.

" There is, I know, very little surplus of skilled labour in this country, and employers are naturally anxious to hold on to what they have got. I earnestly request them to go as far as they possibly can in sparing skilled men for the Indian Air Force, as well as for the ordnance factories, and to do everything in their power to make it possible for those men to join up without having to incur too severe personal sacrifices.

" Aeroplanes also are not easy to obtain owing to the enormous demands of the war in Europe, even though the money to pay for them may be forthcoming. Nonetheless, every possible effort has been, and will be, made to find a way round these difficulties, and I am glad to be able to announce that it has now been decided to institute a scheme of expansion which, if all goes well, will result in the quadrupling of the regular Indian Air Force.

" I now turn to the provision of officers. Arrangements have been made for their accelerated production, and Officer Training Units have been established at Belgaum and Dehra Dun.

" Indians will be given their full share and will be taken in increased numbers. They will be posted to all units throughout the Indian Army, and will not be restricted to those which are already Indianised.

" From what I have said, it will be clear that these new measures which are to be undertaken for India's defence will involve the expenditure of large sums of money. India's burden will have to be increased accordingly, but I believe that everyone will appreciate the need for sacrifice and will accept it without complaint.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR SERVICE

" It will also be clear that there will be a considerable increase in the opportunities for service in the combatant forces. The Territorial units are drawn from classes not ordinarily enlisted in the Army and the chances for actual military service have been to that extent widened.

" Moreover, there will be a progressive growth in our great munitions industry. In our own factories alone some 20,000 more men are being employed than at the beginning of the war. If we are to keep pace with our requirements this number will increase.

" These, however, are by no means the only opportunities of service. Everyone among you can have his part in the

winning of a victory, for which all our energies and all our capacities will be required. There are immense opportunities for service in maintaining the courage and morale of our people, in ensuring that law and order is maintained, in improving our civil organisations to deal with air raids in vulnerable areas, in the field of first aid and ambulance work and in increasing production in factory and field alike ; in a word, in enabling the country to reach its maximum pitch of efficiency as a whole and in every part and facet of the national life.

" There is deep determination and strength of purpose in the character of all the peoples of India, and if these qualities are concentrated upon the vital task of winning the war, India's contribution to the ultimate victory of civilisation will be a most notable one.

" As His Excellency the Viceroy impressed upon you the other night in most memorable words, ' Unity is strength. We are likely to need all the strength we have ', and as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of India, I appeal to all of you for all the help which you can give me, and them."

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CONTEXT.

COMMUNIQUÉ OF JUNE 17, 1940

Press Communiqué on he " Expansion of India's Armed Forces," issued by the Defence Department, Government of India, on June 17, 1940.

IN AMPLIFICATION OF THEIR PRESS *Communiqué* OF MAY 25, regarding India's defence measures, the Government of India wish to make it clear that the expansion of our armed forces outlined in that *communique* and now in hand represents only the first stage of further expansions to follow.

Already the considerable forces which India has sent overseas for the common cause have been replaced from her own resources. Meanwhile, provision has been made for the defence of her land frontiers and her coasts. New units of Regulars, Territorial and Garrison troops have been raised, and up to the end of April 53,000 additional men had been called to the Colours. The strength of the Royal Indian Navy in personnel is now two and a half times greater than it was at the outbreak of war and many vessels of various types have been added. The Air Forces in India have been augmented both in aircraft and in personnel drawn from this country and vast increases, of which details have been published, have been made in the fields of war supplies and munitions production.

India has not, therefore, been idle during the first eight months of the war. But recent events in Europe and the spread of hostilities have made it evident that much greater efforts may be needed if her security in the broadest sense is to be effectively guaranteed.

The people of India may rest assured that Government are fully alive to their responsibilities and that their whole energies are being, and will be, devoted to the task of further and rapid expansion. In the last war India raised and equipped a million men, and the public can rest assured that the extent of the expansion now in view will be conditioned only by the requirements of the position and by India's own capacity. An indication of the extent of the expansion actually in hand at present is afforded by the fact that it is estimated to involve an addition of more than Rs. 20 crores per annum to the present scale of Defence expenditure.

They may also rest assured that the new formations will be officered to the fullest extent possible by Indians, and that Government are well aware of, and fully appreciate, the feeling of the country in this matter.



CONTEXT.

ALL UNITS THROWN OPEN TO INDIAN OFFICERS

Another Press Communiqué issued by the Defence Department on June 17, 1940.

IN EFFECTING THE EXPANSION OF THE ARMY WHICH IS now in hand and the further expansion which is proposed all units of the Indian Army (including Corps and Departments) will be thrown open to Indian Commissioned officers.

The principle of having certain purely Indianized units will now be abandoned and Indian Commissioned officers serving in these units will be available for posting to any unit throughout the Army where their services can best be used. This also applies to all Indian Emergency Commissioned officers.

These Indianized units, as well as newly raised units, will be brought on to the same establishment of officers and Viceroy's Commissioned officers as the existing non-Indianized units of the Army, namely, regimental staff, squadron and company commanders, and squadron and company officers.

Indian commissioned officers rendered surplus to establishment in Indianized units will be replaced by Viceroy's Commissioned officers.

In making these postings, due regard will be given, where possible, to the wishes of the officers concerned and to the need for continuity throughout all units.

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